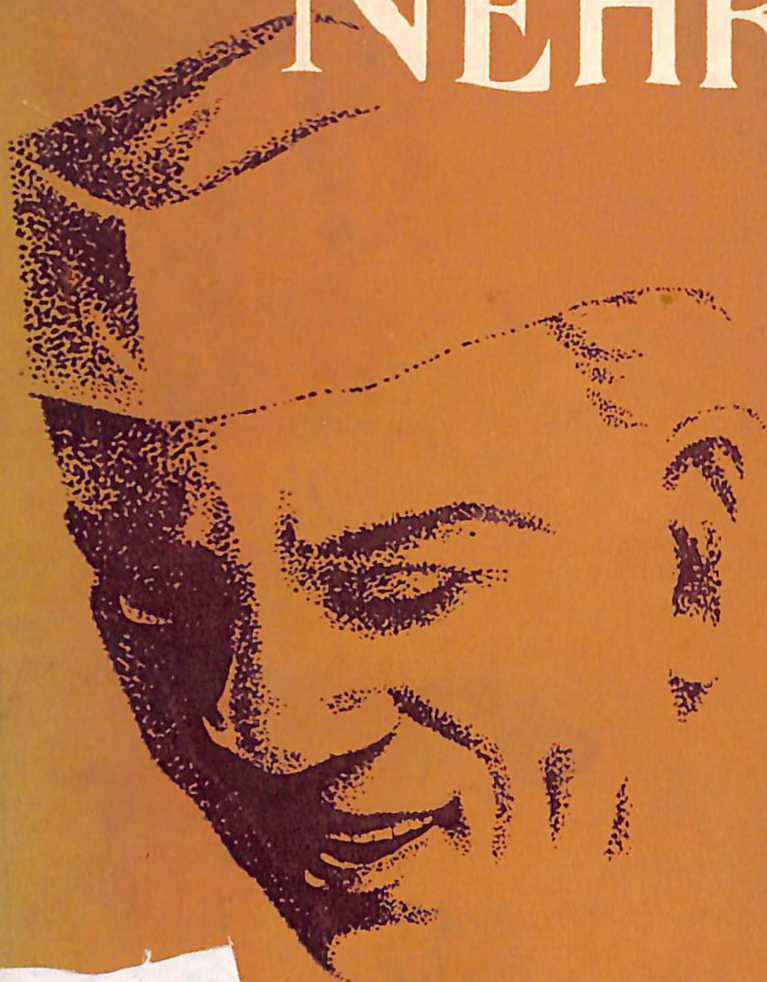


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JAWAHAR LAL

NEHRU



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L. N. SARIN



L. N. Sarin

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Mr. L. N. Sarin has recently written three books. The present book is the fourth of the series. The Pioneer, while reviewing the political biography of Sri Chanderbhanu Gupta said that "Mr. Sarin writes with courage and independence" and "has developed a char-

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by
L. N. SARIN

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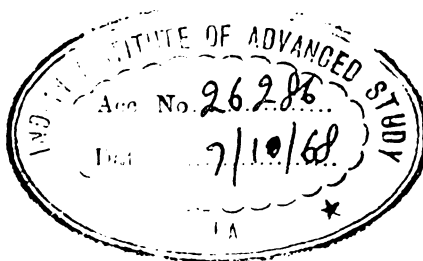
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PREFACE

Several years ago I read D. F. Karaka's book "The Lotus Eater of Kashmir". The book, at places, left a bad taste in mouth and the author in the sum-total was less than fair to Jawahar Lal Nehru. Ram Manohar Lohia in his book "Guilty men of India's Partition" was more than unfair to Nehru. A study of these books prompted me to attempt in this small volume an assessment of Nehru's personality without any claim either to close intimacy with my subject or an exhaustive knowledge of the literature available on it.

Considerable amount of literature is already available on him and as his personality continued growing till the end, new books on his life, its achievements and failures, would be forthcoming from time to time. The theme Nehru will always remain an instructive object of study to the writers who attempt to analyse his many-splendoured personality as in the words of Walter Crocker "Nehru was that very rare person, the clever man wielding power who remained good".

Jawahar Lal Nehru's political career can be divided into two parts—one before India's freedom, the other after her independence. Each gave him a different role to play, but they were both periods of struggle. A cell in jail and apartments in the Prime Minister's residence did not change the personal equation of the man. If to wipe out tears from every face was his dream behind the prison bars, the

same desire grew into an ambition when the jail gates opened in obeisance to pay homage to an old inmate!

Nehru made many mistakes. He miscalculated, he misjudged and on occasions he considered that his geese were swans. Where his premises grew out of pure idealism, his conclusions remained illogical. Where he inclined on logic of words, logic of reality did not always help him. But he never betrayed his ideals and never rested on his oars. Therein lay the greatness of the man! Freedom and happiness of his countrymen were his two absorbing concerns and success in one gave him an opportunity to work and secure the success of the other. Political freedom made it possible to think in terms of social and economic freedoms. At the Jaipur session of the All India Congress Committee he said in 1963 that "Socialism is the inevitable outcome of democracy. Political democracy has no meaning if it does not embrace economic democracy. And economic democracy is nothing but Socialism".

The task of reconstruction of the stagnant economy of a country, decimated and crippled by internal differences and external intrigues, is more difficult and exacting than fighting a foreign power for political freedom. Encrusted local prejudices and vested interests cannot be curbed without creating internal rifts and resentment. If they are not reconciled or disarmed by mutual understanding they harden and retaliate and with their hidden but active economic strength they weaken the national will for reconstruction of a new social order. A fight against foreign government consolidates a people. Their resolve increases like a snowball as it covers one milestone after another towards the goal. The enemy within is always more resisting and intractable than the opponent without.

A reliable approach to Nehru's personality can be made through his "Autobiography" which is an authentic record of his life and political activities up to the year of its publication. "The Discovery of India" reveals his personality in subsequent years but a new chapter opened in his life with termination of the British Rule on August 15, 1947 and neither the "Autobiography" nor "The Discovery of India" covers the period when he was called upon to guide India to rediscover itself.

