

NEHRU

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B.R. SHARMA
SOVIET LAND NEHRU AWARD WINNER

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DR. B.R. SHARMA

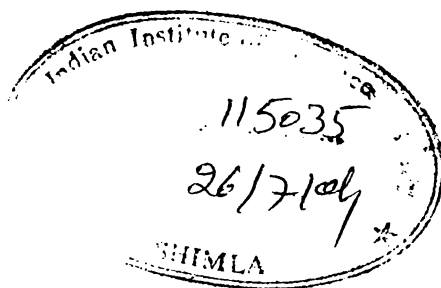
SOVIET LAND NEHRU AWARD WINNER



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Foreword

I have glanced through Dr. B.R. Sharma's manuscript on 'Nehru and the World'. I am impressed with his analysis of Jawaharlal Nehru's philosophy and faith in the destiny of India and the world. He has brought out the essential qualities of Nehru's concept of humanism, socialism, secularism and economic development as applied to the concrete conditions prevailing in India.

It is good that Dr. Sharma is bringing out this book during the Nehru Centenary Year. I hope it will be widely read. It is well written and very readable.

I wish Dr. Sharma success.

New Delhi
February 24, 1988

T.N. Kaul
Ambassador of India to USSR

Preface

Jawaharlal Nehru stands unique among the stalwarts who guided free India to tread upon the path of modernity and to interact with other advanced nations in order to play an active role in world affairs. Among all the leaders of India, Nehru alone was devoted to finding a solution to the national problems of India in the world perspective. He had a broad vision with a concern for universal values of life. The whole world will remain indebted to Nehru for his great contribution to world peace. He wanted freedom not only for India but for all oppressed nations of the world. Through his words and actions he worked for millions of the people of India, Asia and Africa by providing them voice and leadership. In the United Nations and other International forums he raised a voice for all the oppressed nations of the world.

The popularity enjoyed by Nehru in India and abroad was unparalleled, and there were reasons behind it. Whenever he addressed a meeting, it was attended by large crowds. People were eager to hear him and know his views. From this we can imagine the extent of his popularity amongst the masses.

The intellectuals found in him their representative. He was equally popular with artists, writers, philosophers and scientists. He was a keen advocate of the voice of reason which had its appeal amongst the intellectual community. He drew attention of the people to the fact that a life with no respect for values of life is meaningless.

His love for the peasants and the poor masses is also well-known. His opposition to wars and emphasis upon unity and cooperation among the people also explains his great popularity throughout the world.

Social justice that Mahatma Gandhi had sought to bring about through just means provided the link of the Indian struggle for

freedom with the whole of mankind's fight for justice. The emphasis in this struggle for justice which had its impact on Nehru was on the humanistic aspect of the universal struggle of forces of justice over the satanic forces of injustice. Oppression and exploitation of the masses cannot be tolerated by the leaders of an enslaved or a developing country. A true humanist, likewise, would not like to see an imperialist power enslave and exploit other nations.

The humanistic angle in this fight provided a base for a larger struggle world-wide in the cause of humanism and internationalism. What had made Nehru a true patriot at the outset was his sympathy for the suffering masses of India. Whenever he saw poverty and misery in India, his determination to fight against the causes of poverty became all the more strong. Thus he became a staunch fighter for the cause of the poor and the miserable. It was his humanism that made Nehru a determined fighter against imperialism and neo-colonialism. He asserted that each nation should be allowed to be sovereign and free to determine its goals and destiny.

He understood well the ills caused by the imperialist forces. The imperialists saw nothing wrong with war and destruction. Nehru's humanism on the other hand was a result of his deep sympathy for mankind, especially for all poor masses. Hence, he stood like a rock against war and exploitation.

Nehru was first among great world leaders who advocated the use of nuclear power for peaceful constructive purposes and for world prosperity instead of using it for destruction of mankind. He had great concern for the welfare and advancement of the people, for which atomic energy could really play a major role.

His policy of Panchsheel and non-alignment also emerged from this humanistic view of life. In the international context, he found great powers striving to become world leaders, playing the game of balance of power amongst nations. Nehru took a bold step towards world peace through his policy of non-alignment and served as a beacon-light to other emerging nations' progress towards international peace. It was again his profound humanism that provided the impetus for all those nations to fight against tyranny of imperialist exploitation.

Even in his last testament he expressed his humanism when he said :

"The major portion of my ashes should, however, be disposed of otherwise. I want these to be carried high up into the air in an

aeroplane and scattered from that height over the fields where the peasants of India toil, so that they might mingle with the dust and soil of India and become an indistinguishable part of India."

It is not surprising to find that great leaders of the whole world saw in him a leader of all mankind. His popularity was undoubtedly based on his humanism. Even before the achievement of freedom in India, Nehru had led mass movements, and later as the Prime Minister of free India, he was the architect of the largest democracy of the world. In free India, he was responsible for a foreign policy that sought friendship with all nations. Seeing the whole world as one family, he advocated co-existence and mutual cooperation in harmony. His breadth of vision, faith in a cosmopolitan culture and a radical approach to the multifarious problems of India made him the best loved champion of peace, freedom and democracy.

The fight of Indian people against British imperialism was for the victory of Indian nationalism. In the latter phase of Indian freedom struggle, M.K. Gandhi's concern for social justice and Jawaharlal Nehru's concern for humanity provided the direction for liberal nationalism.

Gandhi's emphasis was on non-violence as a means to achieve the larger welfare in a free and democratic India. Nehru agreed with Gandhi on many points but differed with him on certain other very important issues, one of which was about the role of non-violence. While Nehru did not preach violence but he did not want non-violence to make the people as mere passive onlookers.

As regards the role of the masses in the freedom movement. Nehru quite early in his life, displayed a deep faith in the wisdom of poor peasants of India. He was quick to observe how sincere and innocent the poor masses of India were for they showed tremendous zeal for the freedom struggle and gathered in large crowds in public meetings that were addressed by leaders of the Indian National Congress.

Over the years his faith in the masses took deep roots and that formed the basis for his active interest in democracy. Real freedom implied that the common man must feel free and independent. As a movement of the entire nation against foreign yoke, the role of the Indian freedom struggle had to be viewed in the perspective of involvement of masses in the international struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Thus the first aim of the freedom struggle of India was to awaken the masses and to make them participate in the fight for independence from foreign oppression.

The involvement of masses in such a struggle was bound to provide a basis for bringing about real democracy in India. Through his keen study of the world-wide struggle for freedom and democracy, Nehru had realised how much we had to learn from the experiences of Britain, France and America and other nations. Therefore, even while framing the Constitution for a free and democratic India, he looked towards what these countries in the West had experienced and achieved over the years gone by.

After India became a Republic Nehru tried to adapt democracy to the Indian conditions and that alone made it different from the Western models of democracy. His approach was pragmatic and hence what he sought to bring about was only a democracy which would be in tune with the unique requirements of the Indian people. All the same Nehru stood out as one of the greatest democrats of his time. He had tremendous faith in the parliament and this alone made him perhaps the greatest parliamentarian of the twentieth century.

A large country having a vast population with the diversities of language and culture posed a great problem before Nehru as India's first Prime Minister. But he was able to tackle the gigantic problems successfully because he had faith in the basic unity amongst all sections of people of India. He wanted to present India as a model to the developing nations to learn from its experiments and experiences. Thus Nehru's contribution to world democracy is quite remarkable.

Jawaharlal Nehru wanted India to be a secular and democratic nation. For this he opposed all superstitions based on caste and religion. He realised that the conflicts between nations that could give rise to wars were also at time inflamed by superstition and blind faith in religion. Therefore to bring about a solution to the great problems of the time, his secularism became the basis of his non-aligned policy. Conversely non-alignment is also based on his outlook that was thoroughly secular.

Non-alignment became the essence of Nehru's foreign policy. It showed to the world a way to save humanity from cold war and an actual one. His policy of non-alignment with super powers

provided a great impetus to the subsequent efforts made by various countries for world peace.

His sympathies were always with the backward, poor, undeveloped and exploited nations. Hence he created a powerful non-aligned movement for several nations in consultation with enlightened leaders of the world like President Tito of Yugoslavia, Nasser of Egypt and Sukarno of Indonesia.

The initiative taken by Nehru was welcomed in various countries of the third world and it proved to be a uniting factor for them. His efforts for peace and unity were after their hearts and they came closer, became united and thus proved to be a great force to foil the attempts of neo-colonialism.

For the Afro-Asian nations he was a great leader who advocated their cause. Even in the forums of the U.N.O. he raised a voice for the sovereignty of oppressed nations. Needless to point out, the African nations were still suppressed by the colonial powers, and hence it was very pertinent to raise the voice for complete freedom for all enslaved nations, Asian or African. As a leader of independent India, he chartered a path for India's foreign policy that would bring peace to all those nations which had experienced the tyranny of world wars. Even a cold war was a source of great torment to him.

The foreign policy of India was also shaped in accordance with the policy of non-alignment. His foreign policy made him stand out as a great leader of the world, as a champion of the cause of international brotherhood and world peace. Thus India's foreign policy of which Nehru was an architect, was soon recognized as a great achievement of his skilful statesmanship.

It was early in his life that Nehru had realised the importance of friendship between India and the Soviet Union. The Great Revolution of 1917 that had brought about great changes in Russia convinced him that the Soviet Union had rightly followed a policy that had resulted in great changes in Russia. He wanted to establish friendly links between India and Russia. After India became free, he used every opportunity to make the friendly links between the two countries stronger, and he put his idea into practice by forging bilateral relations with the USSR that are a matter of historical significance.

To commemorate his contribution towards Indo-Soviet friendship, the Soviet Union announced Nehru Awards, which are an indication of the depth of friendship between the two nations.

The Festival of India in U.S.S.R. and the Festival of Soviet Union in India have further strengthened this existing bond of friendship.

Nehru believed in the efficacy and utility of science and technology for the advancement of mankind. He was fully devoted to the need for promoting a scientific outlook of life amongst people. All his antipathy towards superstitions can be traced to his scientific outlook towards life. He was aware that behind the backwardness of the people of India was their ignorance. He also believed that ignorance and poverty go together, and for their eradication there was need for promotion of scientific temper. In the modern context when all production, agricultural or industrial, gets its support from science, Nehru advocated that we should make a full use of science. Hence the Five Year Plans, launched by him also sought to modernize India through adoption of modern science and technology in our race for economic welfare of the people. A modern and resurgent India is in fact a true tribute to the memory of this great man.

Jawaharlal Nehru is indeed the best exponent of the East to the West. He had studied deeply the works of great thinkers of the world but since he was also a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi, he did his best to give a concrete shape to the Gandhian ideals. His concern for the Indian approach to life and knowledge of international thought made him pay equal attention both to Marxism and Gandhism.

Nehru's deep study of history and his cosmopolitan outlook are reflected in his well-known book "Glimpses of World History."

His "Letters From a Father to his Daughter" recount the world events of importance in the context of world politics. His devotion to the cause of India and her role in Asian affairs is seen in his "letters". His international outlook makes him a distinguished modern writer reflecting upon the modern trends and developments of history.

His "Autobiography" is not a mere narration of his personal life and intimate experiences. It enables us to know at first hand the world events and their significance to mankind's struggle for freedom and prosperity.

In all his writings we find his political and social outlook reflected. We find in his writings his aesthetic sensibility as well as his searching critical spirit that made his outlook objective.

Nehru had dreamt of a world free from poverty, ignorance and war — ideals that are yet to be realised. For this it is necessary for India to adhere to his policies aimed at the achievement of higher values of life. The best tribute that we can pay to Nehru is in the shape of practical steps to realize his ideals. Now, when programmes are being chalked out throughout the world to commemorate his Birth Centenary, it has become all the more necessary for us to follow the path shown by him to mankind.

Jawaharlal Nehru was a world citizen. Many have written about his ideals and achievements, and many more will do so in the future. Here, we have made an attempt in this book to estimate and understand his role as an international figure. He was an apostle of world peace and he articulated the oppressed world's cry for freedom. The need for a close study of his personality in this context was felt and we have made an attempt to fulfil it.

The present book throws light upon Nehru as a secular democrat and an internationalist who was a progressive and modern humanist striving to bridge the gulf between the East and the West. He also showed to the world how science and technology alone can provide the firm foundation for a true democracy to flourish. At the present juncture of a conflict between the forces of destruction and the creative urge of the people of the world, Nehru's message can provide a source of inspiration and courage to the people who follow his ideals.

The noble objective of this title is in line with broad objectives of the sponsors of this study — the Centre for International Studies — which aims at promoting exchange of knowledge between intellectuals of the East and the West through dissemination of information through writings and other media-of intellectual exchange amongst scholars.

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Nehru : The Symbol of Hope for the Third World

In Jawaharlal Nehru the Asian nations found an emerging leader to champion the cause of peace and bring about solidarity among them to enable them to stand up as a great force in no way less than any power in the West. After the Second World War, the world was eager to maintain and strengthen peace and Nehru showed the way out. This made him an outstanding leader of the third world countries.

India gained independence in 1947. But Jawaharlal Nehru had made his foreign policy statement on September 7, 1946. It was broadcast on All India Radio. He said that India would not side with any particular group of nations and would establish friendly relations with all countries. He also said that India would regard liberation of all colonial and dependent countries as a matter of supreme importance.

Thus from the very beginning of India's achievement of independence, India under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru has been following the policy of non-alignment. Our country which happens to be one of the few largest countries in the world rightly chose a policy that would keep us out of any power-block as such. We are free to evaluate the merits and short-comings that go with the policies of other nations. But our role is certain because ours has been the goal of allowing various powers to co-exist with the specialities of their own policies that guide their internal and external affairs.

The world had just come out of the horrors and ruin caused by the Second World War. But soon after 1945 came a time when the world began to live through the frenzy of a cold war. Therefore in our country, Jawaharlal Nehru's ability to carve out a foreign

policy of peace and co-existence came as a great relief to the whole world. Jawaharlal Nehru always believed in preserving and strengthening world peace. Peace was essential and vital and obviously we know that if there is no peace, there can be no progress in any part of the world.

On June 22, 1955, while addressing an Indo-Soviet friendship rally in Moscow, he emphasized upon the need and role of peace in his speech:

“The question of peace, therefore, becomes of paramount importance if this world of ours is to make progress or indeed even survive. Peace in our view is not merely abstention from war but an active and positive approach to international relations..... Wherever I have gone in the Soviet Union I have found a passion for peace.... In India we have been devoted to the cause of peace, and even in our struggle we have endeavoured to pursue methods of peace. For our own progress as well as for causes that are dear to us, peace is essential.”

Nehru's noble ideals of world peace are held dear by all those who cherish and desire social progress and creative work to flourish. Many prominent figures in the spheres of politics, philosophy, literature and culture have written about him because they admired his genuine humanism as well as his patriotism, energy and will power to continue his struggle for peace and happiness.

Jawaharlal Nehru made a deep impression on his contemporaries as an outstanding leader of the anti-colonial struggle, a champion of peace, democracy and social progress. He always opposed social injustice and national oppression.

The policy of non-alignment happens to be the real crux of the foreign policy of India. It is true that his views were shaped through various stages. He believed that mankind would continue to march on for onward development. His efforts to maintain peace were thus a great contribution to culture and civilization.

The great qualities that Jawaharlal Nehru had in him enabled him to understand the moods of other fellows and it was perhaps his intuition that enabled him to probe into the minds of others. He was intelligent enough to grasp the trend of an assembly or even of a sitting Parliament. He thus had his hand on the pulse of the people. This guided the democratic methods he adopted in his efforts towards India's advancement.

The proclamation of freedom in 1947 also marks the period that

determined the future political development of Asia and Africa. The possible prosperity and stability in India showed a way out to a number of nations that had been fighting a struggle for freedom from foreign rulers.

In due course of time, with the coming of the policy of Panchsheel, the world became convinced that India had taken a lead to put before the world a policy that, if pursued, would result in creating an environment for peace to prevail and there would be an end to wars.

India's wish to stay out of the tensions of the cold war was first expressed by Jawaharlal Nehru. It is understood that the undeveloped nations, which are also known as the developing nations, cannot develop themselves without the financial, economic, scientific and technological assistance of the developed nations. The three sources of development in Nehru's time were Soviet Union, Europe and North America, but all the three had also to face 'cold war' in one way or the other.

Now it is possible for us to review how far Nehru's life was both a struggle and fulfilment. He was a man of vision and responsibility. Therefore he never thought of atomic alliances and provision of military bases to other countries. His choice fell upon Panchsheel and a policy of peace through co-existence.

Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, also took over the portfolio of External Affairs. Hence the foreign policy of India was formulated mainly under his guidance and as such the credit of the policy that would allow co-existence of various systems goes to him. Even before freedom came to India, he had been opposing imperialism and fascism. From his book *Whither India?* written in 1932 and his presidential address at the 1936 session of the Indian National Congress at Lucknow, we realise how correctly he had assessed the world situation. His analysis was correct. Even the Quit India Movement of 1942 expressed the anti-imperialist role of Nehru and Gandhi.

Nehru's speech in the Constituent Assembly on December 4, 1947 indicates how correctly he understood all the implications of evolving and framing a foreign policy that would keep in mind the balance of power of different nations. To him the ideal of maintenance of world peace was supreme. He said :

"Whatever policy you may lay down, the art of conducting the foreign affairs of a country lies in finding out what is most advantageous to the country... Ultimately, foreign policy is the

outcome of economic policy and until India has properly evolved her economic policy, her foreign policy will be rather vague, rather inchoate and will be groping."

It was to further the cause of world peace that he evolved the policy of non-alignment under his leadership. India became the leader of the non-aligned world and it has ever since been following a policy of economic independence and self-reliance. Jawaharlal Nehru's initiative in this regard has a remarkable importance. We have been getting Soviet assistance that has strengthened India's economic independence. This in turn reduced India's dependence on neo-colonialists and imperialists.

The Five Year Plans in India indicate India's interest in developing her economy through planning. Needless to emphasize, Nehru's contribution has been immense. It was he who gave a proper direction to the developing economy of India. His admiration for the five year plans of Russia made him adopt similar plans in India. Russia's example had really been a model for India. India is a multiracial and multilingual country and so has been Russia. The emotional integration achieved in Russia is a pointer to us and our aim is to bring about this integration in spite of the diversities in the matter of languages and nationalities.

The impressive advancement made in Turkmenia and Uzbekistan after the October Revolution of 1917 has much to teach us. The great changes that took place in the life of many nationalities and ethnic groups living in Siberia and Central Asia within quite a short span of time have been a great source of inspiration to the leaders of India.

We must bear in mind that the policies adopted in Russia were so successful that the developing nations of the whole world are bound to do much through a study and implementation of the details of such policies.

The developing nations throughout Asia and Africa will remain indebted to Nehru's farsightedness in his effort to bring the countries of the third world together. What had happened in Russia, was the implementation of a policy that sought to pull up backward regions through prodigious schemes of planning and development that ensured a speedy removal of economic and all other inequalities that had existed during the rule of the tsar in Russia. Then each nationality and ethnic group was enabled to preserve and develop its distinct culture and language. We also remember the liquidation of socio-economic and cultural

backwardness inherited from the past through generous assistance of more advanced European part of the country that helped much in generating emotional integration and unity among the people of Russia.

On the one hand, India has been showing a way to proper economic development to the various developing nations which have also been considered to constitute the third world and on the other hand India has been facing internal problems caused by a few external forces who prove to be inimical to her interests.

Such wrongful attempts of neo-colonialists to destabilise India have been continuing for quite long now. The issue of Kashmir, for example, was raised to harass India. Secessionist and subversive elements in India are aided and encouraged by such forces to weaken India's integrity and sovereignty. The terrorist activities thus aided and supported by certain foreign powers are an attempt to foil the achievements made through the policy of non-alignment.

The Non-Aligned Movement initiated by Jawaharlal Nehru was first born in 1961. It was the peak of cold war and it was essential for the developing nations to find a solution to the problems engendered by the dangerous world situation. The NAM (Non-Aligned Movement) announced at Belgrade its rejection of imperialism and the cold war.

Jawaharlal Nehru's solution to the problems presented by imperialism and cold war rejected the old order based on domination and announced its faith in a new order based on cooperation. India's lead in this matter has been recognised all over the world. India believed that acute dangers to world peace could be removed only if the world eradicated colonialism in all its forms and followed a policy of peaceful co-existence. India took the wise step of launching the Non-Aligned Movement because she saw a direct connection between such a unity and world peace.

The Second NAM Conference was held at Cairo in 1964 which declared that "lasting peace cannot be realised so long as unjust conditions prevail." It was also felt necessary to evolve a new and just economic order as Nehru had wanted. The third NAM conference was held at Lusaka in 1970 and the necessity of a scientific and technological revolution was pointed out at the conference. This again went in favour of Nehru's insistence on scientific progress. It was observed that prosperity had not been

accessible to all even when the scientific and technological revolution had opened up vast possibilities of progress.

Nehru's tradition of non-alignment continued even at the fourth NAM Conference held in 1973 at Algiers. It declared that we wanted the complete liberation of mankind with the help of national movements and advancements made in the spheres of scientific and technological achievements. The fifth NAM conference held at Colombo in 1976 reiterated its emphasis on the strength of the non-aligned movement to bring about an equitable international economic, social and political order. Similarly, the sixth conference held at Havana in 1979 pointed out the need to establish a new world order based on justice, equity and peace. The seventh conference at New Delhi drew its attention to the need of disarmament for world peace. It became possible for 100 countries to agree to the goal of disarmament and development.

All these conferences were held when Jawaharlal Nehru was no more alive. But the policy of peaceful co-existence initiated by him was still the main theme of the decisions taken. At present nuclear weapons have complicated and aggravated the question of world annihilation and at the New Delhi Conference of the NAM, an appeal was made both to America and Russia to suspend war preparations.

The NAM Conference at Delhi rejected the use of nuclear weapons for national security for it would lead to annihilation of the whole world. The very human survival is at stake. In fact what the non-aligned nations want to achieve is a total elimination of the armed forces, armaments, foreign bases, manufacture of arms, elimination of institutions for military training except for purposes of internal security. There should be a total ban on bacteriological and chemical weapons. The Non-Aligned Movement aims at the elimination of all the root causes of war, and Jawaharlal Nehru had always wished to see a world free from senseless wars to bring about ruin to mankind.

The world will always remember Nehru as the greatest leader of Asia to have laid the foundation of the policy of non-alignment. That alone could have brought about an end to social injustice. Even two decades after Nehru more and more developing nations have felt drawn towards the NAM, and they have strengthened the movement for peace and security. Today, the third world countries have become a great force but the debt they owe to Jawaharlal Nehru can never go into oblivion.

The Distinct Universal Humanism of Jawaharlal Nehru

Jawaharlal Nehru was a man of science and hence his going against all superstitions is easily understandable. The modern man is pleased to find in him a man who was convinced that it was only a faith in science and in the modern man's desire to put it to good use. The essential humanist in him has been of great importance in his fight for freedom of the enslaved nations, including India. He sought the upliftment of humanity and as such his vision was the creation of peaceful and prosperous world.

He was not a man completely absorbed in fantasies, in spite of his many dreams to see man flourish, making the best of the facilities provided by nature and man's efforts of the last two to three centuries or more. He believed in material progress and he did not want to see India lagging behind other nations in this regard. But at the same time he did not want a complete absence of some kind of spiritual principle.

Now what sort of spiritualism did he believe in? Was it any form of magic, black or white, that would keep a man materially satisfied and spiritually gratified? His craving for high ideals and superhuman achievements give us an impression that to some extent he was also other-worldly. But this apparent other worldliness in him did not take him away from the boundaries created by man's limitations, both in terms of desire and achievement. He remained human and he was never unaware of man's limited needs and the value thereof.

That is why some have called his attitude to life pragmatic and he remained a devotee of the ideal of great service to the common man. He dealt with the real world and wanted to deal with the real

problems of life in a realistic way. Intellectualism and spiritualism are there in his personality but it is never devoid of humanism.

To work for human happiness was his ideal of life and he believed in the greatest amount of happiness to the greatest number of people. It was a sort of social commitment on his part. He gave human interpretations to various philosophies that appealed to the general masses.

Whoever came in touch with him was impressed by his great love of beauty in man and nature. We have reason to believe that only a man prone to appreciate beauty in the various aspects of nature can be a true humanist. Such a man alone can care to work to bring about justice to the ordinary man in the society of today. It is both love and understanding of beauty in nature that enables a man to comprehend the injustice that prevails for man who is kept deprived of the bounties and blessings of nature.

The First World War ended in 1918 and after that the world became war-weary. A number of countries like India were under a foreign rule and they were seeking freedom from the shackles of slavery. In India the struggle for freedom was being fought with non-violent means, arduously being preached by Mahatma Gandhi. Many of the responsibilities of Mahatma Gandhi were to be shouldered by Jawaharlal Nehru, for it was he who was considered to be the fittest man in India after Mahatma Gandhi to guide the Indian National Congress to march forward to struggle against the British rule.

Then Nehru with his refined intellect, pleasing personality and courteous manners came forward to lead the people, and Mahatma Gandhi was alive at that time. India gained recognition in the eyes of the world, and it was first of all Nehru's humanism and the struggle to let humanism be triumphant that brought the people of India as valiant fighters against neo-colonialism.

The peasants of Pratapgarh in U.P. made his heart bleed at the plight of the poor peasants of India. Later when he visited England after a long gap of time, he saw the pathetic condition of the labourers working in the mines of Derbyshire. The working class in Britain was not at all happy and was feeling the pinch of exploitation. He saw how the police and the authorities terrorised the workers in a country which was an ideal land for him during his student days.