Nehru lacked De Gaulle's ego. He did not possess De Valera's "extreme seriousness of mind". He was deficient in Winston Churchill's intellectual pertinacity. Notwithstanding a capacious mind Nehru could not claim the swiftness of the mind of David Lloyd George. But he had his own traits, his own qualities and his own approach to the problems of life that marked him out a man of destiny. It was not for nothing that Alberto Moravia, the famous Italian novelist, said that with Nehru's death India entered a prose epoch. His greatness instinctively revealed near the bier of the dead Mahatma, when stooping on his knees, he kissed his leader's feet who in the words of Ranjee Shahani "had signed him with the seal of undying trust".

Nehru formed a bridge between the East and the West. He narrowed the gap between liberal democracy and democratic socialism and he paved the way for an understanding between the old colonial powers and their newly liberated colonies. The World, he said, "needs a new dimension of the mind to tackle the problems of tremendous technological advancement" but he emphasised that "new dimension should be ethical rather political as without an ethical approach the development of true civilization was not easy—notwithstanding the progress of history."

Communism and capitalism, stripped of irrelevant and superfluous rigidities, do not make hostile forces rejecting out of hand the philosophy of co-existence. Nehru's main contribution to the political thinking of his time was an attempt at creating the circumstances in which the two different ideologies could shake off old distrust and understand the imperative need of co-existence. It is easy, he said, "to criticise the capitalist world or the Communist world, but both have great virtues if they have also many failings, and both tend to move in the same direction in spite of their inner conflicts and both are governed by the advance of Science and Technology. The only course open is for us to accept the world as it is and develop toleration for each other.... There is no reason why toleration should also not grow up between rival economic and social theories. Ultimately the facts of life will decide and influence both. It should be open to each country to develop in its own way, learning from others and not being imposed on by them. In this way, each ideology will influence the other and be influenced by it".

Nehru stood for peace but it was not a defunct peace. It was at once a purposeful and creative peace. It aimed at unity in diversity. "Our task", he said, "is the preservation of peace and indeed our civilization. To this task let us bend our energies and find fellowship and strength in each other". Peace as contemplated by Nehru aimed at greater and more enduring victories than the victories of War. He did not approach the question of peace through renunciatory methods. As Professor Atrey said, "what is needed is an honourable, dynamic and creative peace which instead of destroying will build. It will have its war department too, to provide the thrill, and joys of war to those who having

tasted them want them again. It will send them to the great front which it should organise against poverty, unemployment, disease, illiteracy, exploitation, repression and injustice. To inspire human beings the idea of peace must be richer in content than that of war”.

China attacked India and destroyed unilaterally the spirit of the famous five principles of peace. Shocked and pained Nehru bravely preserved his faith in peace and was not provoked to retaliate. The aggression exposed the Machiavellian background of China's international policy where solemn assurances of friendship were deceptive smoke-screens to hide expansionist designs. But even in distressing disillusionment Nehru did not shirk the heavy burden of the defence of the country and before the aggression consolidated for a bigger offensive the world opinion, except a churlish and malevolent neighbour, veered round to India to help her to fight back an unprovoked attack. That made China cautious. The advance halted and unilateral withdrawal followed. The policy of non-alignment sublimating in one of the most purposeful and romantic paradoxes aligned India to all peace-loving nations of the world. The aggressor was isolated.

Nehru tried to make India plan-minded and insisted on planned economy to create a social conscience. The Plans, however, failed to revolutionise the social outlook. Neither industry nor agriculture made remarkable progress, although some progress was registered under both heads. They undeniably showed the direction of the destination. “Upon close observation”, remarked Chester Bowles, “Nehru's concept of mixed economy and welfare state turns out to be hardly more radical than the economic programme of Winston Churchill's conservative Government in Eng-

land". The argument was weakened by an obvious fallacy. Nehru conceived India's mixed economy with a clear understanding that the time when the rich must suffer had arrived. It was their turn. In one case the idea was to preserve the vested interests in a modified form; in the other the aim was their gradual erosion and final extinction. The allegation that Nehru wanted "Socialisation of the vacuum" leaving the Private Sector unaffected was a half-truth. The peculiar problems of India keeping in view her democratic and secular philosophy of politics could not be solved overnight without gradual change in the mental make-up of its heterogeneous and tradition-ridden people. Democratic methods do not gallop; they at best trot. The art of conversion is more difficult and arduous than the policy of coercion. Julian Huxley correctly said that "It is a general rule, so general that we may almost call it a law of history that threatened interests and institutions defend themselves with increasing vigour until a very late stage in the process of their decay or supersession". Nehru's idea of socialism was that every individual in the State should have equal opportunities of progress. Experience forced him not to ignore the realities of life and set aside stern facts but to utilize them for steady progress.

Nehru's place in the history of India is unique. Sometimes indecisive, often reflecting, on occasions ambivalent and emotional but always well-meaning and earnest, he was a reformer, a builder, a preserver, a designer and an intellectual revolutionary rolled into one. He was a symbol of renascent India and an ambassador of awakening in Asia. Tagore paid him a high tribute when he said, "he is a person greater than his deeds and truer than his surroundings".

Nehru never sought power to gratify private ambition.

He sought it to build a new India and to check the growth of retrograde pressures of reaction that he knew could not be resisted without substance of power in progressive hands; "I have loved India and sought to serve her", he said, "not because of her geographical magnitude, not even because she was great in the past but because of my faith in her today and my belief that she will stand for truth and freedom and the higher things of life". It was a rare distinction that wielding enormous power he remained a good man. The **Statesman** wrote that "Nehru has this of god-like in him, he inspires both hope and trust". Tribute paid by Spurgeon to Gladstone comes to mind that "We believe in no man's infallibility, but it is restful to be sure of one man's integrity".