At the Lahore Congress of 1927, Nehru as president declared:

"I must frankly confess that I am no believer in kings and princes or in the order which produces the modern kings of industry who have greater power over the lives and fortunes of men than even kings of old and whose methods are as predatory as those of the old feudal aristocracy."

All this happened after his second visit to Europe. Such views of Nehru made a great appeal to the youths of India. He felt how necessary it was for him to see the close alliance between Indian nationalism and the progressive forces of the world.

Jawaharlal Nehru believed in man's capacity to bring about great changes in the world and, through, these changes, to bring about socialism. It is true that in the beginning he declared that a socialistic pattern of society was the aim of India. But it does indicate that universal humanism was characteristic of Jawaharlal Nehru both as a statesman and as an apostle of world peace through cooperation, tolerance and belief in advancement making use of science and industry.

The world recognised in no time that Jawaharlal Nehru was a great champion for the cause of social justice to mankind. To fight for social justice, and to stake everything to procure it was characteristic of him, and in this again we find his humanism coming out to wage a war against tyranny and injustice.

To stand against tyranny when Nehru had seen the poor people of India facing social and economic injustice was a great quality with him, and the world is bound to admire the courage and conviction of Jawaharlal Nehru. In India the wave of liberalism came from the West. Jawaharlal Nehru, who was educated in England; saw many good things about life in the West. Moreover, even politically the West had much to teach in regard to parliamentary democracy and governance according to a constitution.

The press, a new educational system and a new type of literature helped much in the urbanisation of the traditional sort of Indian society. The advancement of science throughout the world was bound to have its impact on India. But the imperialist rulers too were interested in keeping India backward. All these factors were in the knowledge of Jawaharlal Nehru as we find in his speeches.

When he addressed the peasants of India during the non-cooperation movement, he spoke again and again that he was

moved to see the plight of the peasants working in fields, toiling and yet not getting the proper fruit of their labour.

The revolutions that had taken place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the various parts of the world had paved the way for newer changes in India. The nineteenth century leaders of the Indian National Congress did not want to see the end of the British rule but wanted to see changes taking place so much so that one day the people of India would struggle harder and would bring about greater changes.

Later in the twentieth century, the liberal leaders of the same Indian National Congress began to dream about full independence from the foreign rulers. Hence slogans changed their form and the new demand was for freedom and sovereignty. Now paying homage to what good the British rulers had done to India became out of date and was considered to be orthodox politics.

The twentieth century leaders of the Indian National Congress stood against the old custom-ridden society. But modern social and scientific consciousness was still lacking. Much of it was later supplied by modern leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru and others.

In Jawaharlal Nehru we see a combination of both the East and the West. He began to speak about a future society in India that would learn many things from leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, who preached the establishment of Ram Rajya. In his speeches Jawaharlal Nehru refers again and again to what India should learn from its past. He fondly remembers King Ashoka and the great seeker of peace, Lord Buddha. But it should not be taken to mean that he only wanted the past to come back to India. On the other hand, he is only taken to be a torch-bearer for India to bring about a dawn of modernity. That is why he tells the people that they should rely upon science and should study the truths revealed by science that would lead to greater and greater enlightenment.

The advantages of science have been many. But the greatest boon of science must be seen in making people aware of the value of man as man. This is the starting point for all humanism.

On the one hand this humanism that produces in us a belief in the dignity of man and hence in the labour he does, and on the other makes man feel happy and confident about his ability to bring about a bright future for all. Jawaharlal Nehru had faith in the intellectual and physical abilities of man and thus he was a great humanist of the whole epoch that represents the last phase of the Indian struggle for freedom.

Through this we can also understand why in the modern age India could not have remained stuck to narrow nationalism. International issues were equally important and no event taking place in any particular country could remain an isolated phenomenon. Jawaharlal Nehru's international outlook and treating the whole mankind as one family are the outcomes of his modern humanistic outlook about international politics in the modern age.

The urge for freedom and to think about the whole nation that the people of India represented were also the results of a desire to bring about new changes in the life of India. Reason, reflection and free enquiry became the striking features of the new age that Jawaharlal Nehru represented.

Even leaders who wanted to reform the Indian society wished to base their thought and action on reason. The new leaders were not prepared to follow any religious dogmas and preachings blindly, and reason was the guiding factor for them to decide what was good and what was not.

Some leaders in the field of religion exploit people in the name of religion. They do the worst type of deeds and remain hidden under the mask of religion. Jawaharlal Nehru pointed this out in a letter he wrote to his daughter Indira Gandhi, when the latter was only twelve. He wrote to her :

"As you grow up, you will meet all kinds of people : religious people, anti-religious people, and people who do not care either way ... you will meet very fine and noble people who are religious and knaves and scoundrels who, under the cloak of religion, rob and defraud others."

This shows how conscious Nehru was of the fact that very often religion has been used as a hand-maiden to politics, trade, exploitation and imperialism. Jawaharlal Nehru's emphasis was always on the humanistic liberal tradition and that made him anti-dogmatic.

When he became a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, the reason behind it was humanism of Nehru. Similarly when he became a fellow-traveller of communists, the reason behind it again was his humanism. National interest was always uppermost in his mind. That is why a student of pure science that Jawaharlal Nehru was became a social scientist. Only he was with both Mahatma Gandhi and Karl Marx.

As to the views of Gandhi, Nehru liked in Gandhi's outlook his reliance on the good in man, good means to achieve good ends, the spirit of self-sacrifice and spiritualisation of politics.

But he was opposed to Gandhi's aversion to the modernist aspect. As regards the philosophy of Marx, what appealed to him was in him the "non-duality of mind and matter, the dynamics of matter and the dialectic of continuous change by evolution as well as leap through action and interaction, cause and effect, thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis." But he did not subscribe to Marx's theory of class-struggle, revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat. It means that Nehru was basically a liberal humanist.

Later, the intelligentsia of India developed a disliking for liberalism. But humanism has always been appealing to them. His faith in science and rationalism came to his rescue. His sincere patriotism was at the root of his humanism. It was there even behind his desire for socialism.

Jawaharlal Nehru's passion for social justice can be well understood and appreciated only when we remember how well-read he was. His intellectual make-up was that of a political thinker who was completely devoted to the great cause of fighting for the suppressed and oppressed nations. It is really difficult for a man of conscience to take an active part in politics for the fear of the possibility of errors. Yet Nehru chose the thorny path of doing his best for the uplift of the common man and to bring him justice in spite of the various hindrances put in the way by those who wield power.

He was morally on the side of the exploited class of the people. Yet as full justice is both hard to achieve and not satisfying to the victims of injustice, ideal justice as conceived in theory was not his goal. He believed that man cannot enjoy the fruits of justice merely when society has started showing apparent improvement in its aims and goals. Justice has three important aspects : social, economic and political. In the Indian context it has been realised again and again, that mere political freedom cannot lead to economic justice unless we have certain well-defined goals before us and then right efforts are made to achieve them.

While formulating the five year plans in India, Jawaharlal Nehru again and again reminded the people that political freedom was insufficient without being supplemented by economic justice. This shows how the great ideals of humanism kept on inspiring him to put his ideals into practice.

Jawaharlal Nehru's active politics sought to instal reason in place of tradition. With the coming of science there grew all over the world confidence in the rational endowments which were proper to every individual and which could be further developed through education and enlightenment.

Natural justice when sought for by any country leads to a struggle for bringing about that freedom. All great changes that took place in history have been the results of striving for natural justice. Jawaharlal Nehru's understanding the problem of justice to the people of India speaks of his universalism and humanism.

It was Nehru's universal humanism that led him to formulate and implement the policy of non-alignment. This policy, as we know, has been a great factor in uniting the so-called developing nations. On the issue of peace and war, he was avowedly for freedom against colonialism and for the cause of all humanity instead of only one country. Afro-Asian countries in particular were drawn to Nehru because of his great vision and love of humanity. He wanted to see the whole world united against oppression. Certainly this was the best form that his universal humanism would take in forging unity among the third world countries. Jawaharlal Nehru's love of man had thus won the hearts of all nations that were for freedom and sovereignty for themselves. Thus the citizens of the whole world realised the worth of hopes and aspirations aroused by Jawaharlal Nehru's universal humanism and gave them courage to fight for the cause held sacred by him.

Nehru's Concept of Democracy and its Implications

The contemporary history of India has been influenced by the thoughts and activities of many leaders. But Gandhi and Nehru are the most famous leaders participating in the national struggle for the freedom of India from the British rulers. It would be quite interesting to make a study of how Nehru influenced the course of events and the thinking of a whole generation.

We know that the modern concept of democracy has its origin in the West. But Jawaharlal Nehru understood and knew the worth of democracy for a country like India. It was fighting a struggle to come out of the fetters of slavery. He also studied 'socialism' and it would be better for us to connect his concept of democracy with that of socialism. Both have a great importance for the modern day India.

Nehru has not been known for any special philosophy that he might have elaborated for the sake of the welfare of the Indian nation. But his being fundamentally human has a great importance in understanding his role in rendering a great service to the nation. It is the national struggle that has won freedom for India. But Jawaharlal Nehru's contribution to the political direction India has taken is very great.

He brought about a synthesis between 'socialism' as perceived in the West and non-violent resistance, the concept of which was evolved by M.K. Gandhi. Nehru made Gandhi's outlook about struggle popular among the Indian masses. Gandhi's emphasis was on non-violence but Nehru's was on resistance that had to be carried on non-violently.

Explaining how he saw an inter-connection between political change and economy, he says in "The Discovery of India" that

“political change there must be, but economic change is equally necessary.” Also “that change will have to be in the direction of democratically planned collectivism.” Defining his concept of ‘democracy, he says:

“A democratic collectivism need not mean abolition of private property, but it will mean the public ownership of the basic and major industries, it will mean the cooperative or collective control of the land. In India specially it will be necessary to have, in addition to the big industries, cooperatively controlled small and village industries.”

We must note here that Jawaharlal Nehru did not preach socialism of any particular type. In 1927 when he went to Russia to attend the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution of 1917, he wrote that he believed in scientific socialism and not in any Utopian one. In practice, however, he also sought the cooperation of those who were opposed to socialism, and, for this purpose, he started talking of a socialist structure.

The Planning Committee appointed by the Indian National Congress was presided over by Jawaharlal Nehru. He said that as he thought that the plan “was inevitably leading us towards establishing some of the fundamentals of the socialist structure.” Even this was being attempted “in the context of democratic freedom and with a large measure of cooperation of some at least of the groups who were normally opposed to socialist doctrine.”

He wrote :

“That cooperation seemed to me worthwhile even if it involved toning down or weakening the plan in some respects. Probably I was too optimistic. But so long as a big step in the right direction was taken, I felt that the very dynamics involved in the process of change would facilitate further adaptation and progress.”

He also saw the possibility of a conflict, in which case he had to anticipate some definite policy. In this connection, he added :

“If conflict was inevitable it had to be faced. But if it could be avoided or minimised that was an obvious gain. Especially as in the political sphere there was conflict enough for us and, in the future, there might be unstable conditions.”

He was however quite optimistic about the proper dynamics bringing about the desired results. He said that the dynamics involved in “a big step in the right direction would facilitate further adaptation and progress.” In an interview with a Bombay

editor, Jawaharlal Nehru said: "Once the people are given a proper democratic base or moorings it should be difficult for the mass of the people to be diverted or reversed."

In this regard, he did not remember what Lenin said about the means to be employed to achieve socialism. The doctrine of Lenin is that "the abolition of classes requires a long, difficult and stubborn class struggle, which after the overthrow of capitalist rule, after the destruction of the bourgeois state ... does not disappear... but merely changes its forms and in many respects becomes fiercer."

In 1936, Nehru did not believe that it was possible to avoid class war. But by 1944, a change did come about in his thinking. Now he began to believe that a class war could be avoided.

There is much of Gandhism blended with Jawaharlal's thinking. On economic issues at least, Jawaharlal Nehru was quite explicit and he differed with Gandhi in this regard. Nehru tried to be logical, precise and scientific. But Gandhi emphasized upon intuition or inner voice, which had nothing to do with scientific objectivity.

Certain important concepts like 'democracy', 'socialism' 'centralisation in industries'. 'welfarism' and 'the need of cooperatives' needed clear-cut definitions but Nehru found it necessary to emphasize upon certain aspects of these. Laying emphasis upon production, for example, he said that production perhaps was one of the most important things before the country and added: "If nationalisation adds to production, I shall have nationalisation at every step. If it does not, let us see how to bring it about in order not to impede production. That is the essential thing.

Similarly, referring to Karachi Congress and various other resolutions of the Congress, he declared: "But when you come down to giving effect to this, you have to think of which to choose first and how to do it without upsetting the present structure and without actually interfering with production."