Lucknow

L. N. SARIN

1968

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EARLY CAREER

Jawahar Lal Nehru was born in the purple and an education patterned on Western model fitted him for an aristocratic role. Moti Lal Nehru wanted his son to preserve his own prominence of the legal profession and make a mark at the bar. History records many instances where examples of fathers helped to mould the careers of their sons and where in course of time the sons improved on the traditions of their fathers. The family records of Pitts, Chamberlains and Churchills are some of the many instances in point. But in the case of Nehru the son worked a transformation in the life of the father and converted a constitutional arm-chair politician into an active resister of the civil authority of the British Government. Moti Lal suffered the hardships of the prison life not because jail-going had any significance to him but father's place, when the son suffered in a noble cause, was not away from him but near him even in a prison cell!

Asked to describe Moti Lal's greatest quality Mahatma Gandhi said "Love of his son". "Was it not love of India?", the Mahatma was asked. "No", he replied, "Moti Lal's love for India was derived from his love of Jawahar Lal Nehru".

The political partnership between father and son, notwithstanding their different personal equations, remained intact until its dissolution in 1930 when Moti Lal died. A

friend of the Nehru family said that the difference in the approach of the father and son to their surroundings was that "while Moti Lal sat still and expected the world to come to him, Jawahar Lal was always running about going to see people himself". For ten years before his death Moti Lal was the brain of the Indian National Congress. "He combined", wrote C. Y. Chintamani, "the habit of methodical work with keen intellectual power and one pointed purpose". He was, however, unwilling to "dash out full steam ahead on uncharted seas". "Pure idealism", he once said, "completely divorced from realities has no place in politics and is but a happy dream which must sooner or later end in rude awakening. However high pitched the ideal may be, the actual work to be done in the pursuit of that ideal must be guided solely by practical consideration". But Jawahar Lal Nehru was reluctant to dilute idealism and combine it with realism until he was in office as Prime Minister of India. "Success", he said "comes to those who dare and act, it seldom goes to the timid who are afraid of the consequences. We play for high stakes, and if we seek to achieve great things it can only be through great dangers".

On Moti Lal's death Jawahar Lal Nehru moved closer to Mahatma Gandhi and swore him eternal loyalty. It was Mahatma's personality that exercised tremendous power over Nehru's soul. Greatest Indian since Buddha, the Mahatma's strength were the high values of life, his constancy and persistency with which he pursued them!

"Mahatma Gandhi", wrote Nehru in the 'Reflections on the Personality and Teachings of Gandhi', "under whose inspiration and sheltering care I grew up, always laid stress on moral values and warned us never to subordinate means

to ends. We were not worthy of him and yet, to the best of our ability, we tried to follow his teachings. Even the limited extent to which we could follow his teachings yielded rich results”.

The future Prime Minister of India like many eminent Prime Ministers of other countries gave no early indications of the distinguished future that lay ahead! Readers of the biography of Winston Churchill know that “he was the bottom boy in his class at Harrow and failed three times in entrance examination for Sandhurst before passing finally after merciless cramming”. To what eminence he subsequently rose we all know! “Men”, said Samuel Smiles, “are like plants; many of them flower late. The plants that flower the soonest are often the most evanescent”.

Jawahar Lal Nehru was an average student with no scholastic distinctions to his credit. He learnt more from life than from books but close study of Marx and other writers on Socialism formed his views in favour of a new social order where exploitation of one class by another class should be a thing of the past. Contact with poor cultivators of the districts of Allahabad, Pratapgarh and Rae Bareilly in the home Province of U. P. confirmed his abhorrence of the inequalities of life. “In fact”, he admitted, “that one of the reasons for my being drawn to the political movement was the plight of the Kisans. They have been exploited long enough. After independence we introduced many reforms but I feel that there is more to be done in this direction”. He knew that “in order to end exploitation of the masses political freedom must include real economic freedom for them”. The policy of revolutionary changes that Nehru originally contemplated was diluted by the reforming zeal of the official policies of the Congress. The abolition of Zamin-

dari system did not alter the ethos of agricultural economy. A new farmer—self-reliant and prosperous—was nowhere in sight. Ceilings on land did not release sufficient land for distribution to the landless labourers as majority of the big farm-owners circumvented the law by fictitious transfers and fraudulent co-operatives for joint-farming. No attempt was ever made by the Government to cork the leakages or dissolve the make-believe co-operatives. In many cases those who assisted the formulation of the policy of ceilings on land and voted for legislation to enforce it in the States were on the list of those who circumvented the law by fictitious deals! Before freedom Congress attracted, generally speaking, honest men and women who had a spiritual urge to free their country from foreign rule; after freedom it became the happy-hunting ground of fair-weather friends, of persons who knew on which side the bread was buttered. Congress in wilderness demanded sacrifice and service; Congress in office distributed favours. The contact of neo-Congressmen weakened the moral fibres of the old selfless freedom fighters and within ten years of India's freedom the Congress started disintegrating. But it ruled the country for another ten years as the opposition was disorganised, dishevelled and disarrayed. Its popular base continued to shrink and the results of the Fourth General Elections showed big cracks in the edifice. Not one but nine bricks fell asunder from the walls of Jericho! Nehru was gone and with him disappeared the mascot that took Congress to victory on his broad shoulders.

Membership of the Indian National Congress put Nehru in the main current of country's political life and Mahatma Gandhi's confidence gave him status and stability. Subsequent rise to prominence and from prominence to emi-

nence was combination of qualities that created a personality of rare magnetism that irresistibly attracted the masses and inspired the middle classes with a new political vision for freedom of the country. . "His life and word", said S. Radhakrishnan on his death, "have had a profound influence on our mental make-up, social structure and intellectual development. . . .As a maker of modern India his services were unparalleled".

Nehru's place in the history of pre-independence India was near Mahatma Gandhi, after Gandhi's death he became the central figure round which the history of the country revolved for about fifteen years without any break. D. F. Karaka's observation that "Nehru once believed that the shortest distance between two points is a straight line, but this is not the way things would have worked out for him. Of late he has been seen going around in circles like a dog trying to catch its tail and getting increasingly annoyed at his inability to do it" is both unmerited and overdrawn. Nehru's politics were comprehensive and consistent. No contradictions ever marred them. They aimed at peaceful social revolution for fuller and better life to the people. Much before he became the Prime Minister of India it was on the cards that whenever he got an opportunity he would give India a blue-print of socialism to fight mass poverty. The gargantuan problems of unemployment, disease, indigence and degradation in a vast country with an under-developed agricultural economy and insufficient industrial potential cannot be combated by policy of reforms. Like Peter Drucker the author of the thought-provoking book "The End of the Economic Man" Nehru realized that the age of economic man had ended. The new civilization aiming at creative effort must bring in the age of social man in

which, as Julian Huxley said, "Society will be much more of an organic whole tied together mainly by living relations of human beings instead of mainly by cold impersonal force of profit and economic competition".

The Indian National Congress was originally formed to secure administrative reforms and pressed for greater association of Indians in the governance of the country. The demand of political freedom, as birth-right of the people, came much later. From the commencement of the first Non-co-operation movement to the ending of the "Quit India movement" Congressmen struggled and suffered and greatly added to the strength of the nationalist forces that worked for political emancipation of the country. Their main object, however, did not go beyond political democracy. It was primarily Nehru who made Congressmen conscious of the inadequacy of political democracy without the supplements of social and economic democracy. He enlarged the national outlook, expanded the base of Congress ideology and gave the country a blue-print of democratic socialism. "It is entirely wrong", correctly argued Julian Huxley, "to equate democracy with representative government. That is one aspect only of democracy, the political aspect: democracy must extend into the economic and social and all other aspects of life if it is to be complete".

In his two Presidential addresses, first at Lahore (1929) and then at Lucknow (1936), Nehru explained the meaning and importance of scientific socialism as opposed to vague humanitarianism and gave a new direction and purpose to the politics of the Indian National Congress. Marx and Lenin profoundly influenced his thinking and he admitted that, "a study of Marx and Lenin produced a powerful effect on my mind and helped me to see history and current

affairs in a new light. The long chain of history and of social development appeared to have some meaning, some sequence and the future lost some of its obscurity". At Lahore he declared that he was a socialist and a Republican but acknowledged his awareness that the Congress preparing to fight for freedom of the country with the co-operation of all the classes would not be able to adopt a socialist programme without attainment of political freedom. He, nonetheless, stressed that: "the philosophy of socialism has gradually permeated the entire structure of society the world over and almost the only points in dispute are the pace and the methods of advance to its full realization. India will go that way too, if she seeks to end her poverty and inequality though she may evolve her own methods and may adopt the ideal to the genius of her race". Several years later at Lucknow he made it clear that socialism of his thinking was not an intellectual concept intended for academic discussion or class-room study. It was a way of life with scientific approach to the problems of human progress and happiness. "I see no way", he said, "of ending poverty, the vast unemployment; the degradation and the subjection of the Indian people except through socialism". His socialism aimed at change in human instincts, habits and desires and a social order quite different to and distinct from the capitalist order. In the achievements of the Soviet revolution he saw the rise of a new civilization and though himself a democrat he agreed that in a complex social order it was necessary to limit individual freedom for the larger freedom of the masses who formed the nation. "The interests of the whole", said E. F. Durbin, "are sovereign over the interests of parts. It is the business of society to secure the welfare of all; to do so it must be able to set limits to the welfare of each one of us".

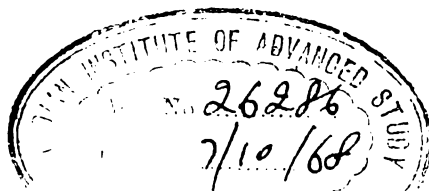
Corruption usually follows power as power often goes to the heads of those who wield it. The bulk of the leaders of free India when they wielded power could not resist its corrupting influence. The small fry in the States if they secured office simply went mad. Semi-educated Ministers particularly in Provincial Governments and uneducated members in the Legislatures, without any grounding in political behaviour or social etiquette, could not contain themselves in places that were higher to their merit and bigger to their capacity and often misused and sometimes abused their positions. While they, their dependents and friends prospered, the public life suffered a heavy strain and people's faith in their own representatives declined. Burke said, "Government is a trust and not a possession. It is not a partnership in calico or tobacco business. It is a partnership in all things that lead to virtue and perfection". Demoralisation of human material in the ruling party was so rapid that C. Rajagopalacharia—once a very important Congress leader—went on record with the remark that if one wanted to meet integrity and character in the public life of the country he may often have to search it outside the Congress ranks! There is widespread belief that corruption has polluted the public life at the grass roots!

Nehru, however, did not lose grip on himself. Power made him impatient and self-reliant but it did not corrupt him. *The New York Times* observed on his death that "Nehru refused to turn power into despotism...The insistence upon an India free in Independence was his gift, born out of love for his country". Nehru's main effort in office was to utilize political power for national service. He converted it to the last particle a duty. "Power and freedom", he admitted, "bring responsibility. The past is over, and it

is future that beckons to us now. The future is not one of ease, but of incessant striving so that we may fulfil our pledges we have so often taken....The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer. It means the ending of poverty, ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity. The ambition of greatest man of our generation has been to wipe out every tear from every eye....Peace has been said to be indivisible, so is freedom, so is prosperity—now and so also is disaster in this world that can no longer be split into isolated fragments”.

Those were brave words linked to great aims that required revolutionary changes in the mental, social and spiritual outlook of the nation! In life achievements usually fall short of targets as human nature aspires higher to its capacity and means, but if a man is honest, sincere and vigilant in the pursuit of his aims, the targets, unless reached, remain shining. For Nehru in the effort for attainment of a good objective there was always a measure of success!