Even in the matter of agricultural production, Nehru considered gradualism as inevitable. The abolition of the Zamindari system was taking time and he admitted that the pace in this regard had been slow, but, as he said, "it was not due to any lack of effort but because all manner of difficulties have cropped up." He still hoped that the matter would be gone through fairly soon.

Likewise, "there has been talk about collective and cooperative farming in this country." He added : "I hope that in any event, if not on a large scale, at least on a small scale, we shall begin soon with cooperatives, and may be with collectives."

The Resolution at the Meerut Session of the Congress, 23-24 November 1946 (Congress Bulletin, No.1, 1947) contains Nehru's views on the relationship between democracy and economy. The resolution states: "In the opinion of the Congress, Swaraj cannot be real for the masses unless it makes possible the achievement of a society in which democracy extends from the political to the social and economic spheres, and in which there would be no opportunity for privileged classes to exploit the bulk of the people, not for gross inequalities such as exist at present."

This shows that Nehru was always for the abolition of inequality. This was because he was guided by the principles of patriotism and love for the people. He would never believe that an ideal human being could ever be indifferent to human suffering.

These diverse aspects of the personality of Jawaharlal Nehru can be summarised in one word: democrat. He was a politician who had a great faith in the parliament, which is essential to keep democracy intact.

The belief in the capacities of the parliament is accompanied with a similar faith in 'constitution' and constitutional means. For him a Constituent Assembly had the implication of its being an organ that would bring about great changes. He was aware of its limitations. He put forward the idea of a Constituent Assembly much before it was actually formed under the Cabinet Mission Scheme.

To him the basis of the Constituent Assembly was, 'all power to the people'. It was not merely a slogan for him. When he spoke on the Objectives Resolution, he said in so many words that India had to be an Independent Sovereign Republic where all authority would be derived from the masses.

This goes to show that he wanted to bring about social, economic and political justice that would ensure equality of status and opportunity to every individual. Moreover, freedom of thought and expression should be the right of everyone.

In his speeches and writings, he expressed his emphasis on the continuity of tradition but also on the need of welcoming modernity. In between comes the transitional phase of the present that would lead us to a future we aim at.

To become a parliamentarian, Jawaharlal Nehru had to pass through a process of change of heart in his own case. It took some time but he became a perfect parliamentarian. He was always in favour of occasional humour in the parliament but he was also always ready to admit mistakes.

He wanted to implement his plans only through the parliament because he sought agreement of the people, and their representatives before the actualization of his wishes that were in accordance with the policies of the party he represented.

The parliamentary democracy that he had conceived of also implied the parliamentarian's dedication to work. Differences of opinion are bound to come about among the members of the parliament but these had to be resolved through debate and a desire to cooperate.

The democracy that Jawaharlal Nehru believed in was a modern type of democracy that would derive its strength from social and economic equality guaranteed to the people. He wanted peace and not conflicts.

As regards the benefits of science coming to people through a technological development of the country, he never wanted the country to lag behind.

By welcoming the formation of the Constituent Assembly, he showed his historical sense that is required when a country has to make a start in making democracy a reality. It was, then for the sake of justice to the people that he showed his social and economic awareness, in the context of the nation.

For the whole Constitution to get written it took five years, from 1946 to 1950. Later, as we know, much of British and American constitutions had to be incorporated in the written Constitution for India.

Dr. Ambedkar was the Chairman of the Drafting Committee and he was entrusted with the task of preparing a draft with the help of reports of the various committees of the Constituent Assembly. Then the draft was kept before the public for discussion.

Jawaharlal Nehru's democracy was to be secular because he did not put faith in any one religion or one culture. The nation was one and to keep the states associated with the centre, the constitution was federal. As Nehru said, "We have taken a huge jump to hundred per cent political democracy" without making people educated.

In India the power of judicial review had to be made wider than in America. It was a constitution on federal lines, and the idea of Panchayat raj on the Soviet model was not accepted. India was made a Republic and the British Government had to accommodate it within the Commonwealth. At the October 1948 Conference of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, the King of Britain was accepted as the link though not as a part of any constitutional arrangement. A formula was evolved in April 1949 at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. Thus India was allowed to remain a member of the Commonwealth. Later, on Nehru's initiative India followed the policy of non-alignment and that makes our Indian democracy characteristic.

Nehru's Secularism in the World Perspective

The word 'secularism' was first used in the West, but Jawaharlal Nehru adopted it in India not only because it came from the West but it was useful for all nations. He wanted to see India playing a successful role in pursuing an ideal that first became popular in the West. Now it is accepted all over the world as the best form of ideology to influence the political behaviour. Everything that was not connected with religion was 'secular', and with the coming of science 'secularism' was the only adequate way of life before India.

Jawaharlal Nehru was an advocate of science and technology, and therefore he understood the value of secular education and secular ideals. Hence he tried to minimize differences and discriminations based on race and religion. Therefore he decided that India would adopt secularism instead of any particular religion to guide the social and political destiny of India.

India became independent in 1947 and it happened only when partition of the country had been accepted. The events after the partition left bitterness in the minds of the people. Then Kashmir was invaded by Pakistan. After fourteen months, fighting stopped as cease-fire was agreed to.

Before independence, the Indian National Congress had been thinking of achieving economic and social progress that would lead to betterment of the people. After independence, the constitution of India provided for betterment through planning. The Constitution says that India was to be a sovereign and democratic republic. Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship was guaranteed.

Thus began the policy of secularism. The main aim was to promote fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual and the

unity of the nation. The new Republic came into existence, on January 26, 1950. In the constitutional sense, much was borrowed from England and the United States of America.

The foreign policy of India was based on the policy of non-alignment. This was in a way to give freedom of action which is an essential part of independence. Later, a large number of newly independent countries in Asia and Africa also adopted the same policy of non-alignment. Now just as non-alignment was our external policy, secularism was our aim as a part of our internal policy at home.

The communal problem in our country has been taking different forms from time to time. But the question on the whole has an immense importance. India does not have racial or national minorities as in Europe. In India there are religious minorities. Religion often does not care for racial differences. In India religion is often exploited and used as a means of division and disunity. It is unfortunate but we should still hope that secularism is bound to succeed because without it democracy has no meaning.

In India, religious and cultural toleration is considered to be an essential part of the Indian way of life. As we know Jawaharlal Nehru always thought of secularism as the ideal of India to maintain the dignity of the individual as well as that of the whole nation that would abide by treating all countrymen as one family.

Jawaharlal Nehru could think of the possibility of class conflicts but never of religious conflicts. But communal and religious organizations are there, and the minor religious communities may from time to time raise the question of the major religious community's attitude towards them.

In India, as we see till today, all religious communities are free to worship or celebrate their religious festivals in the manner they like. This freedom has given the communal or religious organizations freedom to cause conflicts on the plea of legal and religious freedom to take out processions and give occasion to rowdy elements to cause undue disturbance of law and order.

Political organisations swearing by any minority group cannot continue for long in such circumstances. If they declare that they would protect the rights of any minority or community, they can do so only to deceive the people. As Jawaharlal Nehru was always opposed to undemocratic ways of life and he supported policies

that would end all divisions based on religion or community. National integration was his ideal and he would not accept any policy that would frustrate the ideal or dream of unity and harmony.

Jawaharlal Nehru always sought to lead his party to go in a progressive direction. In this regard, he also tried to learn from Mahatma Gandhi and implement policies that were laid down by him. It is well-known that Gandhi had always spoken in favour of the unity of Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims and Christians, Jains, Parsis and Buddhists were not excluded.

Nehru had a vision of a humane classless society. He spoke eloquently and courageously during his life time. Even in his last will he wrote : "I wish to declare with all earnestness that I do not want any religious ceremonies performed for me after my death. I do not believe in any such ceremonies and to submit to them, even as a matter of form, would be a hypocrisy..."

In comparison to her neighbouring country Pakistan, India has a completely different policy as regards religion and dogmatism. Pakistan time and again tells her people that the rulers there rule according to the laws laid down in religion. India has a different political philosophy from countries that seek to declare religion to be their only guide. It started with Jawaharlal Nehru's faith in secularism and respect for all religions.

As world history tells us that the struggle of the state to separate itself from the supremacy of the Church was in the beginning a struggle for power. Thus political power has been the aim of all those who seek to place religion above anything else.

To Jawaharlal Nehru, world peace was his most cherished goal, it was possible only through attaching proper importance to the dignity of man and respect for the dignity of other nations. In this context we must recall what importance he attached to science and scientific temper. To stand against superstitions was a great step taken by him. He would feel distressed to see anyone's wrong attitude to science and rationality.

Nehru would never like India to go back to the dark ages of superstition and taboos. He always and unceasingly pointed out the need for cultivating a scientific outlook and developing a scientific temper. At the same time he always recalled that India's traditional culture was also important and we must learn something from the spirituality preached by the ancient sages of India.

His contribution to the cultural renaissance is praiseworthy. With his compassion, tenderness and unwillingness to hurt others were his great qualities. He was always for the poor and the disinherited, and therein lies the secret of his faith in secularism and democracy.

As the Constitution of India says that India is a welfare state, we also know that it is a secular and democratic republic. Nehru's real purpose was the welfare and betterment of the lives of the people, and, he believed in putting science and technology to the service of man. This was openly a secular aim, and we notice it in every decision and action of Jawaharlal Nehru.

Even while advocating socialism, he would say that it is after all not only a way of life but a certain scientific approach to social and economic problems. This shows how he wanted to put secularism into practice. To his mind only secular ends were meant to secure complete welfare of the people. His emphasis was again and again on economic welfare, democracy and socialism and these were secular ends.

As Bertrand Russel says in his book, "Political Ideals": "To achieve socialism, revolutionary action may be unnecessary, but revolutionary thought is indispensable, and as the outcome of thought a rational and constructive hope." Jawaharlal Nehru's thinking was certainly revolutionary whenever in his thoughts and deeds he emphasised upon political freedom and economic independence, as the first privileges of any nation that had great ideals to achieve.

For him, socialism was humanism in action, and humanism is not possible unless secular ideals are taken as our main sources of inspiration. The creative energies of man can be utilised properly only when proper dignity to man as man is granted liberally and without any grudge whatsoever.

Therefore Jawaharlal Nehru would always be remembered as a great statesman who devoted his whole life to the cause of human freedom. It was his humanism born of his secularism. He fought for the freedom of India and thus was able to achieve political independence. It was of course possible only because of the cooperation of the people with him. But his services would always be remembered with gratitude.

As the Prime Minister of India, his contribution to the advancement of the nation will always be remembered. Even

before India became free, he had realised that India need an economic regeneration and for this economic planning was quite necessary. After the transfer of power to India, Jawaharlal Nehru was also the Chairman of the Planning Commission. It was then that he got an occasion to put his dynamic ideas into practice.

In his speech at the Annual Conference on Rural Industrialisation in 1963, he strongly advocated electrification of rural areas all over the country. It was a great step towards the industrialisation of India. We must note here that industrialisation facilitates the ideal of secularisation to take shape.

In one of his speeches he said :

“If in a country, there is no proper solidarity among its people, that country is doomed. It will go to pieces. It cannot fight the many dangers that beset it.”

In this speech, his emphasis on solidarity shows that he was always eager to see India maintaining its unity and solidarity. He was also clear that it was possible only through an implementation of secular ideals.

He would never tolerate any communal disharmony. Fomenting communal trouble was thus putting a great barrier in the way of Jawaharlal Nehru's efforts to keep India secular. Therefore he attached a great importance to efforts directed towards creating communal harmony. He always made the people and the newspapers aware to appreciate the grave dangers caused by communal disharmony and conflicts.

He wanted India to make a steady progress to be able to equal other nations. for this it was not enough for India merely to exist. It needed more than existence. It needed a full life and it needed progress with a reasonably good speed. He wished to see India flourish not only in the physical and material sense but also in cultural, intellectual, moral and other senses.

Even Mahatma Gandhi's ideals were to bring about social justice, social reform and land reform. Jawaharlal Nehru formulated a policy of land reform and social justice, and also took steps to bring about public sector into existence. Now all these steps were possible only because of his faith in secularism.

Nehru did planning and followed democratic processes to make it successful. He pointed out that agrarian reform was essential. If millions of people in the rural areas do not have a life worth living, it was no use talking of plans to improve the living

conditions of the poor. He also wanted cottage industry to benefit the people. Then he also started community development programmes for the social welfare of the people. He also sought cooperation of educationists. In this matter too his secularism was of a great help because only secular education teaches men to cooperate for collective welfare.

Jawaharlal Nehru's secular ideals made him put his faith in science and technology to a constructive use. It was necessary to have the advantages of science but at the same time, as he would say, the human, moral and spiritual values of life cannot be lost sight of. Therefore he began with laying foundations of a self-sustaining economy. His aim in this was that within some ten years or so, a socialistic pattern of society would be possible in India. When it came to heavy industry, it was possible only through a rapid growth of machine-building and engineering industries. He spoke of social change in his speech on the Third Five Year Plan. In practice, however, the achievement of socialism was a far cry. Yet we should not in any way underestimate the value of the secular ideals of Jawaharlal Nehru, which alone led to economic prosperity through agrarian reforms and industrialisation of India. Secularism has come to stay as a way of life and it should give us hope to be able to bring better days for the teeming millions of India.