Nehru's leadership never suffered non-recuperative setbacks from political hindrances or administrative bottlenecks. He worked for creative ends with single-minded devotion and with a conscience that was not seared by hypocrisy or fraud. “The tragedy of Nehru”, wrote D.F. Karaka, “has been that India got liberated in his life-time and as its first Prime Minister it fell to him to put his own words into effect”. There was no tragedy in the arrangement by which Nehru was called upon to put his words into practice. It is conceded that he could not create a new India of his dreams, it is also conceded that performance was below profession. But Nehru did not spare himself nor idle away his opportunities to serve the causes he wanted to serve. “I have no doubt in my mind”, he said, “that we have to



change the existing structure and as rapidly as possible". Welfare of the masses was the main inspiration of his life and democracy had any meaning to him to the point it served them. His preference for parliamentary democracy grew out of a belief that in the long run it produced the best results. "If we come to the conclusion", he once said, "that it does not produce the best results well we change it obviously because we want results".

According to D. F. Karaka, "a leader is judged not often by his own intrinsic values but by the values of those whom he leads. Of what use is Nehru's unquestionable honesty when he shows little ability to enforce it in the very machinery of the administration over which he presides". Nehru was not a fascist leader but the leader of a political party that faced the electorate once in five years for a fresh mandate. He was the first Prime Minister of a country that emerged out of long slavery to arrange her own affairs under convulsive shocks of partition with insufficient trained personnel to run the Government in the transitional period of great stress and strain. He wanted to be the hare of the fable but responsibilities of office, practical considerations, actions and reactions of international complications made him understand that the tortoise that never slept in the race by the roadside reached the mark earlier! "Progress of the best kind", said Samuel Smiles, "is comparatively slow. Great results cannot be achieved at once and we must be satisfied to advance in life as we walk, step by step". A leader is not always judged by the values of those whom he leads but by his capacity to use the material at his disposal to advantage. As De Gaulle said, "A leader must rely upon his strength of character so that in the hour of need, far from sheltering beneath high authority, from hiding

under text books, from seeking cover in official reports he will take his own stand, rise up and face events. In times of crisis he is the man whom people will follow, the man will take up the burdens with his own arms though they should crack and replace it upon his shoulders though they should break under the strain". Politics is an art and success in politics as in every other art in the words of John Morley "before all else implies both knowledge of the material with which we have to deal and also such concession as is necessary to the qualities of mankind".

The Congress was a movement before Independence, when freedom was attained it (the Congress) declined into political party. The change was inevitable as parliamentary democracy created new political forces, gave birth to new political ideas and aims that subtracted from the total strength of the Congress. Deterioration of human material was price of power that the Congress had to pay, but that did not enfeeble Nehru's moral fibres and up to the end of his life he faced his difficulties with confidence and hope. D. F. Karaka's summing up that, "he faltered, he foundered, he allowed others to clog his way and he spoke so much and achieved so little" was not supported by the opinion of independent foreign writers who came to India to study the progress of the country in the first fifteen years of freedom. "To hurry on after logical perfection", said John Morley "is to show oneself ignorant of the material of the social structure with which the politician has to deal. To disdain anything short of an organic change in thought or institution is infatuation". A leader's achievements should be viewed on the background of his difficulties judged in perspective. "For Nehru", writes Michael Bretcher, "is a giant both as man and statesman. If political greatness be mea-

sured by the capacity to direct events, to rise above the crest of the waves, to guide his people and to serve as a catalyst of progress, then Nehru surely qualifies for greatness. Almost single-handed he has endeavoured to lift his people into the twentieth century. He has provided a symbol of unity at a time of great stress. He has laid the foundation of a working parliamentary democracy. He has fashioned the machinery for planning. He has provided the philosophy of India's new constitution with its emphasis on individual rights and the ideal of a secular and equalitarian Society. He has restored India's faith in itself as well as its place in the family of nations. And he has begun the task of Social reform".

Ram Manohar Lohia's assessment of Nehru that he made in his book, "Guilty men of India's Partition" is neither objective nor satisfying. It fades before the flood-lights of a deep penetrating examination. The fallacy of "petitio principii" runs through many of his conclusions. Nehru had his faults, his failings, his preferences and his prejudices. He was both impulsive and emotional. His idealism on occasions ignored realism. There were instances when his judgement did not faithfully serve him. His reliance on Sheikh Abdulla was misplaced; his anxiety to cultivate the friendship of Chou En-lai miscarried. He failed to end groupism in the Congress. He made no sustained effort to improve its human material. Michael Bretcher correctly said that, "By his constant verbal attacks on things which offend his sensibility, often without doing anything about them he has tended to cheapen the coinage".

The Sun has its dark spots. Any minute examination cannot leave them from mention. But it gives light and heat. The spots are therefore ignored. Nehru's contribu-

tions to the building of new India were so distinct that secondary failures arising from errors of judgement or temperamental exuberance cannot lower his stature. He not only influenced the politics of his generation, but he did something of more enduring importance. He shaped the contours of the history of the East and trained India to keep in line with fast moving times. He helped to free her from her own cramping past and break the traditional chains of superstition and passive contentment. "Jawahar Lal's international perspective and his public statements amplifying his vision", said George Padmore, "have served as an inspiration to young Africans who believe that he more than any other contemporary Asian leader, seeks to promote the closest bond of unity between the awakened peoples of Asia and Africa".

"India's leadership of the century", argued Ram Manohar Lohia, "of course, barring Gandhiji, and with the possible exception on occasions of Sardar Patel, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and Mr. Jinnah, has been guilty of criminal flippancy of almost total lack of clearly conceived goals and an equal absence of a careful and a realistic plan to achieve them". Criminal flippancy never distorted Nehru's actions and never disfigured his clearly defined policies. Specific goals, drawing inspiration from high idealism, were sources of his action. "India", said Josip Broz Tito, "can be proud of having such an outstanding leader as Nehru who through his efforts and far-sightedness is paving the way towards a better future for India, and who through his untiring activity in the struggle for peace, devotion to the policy of co-existence and the strengthening of peaceful international co-operation has become one of the most outstanding statesmen of the contemporary world."

Put side by side with Jinnah for comparative study

Nehru showed the creative side and, therefore, a more enduring side of human approach to the problems of life. Nehru thought of the genus Indian, Jinnah confined his mind to the species Musalman. If Jinnah had an acuter intellect, Nehru had a more capacious mind. Nehru's catholicity made him a copious personality—that elevated politics and enriched the contents of political democracy by introducing the elements of social and economic equality into it. Jinnah's communal politics dwarfed his personality and even the title of Quid-i-Azam did not entitle him to be included in the hagiology of Saints. Nehru never mixed up religion with politics. Jinnah never separated them. Nehru never divided Indian nationalism into Hindu nationalism and Muslim nationalism. Jinnah always divided it. As early as 1941 Jinnah said, "We are a nation. And a nation must have territory. A nation does not live in the air. It lives on land, it must govern land and it must have a territorial state and that is what we want to get". Nehru's approach was basically different. He failed to understand how a Bengali Muslim or a Bengali Hindu living together and having common customs and language could be separated from one another and called two different Nations! His conception of nationalism was an awareness of living together and facing unitedly the problems of life. Nehru's religion aimed at service and sacrifice, that of Jinnah fostered fanaticism and separation.

The partition of India notwithstanding Nehru and other Congress leaders was ultimately agreed. Agreement became inevitable. It could not be escaped. Mahatma Gandhi who claimed that India would only be divided on his dead body unhappily lived to see it divided in his lifetime! To weaken the case of Indian nationalism, Jinnah arrogantly

declared that alternative to undivided India was a destroyed India. The Muslim League announced the programme of Direct Action and instigated the Great Calcutta Killing. The Congress leaders who were unwilling to wait on the issue of transfer of power realized that unless the incubus of the Muslim League was got rid of there would be no peace in the country. "The origin of the appalling carnage and loss", said the British owned **Statesman** of Calcutta, "was a political demonstration by the Muslim League. The bloody shambles to which the country's largest city has been reduced is an abounding disgrace which has inevitably tarnished seriously the all-India reputation of the League itself". The war of succession initiated by Mohammad Ali Jinnah and waged by the Muslim League cost four thousand human lives in the first round!

Jinnah remained adamant and insisted that by all canons of International Law the Muslims were a nation "with a distinctive outlook of life and on life". If he could not be accused of criminal perversity for partition of India who else could justifiably be blamed of criminal flippancy? Richard Cassey, the well-known Australian Statesman who was Governor of Bengal during the Second World War, met Mohammad Ali Jinnah after India's partition and disapproved the politics of religious fanatics. "Don't decry fanatics", replied Jinnah. "If I had not been a fanatic there never would have been Pakistan".

There were not many guilty men of India's partition but there was only one guilty man. Nehru divided political India into two forces—Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism. It was Jinnah who introduced a third political force—the Indian Musalmans. Nehru concentrated on India's unity, Jinnah worked for India's division. On

August 5, 1947, under nom-de-plume of 'Shaheed' Jinnah was reported to have written to the **Statesman** of Calcutta that: "bloodshed and disorder are not necessarily evil in themselves if resorted to for noble cause. Among the Muslims today no cause is dearer or nobler than Pakistan". Nine years later to India's partition Nehru made a correct review of the past and said, "I suppose it was the compulsion of events and the feeling that we could not get out of the deadlock by pursuing the way we had done. Further a feeling that even if we got freedom for India with that background it would be a very weak India, that is a federal India with far too much power in the federating units. A larger India would have constant disintegrating pulls". It was altogether a prudent solution to agree to the division of the country to develop a divided India than halt the progress of the whole country under reactionary politics of the Muslim League in the Pandora's box of an undivided India. A divided India was a better alternative to a "destroyed India" or even an undivided retrograde India!

Lohia's wail that the Indian revolution has been totally reversed is partially correct. A revolution that moves on democratic lines with constitutional sanctions is different in speed and thinking to a violent revolution that moves like an avalanche taking everything before it in authoritarian States. Conservative forces reinforced by the weight of tradition, custom and distrust of rapid organic changes have their own internal pulls in every society pulsating with new life. The type of revolution contemplated by Lohia was beyond the ken and range of democracy that Nehru sponsored and the people favoured. Political revolution succeeded in India without internal legislative sanction. But social and economic revolution of free India could not ignore legislative

sanctions! "We shall certainly", admitted Nehru, "have our ups and downs but I have no doubt that we shall go forward, perhaps a little more slowly than we should like, but forward none-the-less".

Lohia's grievance that the "revolution has reversed its attitudes on simplicity, the fashionable life, requirements of dignity and representation, language, liberty and social mobility, equality and elementary requirements of the people, status of the bureaucrat, functions of the classes that are hereditarily servile to every occupant of the Delhi throne, styles of dress and other modes of living, internal use of the gun and external reliance on the army and more so on intrigue etc," either inclines to comparatively unimportant aspects of life or altogether ignores the complexities of problems and minimum requirements of administrative stability without which progress relapses into stagnation by losing its continuity! The language issue is not so simple as the admirers of Hindi innocently believe or pretend to believe. The people of South India are so stubbornly opposed to the imposition of Hindi as the National language that in January 1965 when an attempt was made to impose it on them over fifty lives were lost in the struggle. The DMK swept the polls in the Madras State in the Fourth General Election on the issue of the status of Hindi as National language! With the exception of a section of the Hindu intelligentsia of U.P., Bihar and Madhya Pradesh the status of Hindi as "lingua franca" is not acceptable to the rest of the country. The nation-wide antipathy of the Muslims was patently obvious and to some extent worked adversely to an emotional integration of the country. English as an international language has great utility and cannot with advantage be replaced by Hindi in international trade, in scientific and technologi-

cal researches and diplomatic relations with foreign countries. Modern India—India of Gandhi and Nehru—evolved out of the impact of the English literature on the Indian mind. India cannot preserve her democratic institutions by distrust of the creative and progressive influence of the English language. Decline of English language carries a serious risk of eclipse of parliamentary democracy in India. No non-English speaking country has succeeded in preserving democratic institutions for long if it tried to preserve them by banning the English language. Michael Bretcher very correctly said that “as the English language declines in importance, the nourishment for a Western-type parliamentary system is sapped”. Hindi cannot sustain what depends on English language for vitality and strength. “English education”, said Nehru, “brought a widening of the Indian horizon, an admiration for English literature and institutions, a revolt against some customs and aspect of Indian life and a growing demand for political reforms”. As early as 1895 Tilak admitted that: “we are, at present, gradually being inspired by the spirit of patriotism. The birth of patriotism among us is due to English rule and English education.... The spirit of patriotism has not as yet permeated all classes. It is only those who have come under the influence of English education....that have been inspired by that spirit. Patriotism is not our national quality”.