Secularism as we accept in India stands upon the foundation of humanism. Spirituality is an essential part of our humanism, which is only another aspect of secularism. As such Nehru's secularism affords opportunities to the people to be free and prosperous, not adopting materialism, the generally accepted meaning in the West, but being truly humane. Thus spirituality is above all our essential guide in India, which will some day prove to be a torch-bearer for the whole world.

Nehru's Contribution To World Socialism

To have a correct perspective of the growth of socialism in India we must remember that Jawaharlal Nehru was the first founder of socialism in this country. In 1917, the October Revolution of Russia, showed a path to the people of the East. The ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity inspired him a great deal and his interests in the achievement of these ideals grew deeper and deeper. He was eager to apply the principles of socialism and liberty to India. Both in and outside the Congress, there were many who opposed his policies and ideals. Yet he went on pursuing the policy of socialism and ideal democracy that had a great appeal to his mind. He did not mind any antagonism that came in his way.

According to Nehru, democracy was a great ideal. For the achievement of such a great aim he did not think any effort to be too great. He went on following his ideals assiduously. He had undoubtedly to face opposition and criticism. He believed that socialism was that state of people in which every one would get an equal opportunity to develop and flourish. He never fought shy of pursuing such an ideal because it was his dream to see all people happy and making progress. He knew that the creative energies of the people could find a proper channel only in an ideal form of government, which would be nothing but socialism. He could not think of any thing short of socialism. About agriculture he was of the view that India should have cooperative and collective farming. He also wanted to see the growth of industry that would enable every citizen of India to stand on his own feet.

Whenever and wherever Nehru saw misery and suffering among the people, his heart was in revolt against injustices that gave rise to inequality and poverty. He studied the concept of socialism and

other possible ideals of government while he was in Europe. He had gone there to get treatment for his wife Kamala. His stay in Europe gave him ample opportunities to study these remarkable aspects of statecraft. He attended the Brussels Conference of February 1927 as a delegate of the Indian National Congress. There he met Communists, left-wing socialists, nationalists from Asia and Africa, a radical league of nations. He discussed with the world leaders, why socialism was a panacea to all the ills generated by Capitalism and Imperialism. He was also able to make a comparison between one form of socialism and another. He was led to find interest in anti-fascist activities, and for that purpose he was made a member of the Anti-Fascist League of Europe.

Nehru was not so much impressed by the slogans and even the programmes put forward by the socialists and communists of Europe, but he had a great love and admiration for the well-known leader of the Soviet Union, Lenin the Great. The ideals of forming a classless society visualized by V.I. Lenin had a great appeal to Jawaharlal Nehru. On the ground of morality Nehru conceived of a state in which every Indian would be equal. He treated all people as equals and he wanted to guarantee equal freedom for every faction of the people of India.

The ideology of Jawaharlal Nehru had a direct impact on his approach to socialism and communism. During his student life he was in touch with the Fabian Socialists, who had faith in a Utopian type of socialism. In fact it was a curious combination of different ideologies that had an influence on his thinking. His philosophy thus combined in itself the trends of M.K. Gandhi's morality, liberal democracy and a Reformist Socialism.

Nehru wrote in 1927, after his visit to Soviet Union that his views had become much more liberal than they were earlier. Now he saw no sense in the concept of nationalism, that would only give rise to narrow parochialism and the negation of socialism. Political freedom was essential, but unless a proper direction was given to a progressive form of government, no purpose was going to be served. What was needed was a firm faith in socialism and ideal democracy. He did not want to tolerate any oppression practised by any nation over any other nation. Freedom was the key-word of all his philosophy and idealism.

He saw the rising socialist state of Soviet Union. He also observed how the Five Year Plans were successful in the Soviet Union. In Russia now he observed no poverty or backwardness among the people. Therefore, he was completely against the capitalistic form of economy, and he was all for democracy and the ideals of freedom. In Russia, feudalism and capitalism were done away with. After that agriculture developed as a result of cooperative and collective farming. Jawaharlal was obviously interested in emulating the examples set by the Soviet Union, through their work for socialism and communism.

His study of the October Revolution of Russia in 1917 convinced him that the reformism could never be a solution to any problem of India. Thus he felt that a revolution was sure to take place.

In Marxism he saw a scientific outlook. He was glad to note that Marxism alone could explain the situation and could offer a real solution. By 1954, he became very clear about the economic policies that he would have in the future. He certainly wanted socialism but he wanted it through democratic means and methods. He proved that Democracy and Marxism could exist together.

His popularity after the First World War grew because of his passion for social justice and his deep concern for the development of the individual that he worked for world peace was in itself a great ideal so much loved by the people.

For Nehru, the first priority was to remove economic injustice. As he points out in his Autobiography, in India the greatest sufferer was the agricultural proletariat. He felt acutely the pangs of poverty suffered by the poor. He became aware of the "growing pauperisation of both the petty land holders and tenants". He became conscious of class-conflict and, therefore, he felt drawn towards Marxism. He wrote :

"Russia had appealed to me....with all her blunders, Soviet Russia had triumphed over enormous difficulties and taken great strides towards this new order.... In the balance, therefore, I was all in favour of Russia, and the presence and example of the Soviets was a bright and heartening phenomenon in a dark and dismal world".

In achieving social justice for the common man Nehru was certainly more radical than Gandhi. Nehru's Western education was one of the factors responsible for it. Besides, whatever good

he saw about planning in Soviet Union was also to his liking. He believed that planning was essential for making socialism possible in India. He was a protagonist of democratic planning, and much before India became free Jawaharlal Nehru had planned with a conviction that only through planning India could achieve something as Russia did.

He wanted democracy to apply to the whole of society and to the whole of life. It meant that he wanted to guarantee equality of opportunity for development. Needless to emphasize there cannot be any democracy without economic democracy.

When Nehru thought of China, he was in great sympathy with her because he had known China as fighting against Japanese imperialism. He thus had a great hold on the minds of the people living in other countries. Obviously he was a representative of the people of India and since he represented the voice of the suppressed people throughout the world, he became all the more popular because of his love for all mankind.

He aspired to bring justice to all people. Therefore, he wanted to see that freedom should not remain a legal term. He stood against injustice in its social, political and legal aspects. He was very careful about the necessity of fight against social, political and legal disabilities. Pursuit of justice, according to him, was the greatest duty of the Indian patriot.

Nehru studied both democracy and socialism in Europe. But during his stay in Europe he was not influenced by social democrats. It was only Fabian Socialism that made him a socialist of the reformist school. As a matter of fact he was influenced by the teachings of Marx and Lenin. He realized the importance of Marxist analysis of history and the present happenings. About Soviet Union he had two feelings, on the one hand he admired all the activities of the people fighting for socialism. But he also observes that many incidents associated with the Russian Revolution did not have any appeal to his mind. Many of the happenings of the time were not to his liking. He was, however, sure that the Soviet Revolution helped mankind take a great leap forward.

When Nehru had adopted the socialistic views, there was nothing new about this. Many political leaders started calling themselves Marxists. But Nehru always remained under the influence of M.K. Gandhi. Hence he evolved a middle policy that was a sort of compromise between Gandhism and Marxism.

In 1934, the Congress Socialist Party was formed in India when Nehru himself was in prison. Acharya Narendra Deva became the leader of the new party and Gandhi wondered why and how socialism was gaining popularity and Jawaharlal Nehru was going towards it. He did not want to let him associate himself wholly with the new Congress Socialist Party. Therefore Gandhi spared no efforts to make Nehru stay with Congress and himself.

In the post-revolution era in the Soviet Union, and in the implimentation of Lenin's programmes promised a great success. Nehru drew a lesson and emulated the example. For example, the Soviet form of administration was to his great liking and hence he proclaimed that even in India Panchayats must form the nucleus of administration in villages. He thought that Panchayat Raj could be a revolutionary movement which would after some time bear good fruit.

Nehru wanted a good life for all people but since goodness is bound to remain vague if it is not explained, he wanted to define it clearly. He asserted that the main purpose of his life was to work for the welfare of the people. From time to time he was, therefore, reminded of the need for socialism. He said that India needed some kind of socialistic structure.

While explaining his socialism he said that India wanted to plan for as great a measure of equality as possible for everybody in India. He also added that he would not go beyond the limitations of a democratic structure of the state.

He wanted to keep an even balance between production and consumption. He did not want the people to increase their greed for accumulation. He did not want India to get tied up to any doctrinaire view of socialism. But he did not want to avoid the broad approaches fundamental to socialism. He thought that it was necessary for all the third world countries to have a socialistic approach to the problems of India. It was in this light that we had to adopt a mixed economy, which could be a go-between; and would follow the middle path between a socialistic policy and a capitalistic one.

It was Nehru's view that students must be made to spend some of their time serving the rural people. Thus students could learn much about how to serve the poor masses of India. He wanted the students to do their utmost to uplift the people. All this goes to show that the concept of socialism that Nehru had was not without

its utility in practice for the achievement of socialism. He planned to remove illiteracy from amongst the masses as it was a great hindrance in the way of peoples' enlightenment about socialism and social justice.

Nehru's views on education clearly indicate that he believed that education should prove its worth in paying back the debt to society. As in his own life he linked himself with the people, he desired that students and teachers of India should also come closer to the people and impart education to them.

After India became independent, Nehru was ready with his blueprint of scientific and planned socialism. But he thought that a mixed economy was a proper way out and he also wanted there to be a vital and expanding public sector commanding the heights of the nation's development projects. In fact, he initiated and became the directing soul of India's economic and social development. Thus under specific conditions then prevailing in India, Nehru took India on the specific path of progress, prosperity and socialism.

At the annual conference of the Congress at Avadi, in January 1955, Nehru chalked out the new programme of India's development after a socialistic pattern of society. This was the result of Nehru's persistent efforts. Before the large number of delegates and other audience, who were assembled there, he enjoyed unchallenged and deep loyalty, which made it possible for him to play a significant role under the crucial and complex conditions that were challenging to the development of India.

For a victory of socialism over reaction it was essential for the leaders to enable the people to have a scientific culture suited to modern civilization. Whenever he thought of science and its contribution to society he stated boldly that there was no stopping the process of mechanization. Undoubtedly only a scientific approach could put an end to narrow provincialism and such other harmful concepts

Therefore while making the great experiment in mass democracy in India he always remembered that the people were to be prepared to meet the challenge of the future. For this if freedom was the first condition, socialism was the next necessary step to be taken.

Nehru understood well the urges and aspirations of the common people. On the basis of his grasp of the subject he had concluded

that India had to work not only for freedom and socialism in one country but for achieving these for the world at large. It was thus that he kept on marching ahead on the path of socialism.

Outdated social structures were to be destroyed. Similarly ancient religions had to be replaced by the modern development of science and art. Nehru affirmed the universality of science, art and technology.

Jawaharlal was a man of refined intellect and courteous manners. With these he brought much credit to India because he was able to show to the whole world that here was a man who championed the cause of freedom for the whole world. Freedom could be retained only with the arrival of socialism and hence it is inseparable from freedom.

Nehru believed that all the ideals that he had put before the people could be realized in practice in India by means of socialism which postulates a classless society with social and economic justice for all and the levelling down of every inequality between man and man, or nation and nation. He was aware of the great diversities found in India and that reminded him of the world in miniature. In fact, he lived, thought, and died for a prosperous future of India.

With socialism as his goal, he wanted simultaneously to take steps to secure a more or less equitable distribution of the benefits of an economy that would also tackle the issue of an expanding economy in both the industrial and agricultural sectors.

The great contribution of Jawaharlal Nehru was to free a large section of humanity from orthodoxy. It was his main purpose that a person should have full freedom to develop his personality. For the attainment of such an aim he would always plan how man-power could be utilized to their maximum through Five Year Plans. He tried his best for the growth and development of socialism. But we must be aware that real justice and peace can come only when socialism will have developed throughout the world. It is in this perspective that we must view the potentiality and scope of socialism that Nehru thought of and wished to see implemented.

Nehru : The Beacon Light for Progressive Writers

Jawahar Lal Nehru's books contain his progressive ideas on the role of history India is rightly proud of. But to keep pace with modern times, his writings have also shown the direction, which the modern writers should take while contributing their thoughts. Also his presidential speech at the first progressive writers' conference at Lucknow in 1936 is a pointer to his efforts towards the evolution of writings to resolve the tangle between nationalism and inter-nationalism as also interconnecting the freedom struggles throughout the world.

Nehru's contribution to the recent cultural renaissance in India has been remarkable. The ideas he expressed in his letters, speeches and writings indicate how he saw no antagonism between national and international interests.

Even in the nineteen twenties and the thirties he opposed imperialism and fascism. He was aware of the great danger that fascist forces were posing in Europe. He was equally conscious of the harmful role that chauvinism and revivalism could play in India.

His progressive attitude to the problems of India and the world shows him to be a nationalist as well as an internationalist. He gave a wider perspective to Indian nationalism. As he viewed, the struggle for freedom that India was fighting went together with the struggles being fought throughout the world against colonialism and imperialism for the freedom of oppressed nations.

Time and again, he reminded the people of India that ours was not a battle in isolation from other nations and countries. The struggle was similar and for similar gains everywhere. As a writer, he showed his worth by standing against Fascism, Nazism

and Communalism of all sorts. He would not tolerate any erosion of human dignity and it is a great quality essential for a progressive writer and thinker.

In his writings, we find him drawing the people's attention not only to the need of the study of science but also to that of its application to life to enable man to make progress on right lines. "After all" he said, "how has agriculture grown in many other countries greatly? It is because of the application of science and technology. If modern life depends so much on science and technology, then we must seize hold of them, understand them and apply them."

He is known for his great thirst for truth and his questing mind that admitted no man-made barriers. He had the remarkable quality of a deep willingness to learn and to teach. He rightly took science as a great intellectual discipline that broadens a man's personality and also enables him to have a dispassionate and objective view of things.

His emphasis on democracy and socialism as a means to bring about a classless society shows him to be a progressive writer of the finest quality. In the chapter "Conversion or Compulsion" in his autobiography he writes :

"Our final aim can only be a classless society with equal economic justice and opportunity for all, a society organized on a planned basis for the raising of mankind to higher material and cultural levels, to a cultivation of the spiritual values of cooperation, unselfishness, the spirit of service, the desire to do right, goodwill and love, and ultimately a world order. Everything that comes in the way will have to be removed gently if possible and forcibly if necessary."

He was an outspoken progressive and was never ambiguous about his attitude to capitalism and fascism. In his book *Glimpses of World History*, he wrote about the possible future of parliaments in the following words: "The conflict between democracy and capitalism is inherent and continuous." And "Fascism thus appears when the class conflict between an advancing socialism and the entrenched capitalism becomes bitter and critical ... so long as capitalism can use the machinery of democratic institutions to hold power and keep down labour, democracy is allowed to flourish. When this is not possible, then capitalism discards democracy and adopts the open fascist methods of violence and terror."

We find Nehru a firm believer in democracy. Just as he would go with the decision of majority, in the same way he was never an extremist. It is about his love of democracy that even M.K. Gandhi wrote in a letter to Agatha Harrison :

“Though Jawaharlal is extreme in his presentation of his methods he is sober in action. So far as I know him he will not precipitate a conflict. Nor will he shirk it, if it is forced on him.... Jawaharlal will accept the decisions of the majority of his colleagues. For a man of his temperament this is most difficult whatever he does, he will do it nobly. Though the gulf between us as to the outlook upon life has undoubtedly widened we have never been so near each other in hearts as perhaps we are today.”

The autobiographical touches in his books make his books interesting and they help us in understanding how he was always guided by the great ideals of great achievements for India and the people of India. His writings can enable us to grasp the whole story of our fight for independence from a foreign rule. He was always inspired by noble ideals and he also fought against the barriers that came his way.

The bunch of letters besides the ones he wrote to his daughter contain even letters written by other persons of eminence to him. Such letters enable us to make an estimate of his personality and contribution to the making of history of the nation. These letters include those written by Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, Sarojini Naidu, Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel, Govind Vallabh Pant, Jaya Prakash Narayan, Subhash Chandra Bose, Acharya J.B.Kriplani, M.A.Jinah, Ali Brothers, Sir Stafford Cripps, Harold Laski, George Bernard Shaw, and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek, and many others.

His book *“Glimpses of World History”* is a collection of his letters addressed to his daughter Indira. These naturally include an intimate account of some of the very important moments in his life. Even in *“Autobiography”* of Jawaharlal Nehru, we come across accounts of the real sorrows and sufferings experienced by him.

He was in the beginning a young radical from Harrow and Cambridge. He also read the works of Karl Marx and was influenced by the Great October Revolution of Russia of 1917. But he learnt much even from Mahatma Gandhi. The first Non-cooperation Movement began in India in December 1921 and

it was then that he had the first experience of going to prison along with his father and thousands of others. This was in a way political education for him.

Jawaharlal Nehru's patriotism makes him say that nearly all of our country is more worthy of respect than the histories of other countries...This also throws light on an important aspect of his thinking and writing.

It is significant that he draws our attention to how the British imperialism had its initial start in India. He says that the pages of history tell us that the British dominion over India dates from the Battle of Plassey, when Mir Jaffar, the Nawab's minister was bribed, and turned into a traitor. The tricks of the British imperialists need attention.

In his attempt to draw the people's attention to what we can learn from history, he writes on what happened in history and how various happenings were concerned with certain changes in the world. He attaches due importance to liberal thinking of some of the important men and women in history. He reminds us of Akbar's liberty of conscience in religious matters. When Akbar ruled over India, certain very wrong things were happening in Europe. At that time, as Nehru writes, certain freedom of thought was guaranteed to the people. He writes : This was not so in Europe till very recent times and even now there are some disabilities." Speaking about the past history of India, he reminds us of Charaka, the philosopher, who had the freedom to preach atheism. Europe did not have that freedom of thought in ancient times.

It is relevant for us here to notice that Jawaharlal Nehru always had his eye on the progressive aspect of thought and life, and that was why he drew our attention to liberal thinking and the necessity of an adequate freedom of thought.

As a writer of English prose, Jawaharlal Nehru has a great charm for readers. Having shouldered heavy responsibilities as a man of politics, he proved his worth in a field which is considered to be different from that of authorship.

He was a writer of powerful prose and his self confidence in revealing the human truth behind historical events is remarkable. It is in his writings on cultural and philosophical issues that we find him a writer of quite powerful prose. On satyagraha he writes: "Satyagraha was a definite, though non-violent form of

resistance to what was considered wrong. It was in fact a peaceful rebellion, a most civilized form of warfare and yet dangerous to the stability of the state...."

His contribution to the world of letters has been of immense value. He was a historian as well as a scholar. Even as a journalist he proved his great worth by contributing articles. On many occasions even the editorials written by him for "National Herald" show us the journalist in him. In fact all this happened because he was interested in a cause that was of great worth to all mankind.

Among the remarkable books from his pen we have "The Unity of India", "An Autobiography", "Glimpses of World History" and "The Discovery of India". He made a great literary achievement through these books and speeches. Besides these books, "A Bunch of Old Letters" written by him informs us about the important career of his as a statesman. These letters show us how he viewed history and then how he himself took part in making history. In the modern history of India, he has obviously played a very remarkable role. Anyone can guess it from his name being mentioned along with that of M.K. Gandhi.

Being a progressive writer, he believed in action and not in mere theories. All knowledge, according to him, must be verified as well as practised. There are even many mysteries about human life but he does not believe in getting lost into them. The real test of intellect lies in coming out of them and proving the worth of resolving intricate problems that man has to face. He wrote : "It is easy to admire the beauties of the universe and to live in a world of thought and imagination. But to try to escape in this way from the unhappiness of others, caring little what happens to them, is no sign of courage or fellowfeeling. Thought, in order to justify itself, must lead to action."

— *Glimpses of World History*, Vol. II, p. 1503.

Expressing his views on thought and activity, Nehru also wrote:

"This urge to action, this desire to experience life through action, has influenced all my thought and activity. ... The past becomes some thing that leads up to the present, the moment of action, the future something that flows from it; and all three are inextricably intertwined and interrelated."

— *The Discovery of India*, p. 10.

On science in action Nehru sees the close relation between thought and action and the need of planning. He writes :

"Planning is science in action. Planning has to be flexible, it has to be wide awake and alert."

— Speeches (1953-57), p. 165.

Again,

"Planning, in the larger sense, is thus an integrated way of looking at a nation's manifold activities. I do not mean to go in for comparisons but the old Soviet approach to planning was different from ours."

Science has conquered time and space to a great extent. But Nehru's views on the use of science were aimed at making men humble researchers of truth. He did not want that man should become proud only because of his achievements in the field of science. Recalling the contribution made by a great scientist like Einstein, Nehru says that we should not become proud because pride makes man blind and the use of intellect should not come to an end with the little that we have done and the much that is still to be achieved. In this context, he says :

"He takes us back suddenly from this proud age of science to the old philosophers, from the lust of power and the profit motive to the spirit of renunciation with which India has been so familiar."

— The Discovery of India, p. 682.

Nehru was clear that language has its use as a means of communication. Otherwise the rules of grammar and philosophy are likely to make them appear dead subjects. That is why he expresses his views on language :

"A language is something infinitely greater than grammar and philology. It is the poetic treatment of the genius of a race and a culture, and the living embodiment of the thoughts and fancies that have moulded them."

— The Discovery of India, p. 183.

He was also aware that a living language is ever growing and changing. He writes :

"A living language is a throbbing, vital thing, ever changing, ever growing and mirroring the people, who speak and write. It has its roots in the masses, though its superstructure may represent the culture of a few."

— The Unity of India, pp. 242-3.

Nehru's views on Hindi and Urdu make it very clear that he wanted a language that was understandable to majority. Hence he

had faith in the masses who united both Hindi and Urdu. He never favoured an artificial language for literature. He wrote :

The masses must be the common factor between Hindi and Urdu. Most of our present troubles are due to highly artificial literary language cut off from the masses."

— Dorothy Norman : Nehru — *The First Sixty years* Vol. I, p. 526.

Jawaharlal Nehru was convinced that real freedom is impossible as long as there is exploitation. His writings plead the case of the downtrodden and the exploited. In his 'Autobiography' he writes :

"A class that is downtrodden and exploited can never progress inwardly. A nation which is politically and economically subject to another and hedged and circumscribed and exploited can never achieve inner growth. Thus even for inner development external freedom and a suitable environment become necessary."

— *Autobiography*, p. 379.

In his writings, Nehru expressed his progressive and scientific attitude by saying that a handful of truths should be able to generate many more. The handful of ideas that he gave us need to be understood so that we are able to discover new ones too. Reflecting on the middle path of the Buddha, Nehru writes that no truth should be considered to be final:

"Buddha told his disciples what he thought they could understand and live upto. His teaching was not meant to be a full explanation of everything, a complete revelation of all that is.... Then said the Buddha : In like manner I have given you a handful of truths, but besides these there are many thousands of other truths more than can be numbered."

— *The Discovery of India*, pp. 140–41.

As a progressive writer, Jawaharlal Nehru believed in the interlinking of socialism, freedom and happiness of man. About socialism he was always clear, and, throughout his writings we find his views on socialism in the light of bringing it about. He wrote :

"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."

— *India and the World*, pp. 82–3.

Also,

"I must frankly confess that I am a socialist and a republican, and am no believer in kings or princes or in the order which produces the modern kings of industry..."

— *India and the World*, pp. 27–8.

And he was also opposed to the institution of private property that is held as sacred in capitalism:

"Personally I feel that the institution of private property (except in a very restricted sense) gives dangerous power to individuals over society as a whole and is therefore very harmful to society."

— *Autobiography*, p. 543.

He was aware that socialism did not go against the freedom of the individual. On this he wrote :

"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."

— *The Unity of India*, p. 118.

About writers it has been reiterated by many that freedom of expression is the greatest prerogative of a creative writer. Moreover some have claimed that socialism brings about a situation in which a writer does not feel free to express himself. Nehru does not agree with this view and he visualizes that socialism alone can guarantee freedom of expression to a writer. He saw how freedom and happiness of man are inseparable. He wrote :

"The form of government is after all a means to an end: even freedom itself is a means, the end being human well-being, human growth, the ending of poverty and 'disease and suffering, and the opportunity for everyone to live the 'good life' physically and mentally.'

— *India and The World*, p. 4.

As a writer Jawaharlal Nehru enjoys the indisputable reputation of conveying the message that all mankind is one, that peace is the main concern of all right-thinking people, and that it is human welfare and happiness for which a writer and thinker should strive. He himself did this to enable people to adopt a scientific attitude to life, to establish a classless and socialist society and thus, according to him progressivism was the solution to the problems posed by the capitalistic structure of society. Thus as a writer he conveyed the message of progressivism, for which he proved to be a beacon light.

Jawaharlal Nehru : The Visionary and Architect of Modern India

Jawaharlal Nehru had a vision of India becoming truly great standing on the pillars of secularism, democracy and socialism. To materialize his great vision he formulated policies that would make the Indian nation a really strong and unvanquishable power. Putting to a good use the modern scientific inventions, he would like to see the advent of a dawn of creative activity in India. It was thus that India would play her role in the onward march of all mankind.

His policies were therefore aimed at making India modern in every possible way. His role in bringing freedom to the land has been unique. The people fought for freedom from a foreign rule but the leader's contribution is undeniable. In this respect he was both a guide and a teacher. He gave his countrymen a hope, an incentive and a dedication.