B.R. Ambedkar who was Law Member of the Government of India revealed before his death that when the Draft Constitution was put before the Congress meeting for consideration no article proved more controversial than article 115 that dealt with the question of Hindi. After prolonged discussions that generated unexpected heat the pro-Hindi and anti-Hindi sections cancelled each other by polling 78 votes

each. For the second time when the same question was again put to votes before the meeting, Hindi won its status of a national language by one vote. Tagore observed that "the mind that resisted the influence of the English language or failed to assimilate it carried a narrow and feeble existence within a narrow unenlightened enclosure".

The slow progress of the Indian revolution can be traced to many causes both internal and external but the revolution has not been reversed. Nehru never relaxed. He ceaselessly worked to change the social outlook of the people for rebuilding a new social order. The requirements of Constitutional legality and reconciliation of deeply rooted vested interests and prejudices natural in a complex social order gripped by traditionalism were slowing-down process that could not brusquely be set aside. "We have accepted", Nehru said, "Socialism as our goal not because it seems to us right and beneficial but because there is no other way for the solution of our economic problems. It is sometimes said that rapid progress cannot take place by peaceful and democratic methods and that authoritarian and coercive methods have to be adopted. I do not accept the proposition. . . . Indeed in India today any attempt to discard democratic methods would lead to disruption and would thus put an end to any immediate prospects of progress".

The revolution in India is gradually moving towards its crescendo. Revolution was defined by Julian Huxley a period in which the rate of evolutionary change is markedly accelerated above the normal. It will indeed be unfortunate if reaction overtakes it to check its slow progress and put back the hands of the clock. Nehru cannot be blamed for what happens in the hands of his successors!

To men of my generation, writes Lohia in "Guilty men:

of India's Partition", "Gandhiji was a dream, Jawaharlalji the desire and Netaji Subhas the deed. The dream shall ever beckon, and though it had its blemishes in detail, its glory shall, I hope, brighten with time. The desire has soured and the deed was not completed. The fact that the dream, the desire and the deed could not travel in harmony not only among themselves but more so in respect of the effects that they produced on their people shall be a source of pain to us who have lived under their influence and sadness to the historian". If the metaphor of dream, desire and deed is relevant in the context it was used then the present generation found a creative synthesis in Nehru where the dream was reinforced by the desire and resulted in an action that placed India in the twentieth century. Arnold Toynbee considered Jawahar Lal Nehru a representative of the type that moved mankind not by coercion but by persuasion. Placing him in the list of Emperor Ashoka, Ram Mohan Roy and Mahatma Gandhi, Toynbee said that "this is the company to which Nehru belongs and in which he desires to be remembered and to be immortalized". Reference to Nehru's "petty spite and jealousies" by Lohia was wholly unmerited and was best met by Winston Churchill who with candid honesty said that Nehru was a man without malice and fear. Lord Boyd Orr after close associations with Nehru left on record that "I found that he had no bitter feelings and absolutely no hatred towards England—not even for those who had put him in prison. That spirit of tolerance and sympathetic understanding of the motives of his opponents is an attribute of a fine mind". Nehru never spoke ill of others. He worked on the injunction that 'Do not talk of others what you could not talk to them'. Lohia regretted that "I am sometimes angry with myself for giving such importance to a man who is after all more contemporary than

enduring". Posterity will repudiate Lohia by giving Nehru a higher place in the list of the builders of a nation than the place given to him by his contemporaries. There is an element of permanency in Nehru's contribution to the idea that if the two different ideologies of socialism and capitalism ceased distrusting each other it was possible for them to live together peacefully and reject war as an irrelevant anachronism for happiness and prosperity of mankind. Vincent Shaeen summarised Nehru in a nutshell that "he not only knew wisdom once and remembered it but he has himself become a man of wisdom". Bertrand Russell's view that Nehru stood for sanity and peace in the critical moment of history was widely shared. Being a man of vision and inspired by a desire to understand the soul of India he was occupied more with measures, social urges, public requirements and larger aspects of the public life than with petty considerations of individual strength and weakness! Queen Victoria's uncle advised his niece to keep in mind that "nothing is so great and clear a proof of unfitness for greater and nobler actions than a mind which is seriously occupied with trifles". And trifles never occupied Nehru's mind!

SOCIALISTIC PATTERN

Hegel said that in history a great idea emerges as thesis and as it grows it generates hostile forces that work as anti-thesis. The struggle between them creates a new phenomenon known as synthesis. The impact of Marxism and Gandhism on Nehru's mind created a synthesis that aimed at Marxist ends with Gandhian methods. He defined it social progress without any 'ISM'. "I have been and am a convinced socialist", he admitted, "and believe in democracy and have at the same time accepted whole-heartedly the peaceful technique of non-violent action which Gandhiji has practised so successfully during past twenty years".

Nehru believed that masses alone could give strength to the leaders to work for social regeneration. Peace and discipline were necessary to fashion a new India as progress was not possible on an insecure background of confusion or chaos. Marxism did not appear to him a set of rigid dogmas but scientific way of looking at history to bring about social change. He admitted greatness of Marx and found wisdom in "his realistic interpretation of events which illumined the long and tortuous course of history".

The influence of Nehru's personality on contemporary history was so pervasive that Ralph Megill remarked that "India's Prime Minister Mr. Nehru comes close to being the first indispensable man of our time". Sam Castelines

had no doubts that "the symbol of a new synthesis of various cultures, of harmony among different peoples, of freedom from Colonialism, of a real peace in an atmosphere surcharged with war is Jawahar Lal Nehru—Asia's Man of Destiny".