In him there was a meeting of both the East and the West. The freedom struggle led by him in India was a source of inspiration for the various nations of Asia and Africa. What he did for India in creating a great democracy can never be forgotten. When at present the world is fighting for peace, the beginning made by Nehru will go a long way in achieving this goal.

Jawaharlal Nehru always reminded the people that India had reasons to be proud of her history. To make freedom meaningful he conjured up a picture of a strong, industrialized nation. Before India achieved her independence, he even gave a serious thought to the problems that an independent country could face. He had a clear planning as to what would be done to make a good beginning. For example, some fifteen years before India achieved

freedom, he wrote the outlines of its democratic constitution in the year 1931.

Seeing the size of India that had a huge population and a poor economic base to start with, he as the first Prime Minister of India had to find solutions to immense problems.

The very first problem that India had to face was migration and bloodshed. Millions of people changed their countries and suffered a loss of lives and property. Later, China imposed a war on India though Nehru's success consisted in keeping India away from war until she was forced to fight the war. The Chinese invasion made it necessary for India to strengthen herself militarily. Both Russia and the Western powers stretched their hands of cooperation to India, and Nehru's success is seen in his being able to get aid from both sides.

As a writer, Jawaharlal Nehru's contribution to English prose style as well as history will always be remembered as great and distinct. He regarded writing as one of the most satisfying creative arts. Writing enabled him to gain discipline of mind. To put thoughts in a proper sequence and to connect them creatively are the two very important functions that a writer has to perform and Nehru did it remarkably well.

He used language as a vehicle of persuasion as well as in the matter of intellectual exploration and discovery. He wrote with sensitivity and grace, and at the same time in the most detached manner.

The books that he wrote in the jail prove that he was an intellectual leader of the fight for the freedom of India. The letters from a father to his daughter were his letters to Indira. Later these letters were published under the title *Glimpses of World History*. These letters were very much like lessons in the history of the world and covered quite a wide range of subjects. These proved to be a source of information that equipped young Indira with a command over the mechanism of history. That later enabled her to hold the reins of the great democracy that India exemplifies.

His statement written as a will shows us that he had spiritual feelings about India and her people. "I have been attached to the Ganges and Jumna rivers in Allahabad ever since my childhood," he wrote in his will. Also, "the Ganges reminds me of the snowcovered peaks and the deep valleys of the Himalayas... the Ganges has been to me a symbol and a memory of the past of

India, running into the present, and flowing on to the great ocean of the future.”

About decisions to be taken in the field of international affairs, he believed that things should be done on a high moral plane and not on a level of narrow national interest alone. He was not and could really not be free from the pressures of international politics and national interest. His policies sometimes appeared to be upholding the principle of self-righteousness. Thus a few inner contradictions were seen in his policies but these are unavoidable in statesmen.

His international outlook had much to do with his being a man of the modern time. He wanted to see India modernized for which he wished to utilize science in all possible ways. Industry was one useful means to modernize India, to enable her to keep pace with the advanced nations. Hence modernization was the key-note of his policies and programmes.

Even his aim to keep India united was based on the harmony that the Indian people could realize in their day-to-day life. He knew that India has many languages, religions and castes but as a man of the modern times he did not tolerate any disunity or disharmony among the people. It is fundamental to economic progress to undo the divisive forces of language, region and caste.

To this end in view he would emphasize upon secularism, national integration and socialistic pattern of society. His secularism meant that there would be no religious fanaticism and people would be free to worship or not to worship God as they pleased. He addressed Hindus to put their arms around their Muslim brothers, Christian brothers, Buddhist brothers and this advice he would give even to those who were not Hindus. This shows that the concept of establishing a political democratic tradition was very clear in his mind. It was in this way that he wanted to initiate an unprecedented programme of economic development. He sought to improve the life of all citizen of India.

Just as he wanted to make India a truly united democratic force, he also wished to see the whole world united as one family of independent nations. In this regard he emerged as a leader of the whole world. He saw that the world was coming under the shadow of nuclear weapons and the world seemed to be tensely divided on trivial issues. He taught the world to exercise patience and hope,

and also try to unite various nations with an open mind and a will to cooperate.

His strong support to the United Nations Organization was a pointer to his desire to solve tensions wherever they existed in the international arena. He declared again and again that the end of colonialism was a pre-requisite for a peaceful world. He believed that for world peace it was necessary for all nations to get opportunities for economic and social development. It was obvious that the developing nations needed such programmes urgently. He realised that the United Nations provided the forum in which the voices of the colonial peoples could be heard. The U.N. could help to initiate plan, finance and administer the intensive economic development efforts which were then arousing man's hopes in the newly awakening countries. These broader implications were very clear to his mind.

With world peace in his view as an essential purpose before mankind with which to begin any programme of construction, he advocated the need for disarmament and arms control. He declared that India was prepared to use atomic energy only for peaceful purposes even when Indian technology was in a position to manufacture nuclear weapons. He welcomed the nuclear test ban agreement which the United States of America concluded with Great Britain and the Soviet Union. The aim of Jawaharlal Nehru was evidently to secure social justice in the world.

What he wrote towards the end of his book, *The Discovery of India*, points to the urgency about his message to the younger generation. He said :

"We have a long way to go and much leeway to make up before we can take our proper station with others in the van of human civilization and progress.... It was India's way in the past to welcome and absorb other cultures. That is much more necessary today, for we march to the one world of tomorrow where national cultures will be intermingled with the international culture of the human race."

He was conscious of how troubled the world and the people of his generation were. He said that in any case the burden will one day fall on the shoulders of the next generation. It is remarkable here that in great moments of history, Jawaharlal Nehru showed the way and he did it in the most human way.

Jawaharlal Nehru's philosophy of humanism was evident from

his compassion for the oppressed and the poor. He never shirked responsibility and he believed in the ideals of freedom, peace and democracy. Moreover he expressed his attitude with a great frankness and this also showed the human side of his character. He wanted to attain dignity for the enslaved nations throughout the world. It was the humane aspect of socialism that appealed to him very much.

He did not believe in mere dogma or theory. His humanism consisted in his belief in the change of heart of the people and he did not want to use any force or coercion. The battle that he fought for the freedom of India was inseparable from the war that he wanted to fight to bring about social security and justice in the whole world.

His humanism is reflected in every activity that he undertook. This is seen in his purposefulness because he wanted peace and freedom to prevail. His anti-war attitude is to be seen in his statement : "All our dreams of a future new India will collapse if the war breaks out in our tormented-with-problems world".

In his humanism and his decision to work for world peace he was influenced by the great Russian leader Lenin. In his "*Discovery of India*", he wrote:

"In our days, for most of the famous British statesmen Lenin is a monster and devil, but millions of people look at him as a saviour and the greatest man of this epoch".

Nehru was highly impressed by the experience of the socialist construction in U.S.S.R. About the steel plant at Bhilai, he remarked that it was the "symbol and picture of future India", and in this he expressed his sense of appreciation of the role Russia was playing in the development of India.

Nehru considered Russia to be a bulwark of support for the struggle against colonialism, racism and imperialism. He understood the importance of friendship between India and the U.S.S.R. Russia, as he saw, had presented an example not only of how to overcome backwardness and poverty, but also saw in the Russian model a solution to the problems of education, health and unemployment.

His conviction in the victory of socialism indicates what regard he had for the policies of the U.S.S.R. He wrote : "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 and economic sense." It was only in socialism that he saw solutions to all the serious problems that India was and has been facing. He saw Russia as a fighter against imperialism. In 1940 he had warned the people to be careful about the wrong propaganda done against the Soviets. It was in this light that Nehru was with Russia even in the latter's fight against Hitler's Fascism. In October 1945, he said, "At San Francisco the Soviet Union took the lead in championing independence for subject countries, but other powers fought shy of it...." The cooperation between the two countries has withstood the test of time and it will continue because of the identity of goals of the two countries.

Even before Nehru died, he emphasized upon the friendship and treaty between Russia and India because he saw them as friends who put their faith in equality, freedom and sovereignty. Nehru's opposition to colonialism, enslavement and exploitation was a great message that would bring about emancipation all over the world.

Nehru : The Torch-Bearer of Indo-Soviet Rapport and Amity

Jawaharlal Nehru's opposition to Imperialism and Fascism are the points of strength that have been incorporated into the foreign policy of India. As he observed Fascism was only the ugliest form of Imperialism, which were evils against which both India and the U.S.S.R. had identical views as to the need of abolition of these curses to mankind.

Jawaharlal Nehru's fight against the evils of Fascism and racialism brought him closer to the hearts of the people of the Soviet Union. That is why Jawaharlal Nehru enjoys a great respect all over Russia. He is loved and admired by the people since they know how he had been championing the cause of anti-Fascism and colonialism. The two countries hold identical views as to the goal of uprooting expansionism and oppression. These ideals have been strengthening the bonds of friendship between India and the Soviet Union.

Jawaharlal Nehru has always been emphasizing upon India's friendship with the U.S.S.R. Even before the October Revolution of 1917, he had studied how the views of Marx were being pursued and applied by the leaders of Russia then leading the workers and peasants of their country.

In 1927 he went to Russia and again he admired the great achievements made there. Employment had been guaranteed and unemployment had been abolished. The standard of living had been rising with the passage of time. Proper planning was done and implemented through five-year plans.

He believed in having strong bonds of friendship with the great socialist country to have made history in the world. As such he

represented the wishes of the people of India. The people were wise enough to understand what friendship between India and Russia could mean.

The people of Russia also understand the role Jawaharlal Nehru played in stressing upon the bonds of friendship between the two countries. In his speeches and writings he always expressed his admiration for the works of both Marx and Lenin. On Lenin in particular he recalled on more than one occasion what part he had played in making the October Revolution of 1917 successful in Russia.

He called Lenin a genius of revolution. He wrote that Lenin's importance and value were increasing with the passage of time. History was realising the importance of a leader who had led Russia in bringing about the end of tsardom and freedom for the people.

Jawaharlal Nehru realised how great a turn in history was introduced by the October Revolution of 1917. The Revolution laid the foundation for a new civilization to flourish. Russia became a stronghold against reaction throughout the world. He understood how an attitude of this type against reaction was also a great onslaught on ignorance and superstition.

That is why even when the Second World War started, he knew how Russia was a great dependable force against the German fascism. The U.S.S.R. was on the side of progressive forces and the destiny of mankind was at stake. The Soviet people fought against Hitler's fascism and the great resistance put up by the U.S.S.R. against the forces of reaction and obscurantism was possible only because Russia was fighting in the cause of freedom and progress of the people of the whole world.

India was then fighting against the foreign rule of Britishers. The national struggle of India needed inspiration and courage. The October Revolution of 1917 gave sufficient encouragement to the national leaders of India leading the people's struggle for freedom.

Jawaharlal Nehru rightly hoped that the Soviet victory against Hitler and fascists would create a favourable situation for India to gain independence. Therefore it was necessary for the Soviet forces to come out victorious. The U.S.S.R. was a great ally of India against colonialism. To overcome backwardness and poverty in India, it was essential for us to see that the forces of anti-colonialism represented by Russia were victorious.

All the problems of poverty and lack of education in India could have been tackled properly when the people of India would get an opportunity to work for reconstruction. The first need was freedom, i.e., power to the people of India. He understood and declared that India could win freedom only when the forces of progress represented by Russia won the war.

Throughout his life, Jawaharlal remained a champion of friendship between India and Russia. In the late 1920's he said that India could not afford to remain indifferent to Russia because Russia was the best friend of backward countries like India. Besides India, there were a few other countries also which were fighting for their freedom from colonialism. He realised what role Russia was playing.

He drew a great strength from the friendship between the two countries. In the early nineteen-sixties too he recalled and declared that Russia had to play a great part in giving cooperation to the so-called developing nations.

Therefore his contribution to this friendship should be realised and we should still justify our being close friends to Russia by following the policies which are immensely beneficial to India. The ideas and achievements made by the U.S.S.R. are great lessons for India and Jawaharlal Nehru always taught that the people of India could bring about changes similar to those in Russia. The emphasis was on the similarity of the ideals and necessities of both the countries. Russia both, before the Revolution and after the Revolution had great lessons to teach us.

When Nehru visited Russia he was greatly impressed by whatever Russia had achieved after the Revolution. He wrote a series of articles on his impressions of Russia. These made a great impact on the patriots and freedom fighters. In his speeches and writings he has touched upon every aspect of life in the Soviet Union. These emphasize upon friendship between the two.

His second visit to Russia took place in 1955, by which time India had gained power from her foreign rulers. Nehru was the Prime Minister of India and as such he had to see how the Soviet experience could be of value and use to India. From this point of view he observed what had been taking place during 1917 and 1955. This time the achievements noticed by him were still greater. These were going to be sources of inspiration for the people of India. He saw the various facets of life in Russia and drew his lessons.

The opinions of the two countries coincided on all the problems of the world. He gave a statement in which he said that the friendship between the two countries was immensely important. The foreign policies of the two countries were framed keeping in view similar ideals and goals of bringing about peace in the world. No freedom, he said, could stay long without peace, and for the sake of freedom, peace and progress it was necessary for both the countries to consolidate their friendship.

In 1961, he visited the U.S.S.R. for the third time. His aim was still to strengthen the friendship held dear by both the countries. Friendship and cooperation had still to be promoted. Jawaharlal Nehru again issued a statement. The joint communique issued jointly by Russia and India emphasized upon promoting friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

The Indian press called Nehru's visit to the U.S.S.R. a mission of peace and friendship. Indeed all his visits to Russia had been missions of peace, friendship and cooperation. The people of the U.S.S.R. too have always been eager to know about the contributions made towards this friendship by Jawaharlal Nehru.

All the well-known books written by him have been translated into Russian. Some of his speeches and writings were included in a book entitled "India's Foreign Policy".

Many prominent writers and artists of Russia wrote about the contribution made by Jawaharlal Nehru. They have all praised him for the great role played by him in strengthening the bonds of friendship between India and Russia. The foreign policies of both the countries are an evidence of this.

In the U.S.S.R., many exhibitions have been organised from time to time to emphasize upon the life, personality and achievements made by Jawaharlal Nehru. Many public meetings have also been held to enable the people to know about him and his contribution.

Scientists and cultural workers both in Russia and India have been given prizes after the name of Jawaharlal Nehru. These are known as Jawaharlal Nehru Awards and these are given to prominent figures who make some significant contribution to the development of science and culture as also to the friendship between India and the Soviet Union.

Social scientists of Russia attached a great importance to Jawaharlal Nehru and his writings. A book entitled "World

outlook of Jawaharlal Nehru" was published by the Institute of Oriental Studies of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. Nehru's humanistic and democratic ideals have been highly appreciated by the social scientists of the Soviet Union. They have emphasized upon the significance of the study of the thoughts of Jawaharlal Nehru in connection with the close friendship between India and the Soviet Union.

The architect of the foreign policy of India was Jawaharlal Nehru himself. Later, the treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and India was also based on the principles of peace and co-existence. Both the countries, therefore, have mutual respect and confidence. Mutual trust and co-operation have kept the Indo-Soviet friendship intact. The present foreign policy also derives its form and spirit from the friendship between the two countries. Thus the role of this great torchbearer in strengthening the bonds of mutual cooperation and friendship have won him universal acclaim.

Nehru : The Champion of Afro-Asian Liberation

After India's independence, in 1949, came a period when India was in a position to raise her independent voice in favour of political, social and economic freedom, not only for herself but for all nations of Asia and Africa. Jawaharlal Nehru championed the cause of liberation of the enslaved nations of Asia and Africa. He believed that sovereignty of an independent nation must be respected at all costs. Nehru's care for international issues was reflected in India's foreign policy formulated by him. Much before independence he had enunciated the would-be foreign policy of India from the platform of the annual sessions of All-India National Congress. The nations of Asia and Africa were the most oppressed ones and foreign imperialisms had seen these two continents as their main source of wealth and prosperity.

In making a constitution of free India, moral principles and high ideals were kept in view. While studying the constitutions of other free nations, it was realized by the drafters of the Indian constitution that people have certain inalienable rights like the rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Therefore the Indian constitution aims at securing justice, social, economic and political to all citizens of India.

The same principle of granting freedom of the individual, the equality of men and the rule of law was followed even in regard to the foreign policy of India. The objectives of the foreign policy of India are the preservation of world peace and enlargement of human freedom.

Before the countries of Asia gained freedom, they were ruled by European powers. India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma were

part of the British empire. Similarly France, Holland and Portugal had also their colonies in Asia. Then the whole of Asia saw the rising tide of nationalism and love of independence, and the Western Empires in Asia had to crumble down. Indonesia also became independent later. Indo-China got freedom from their French rulers. African countries too were fighting for their freedom from their foreign rulers.

Thus it was a time when Asia and Africa were shaking off their torpor. All this was bound to come because the world cannot long maintain peace if half of it is enslaved and despised. Peace is possible only when different nations gain their independence from foreign rulers. To secure peace, we must get rid of political subjection, racial inequality and economic disparity.

Jawaharlal Nehru had rightly anti-colonial and anti-imperial sentiments. The long and protracted struggle of the Asian nations against foreign imperialism and colonial policies had aroused Asian consciousness. The various nations in the big continent feel bound together in the bonds of unity because all of them had the common interest of gaining freedom and then struggling for their independence brought them closer and closer.

It also accounts for the fact why Asia as a whole does not want to accept military or economic aid from foreign lands. It was not an easy task to buy the loyalty of a free nation. In South-Asian countries, the socialist movement has been a part of the movement for national independence.

Thus as Nehru saw a close relation between freedom struggles and the struggle to bring about peace and democracy, we find the two big continents of Asia and Africa fighting for these very aims.

Asia was becoming dynamic and the people everywhere were eager to progress and raise the economic standards of the masses. To understand the importance of the great awakening of Asia, we must have a friendly and understanding approach. The colossal expenditure of energy and money on war weapons does not in the least solve the problem of world peace.

Jawaharlal Nehru realised that Asia was going to play a fairly important part in world affairs. Every political happening in Asia has a tremendous significance to the whole world. India's national awakening has also to be viewed in this context. The people of India fought against the British imperialism and without any arms.

Asia was rightly feeling like a geographical unit. It also happened because all of Asia had become the colonial domain of various European powers. Different countries of Asia can unite and cooperate among themselves because they have been fighting similar struggles for freedom and hence have begun to feel united. Otherwise there are many points of diversity among them. There can be seen vast differences in the ways of living of China and Western Asia, for example various countries represent different cultural, historical and other backgrounds. Similarly, we can view the problems of the Far Eastern Region, the Middle Eastern Region, Arabia, Iran and Iraq separately.

It has been wisely realised that no country of Asia can afford to remain in isolation. The geography as well as the history of Asian countries brings all of them closer to one another. India, as Jawaharlal Nehru pointed out, was bound to play a pivotal role in bringing about unity in Asia. It is very clear when we try to understand the problems of Southern, Western and South Eastern Asia.

Those who have read the history of Asia know that it is quite a long history. During the greater part of these thousands of years, Asia has always played an important role in determining the direction of changes taking place throughout the world. It was only during the last two hundred years or so that Asia fell under the domination of other vigorous and dynamic countries from Europe or the West.

Asia was industrially and economically backward in comparison to the West. But the modern awakening of Asia, in which Nehru has played a prominent role, has convinced us that in future it is Asia that will play a greater part in determining the direction of political changes in the world.

Jawaharlal Nehru's policy of anti-colonialism was responsible for his great interest in the problems of the various countries of Asia and Africa. He called the first Asian Relations Conference in March — April 1947, and raised his voice against colonialism. In January 1949, again he had to call a Second Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi. This time the emphasis was on creating public opinion against Dutch Colonial policy in Indonesia. Nineteen countries, including Australia and New Zealand, were invited to this conference.

In 1955 was held the Bandung Afro-Asia Conference. It was

then that Jawaharlal Nehru said : "I think there is nothing more terrible than the infinite tragedy of Africa in the past few hundred years." The humanist in Nehru had revolted against racialism. In his closing speech at Bandung he had even to speak against the self-pity that some of the delegates had experienced. He urged the delegates to remember that people who had been under colonial regimes had normally fallen under them because of some of their own faults. He said :

"We mean no ill to anybody. We send our greetings to Europe and America. We send our greetings to Australia and New Zealand. And indeed Australia and New Zealand are almost in our region. They certainly do not belong to Europe, much less to America. They are next to us and I should like Australia and New Zealand to come nearer to Asia."

Nehru's attitude to the cold war between West and East was based mainly on a concern to safeguard peace in the world. India's contribution towards peace in Korea was also remarkable and it was Nehru's foreign policy that led India to do what it could in this connection.

Jawaharlal Nehru understood well that the social, economic and political problems of Asia and Africa were similar and urgent in many ways. Therefore it was wise on his part to forge a unity of Afro-Asian countries in the context of current world developments. In terms of territory, population and natural resources, the developing countries account for the largest part of the world economy. As members of the U.N. too Africa and Asia play an important role in the choice of solutions to the global problems on the whole.

During the period 1950-1980, most of the developing countries had won political independence and ceased to be colonies of the major imperialist powers. Jawaharlal Nehru had been in favour of independence from colonial regimes of these countries and some of the countries could gain independence only after his death. But we would even then remember that his wish to see them independent and united was fulfilled after all.

Even when countries in Asia and Africa had gained political freedom, they had to make efforts to gain economic independence too. It is surprising that the worst socio-economic backwardness in the world is in evidence on the African continent, and all this has been there only because of neo-colonialism of the foreign imperialist powers.

In 1960, the tensions in the world were felt in Congo in Africa. Congo attained independence from the Belgians on June 30, 1960. Obviously the Belgians had never cared to help Congo in its development. Even after its independence, the Belgians tried to create trouble for Congo. In Katanga, which is a southern part of Congo, they encouraged Moise Tshombe to proclaim the independence of Katanga. Patrice Lumumba, the Prime Minister of Congo, appealed for military assistance to both the United States and the Soviet Union in maintaining law and order. Help was also demanded from Ghana. The Secretary-General of the United Nations secured Security Council's sanction for intervention by the United Nations. Jawaharlal Nehru welcomed this decision of the United Nations and he spoke of the wisdom and vision shown by the Secretary-General. As a token support from India, non-combatant troops were sent as requested for distribution of supplies, for signalling duties and for running a hospital. Later, India provided more troops than any other country for the operation to end the secession of Katanga. The conflict between India and China created some difficulties. Yet, Indian troops completed the task of bringing the whole country under the control of its Central government before March 1963.

From this it becomes clear that Jawaharlal Nehru believed that newly-independent countries should be given all possible aid to enable them to consolidate their independence.

The astounding revolution that had started taking place in Africa was an evidence of the fact that very soon an end to colonialism was not far in sight. Therefore, when need arose, it was a duty of India to help the Congo to stand on its own feet as a united and independent country.

Thus the humanist liberal tradition of Jawaharlal Nehru became a very important factor behind his policy of uniting the Afro-Asian peoples. In the nineteenth century, imperialist powers grabbed certain parts of Africa like their property. For example, Somaliland was divided into British Somaliland, French Somaliland and Italian Somaliland. It seemed as if the Somalis had no individuality of their own. The same thing applies in other parts of Africa.

But the awakening that took place later was the result of the freedom struggles fought in various parts of Africa. The basic outlook of India is maintaining peace and India believes in solving

conflicts by peaceful methods. India wants cooperation with all countries of Africa and the fact is that Africa is sure to work for peace because it contains countries which have won freedom from imperialism, which binds such newly freed countries with India.

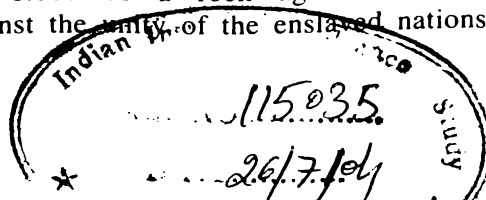
Jawaharlal Nehru had first shown his interest in international relations at the conference of the League against Imperialism in Brussels in February 1927. Very soon after that he had realized that India, as a colony of British imperialism, was a strong base of imperialism and any disturbance of the imperialist hold on India was bound to have far-reaching consequences in world affairs. It was also going to be an impetus to the freedom movements of the other colonial countries of Asia and Africa. Later, all these expectations proved to be true.

Nehru persuaded the Indian National Congress to adopt a resolution condemning the Japanese invasion on China. During the Second World War again, with the declaration of war by Britain on Nazi Germany, Nehru saw the link of the Indian freedom struggle with the struggle against Fascism and Imperialism.

After the destruction of Fascism in Germany and Italy and the defeat of Imperial Japan, he pressed with greater force, India's claim for independence. In his speech at the Asian Relations Conference in March 1947, he said that in the Second World War there was battle between two ideologies and after the war the situation became very important for India and the whole of Asia.

Therefore, after the Second World War, Nehru became more confident of the victory of Asians in the battle of their emancipation. This very outlook of his became applicable to Africa. His faith in the vitality of Asian power was not shaken even by the 1962 invasion of China on India. He also knew that India was the pivot of Western, Southern and South-East Asia.

Nehru found Africa awakening like Asia against imperialistic policies of neo-colonialism. Thus he was able to give a lead to both Asia and Africa. Everywhere it was a struggle for freedom, democracy and socialism. He stood firmly against all those values of life that did not allow man to wage a war against poverty and backwardness. As a torch-bearer to the exploited masses of Asia and Africa he stood as a rock against the onslaughts of imperialism against the unity of the enslaved nations of the two continents.



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