Though convinced of the interpretation of history by Karl Marx he did not favour a Socialist Society with violence. War was inevitable to Marx; Nehru considered it completely avoidable. His approach was peaceful. His instrument was democracy and he desired control of science with some "spiritual confluence". His basic thesis that wrong methods could not lead to right results rested on the Gandhian claim that the end by itself could never justify the means. Nehru considered the connection between means and ends a practical necessity rather an ethical doctrine.

Being a mass leader and drawing his strength from the common people he did not want to leave them out from the task of building a new society. Centralised concentration of power in a few hands carried the risk of disintegration on the fall of the ruling syndicate! Democratic decentralisation created a base on which transfer of power was easy from one leader to another without dislocation of administrative machinery and without stimulation of centrifugal forces that weakened peoples' faith in democracy. The smooth process of finding Nehru's successor by "Consensus" or of installation of Mrs. Indira Gandhi as Lal Bahadur's successor by majority votes confirmed that democratic process could be preserved even on crucial and testing occasions without causing bitterness in the country.

The formation of the Panchayats was a step towards decentralisation and co-operative farming aimed at co-operative spirit to free the agricultural industry from individual

inadequacy creating bottlenecks in the progress of agricultural development. Opposition to co-operative farming grew from fear of shrinkage of personal profits of Indian Kulaks and from dislike for vast majority of low-caste farm-holders with whom the high caste big farm-holders were unwilling to work as equals in the co-operative scheme. Indian agricultural industry is bogged in the quagmire of backwardness and sloth as individual effort working on uneconomic holdings with inadequate means is insufficient to give it self-generating strength and momentum. "You know", explained Nehru, "that working together or co-operation helps us to do many things which we cannot do singly. One man or two men may not be able to carry a heavy load but several men helping each other can easily do it."

Mahatma Gandhi's approach to life and its problems was traditional but moral. Nehru with a rational mind discarded worn-out traditions but retained the moral compulsions of life. If Gandhi's philosophy created new India out of old material, Nehru gave it a leadership that was necessary to put it on the rails of progress. Gandhi gave India soul, Nehru gave it vitality and strength to stand on its legs and move forward. "Our economic and social structure", Nehru said in a Radio Talk, "have out-lived their day and it has become a matter of urgent necessity for us to refashion them so that they may promote the happiness of all of our people in things material and spiritual. We have to aim deliberately at a social philosophy which seeks a fundamental transformation of this structure, at a society which is not dominated by the urge for private profit and by individual greed and in which there is fair distribution of political and economic power. We must aim at a classless society based on co-operative effort with opportunities for all. To realize

this we have to pursue peaceful methods in a democratic way”.

The social revolution contemplated by Mahatma Gandhi with “noblesse oblige” (rank imposes obligation) was an ideal little short of dream. Vested interests whether of land or of industry are seldom known to have taken to self-truncation much less to self-extinction for the betterment of society. Gandhiji generated revolutionary political spirit but canalised it into non-violent channels for social change. The progress of change was imperceptible. Nehru’s dynamism, however, made it a continuing but still a slow moving process. His two successors continued all his policies partly out of conviction and partly out of loyalty to the man who helped destiny in a subtle way to mould their careers. Lal Bahadur did not remain Prime Minister for long to make an imprint of his mind on the policies of the Government of India. He did not possess a massive intellect to influence events by force of personality. A man of unbleached integrity he lacked both sweep and weight of a statesman to either create or anticipate events. Like Robert Peel he “was incapable of the larger and higher political construction”. He did not possess the imaginative genius to “deal with the consequences of new creation and the structure of an unseen future”. A comparison between Nehru and Lal Bahadur brings to mind Pitt and Addington. Indira Gandhi who succeeded Lal Bahadur Shastri had the advantage of heredity and its useful educative value. Sir Charles Petric commenting on the career of Neville Chamberlain said, “a man does not come from a household where both father and his elder brother for years held the highest offices of State without himself acquiring, however unconsciously, the knowledge and outlook of a statesman and a realization of the difficulties with which

the latter has to deal". The daughter of Jawahar Lal Nehru and the granddaughter of Moti Lal Nehru had politics in her blood and possessed an understanding often denied to a leader who rises without an ancestral political background in the reflected glory of a patron! While democracy, secularism and planned economy remained the principal objects of her policy she did not rule out a break from the past if national interests demanded it. In an article to the "Look" she acknowledged the difficulties that faced the country in the middle of 1966 and reminded the Congress leaders that "If I feel that a departure from Nehru's policy is necessary because India's future calls for it, I will not hesitate to suggest such changes".

Nehru's death, however, left a void and not a vacancy. Vacancies can always be filled as the vacancy caused by Nehru's death was filled by Lal Bahadur Shastri and then by Indira Gandhi. But the void created by his disappearance remained a void and the results of the Fourth General Elections confirmed it. Whatever the debit side of the Congress rule in India that covered a long period of twenty years without a break it was Nehru's death that caused a slump of its stock in the country and subjected it to shattering reverses in the General Election of 1967! Even when people were disappointed with the performance of the Congress rule and despised some of their incompetent and arrogant Ministers their faith in the sincerity of Nehru remained undimmed and mollified their distrust and they more than once voted back the Congress to power. They turned their attention to the political opponents of the Congress when Nehru's face could not be seen and his voice could not be heard in electioneering campaigns to sustain their faith in the Congress Organisation!

Nehru left the question of his successor open. His optimism that the change of leadership would not dislocate the continuity of his work was based on the backing of the masses to his policies. Michael Bretcher asked him about the chances of continuity of his basic policies after him. Nehru replied that it was difficult for him to answer "Except to say that the policies I have sponsored have not been just individual policies. There are many people and important people who believe in them. What is much more so is that they have vaguely and broadly speaking the backing of the masses of the country. As step by step we give effect to them well, that is a step, confirming a certain direction of growth. It is very difficult to go back from these things.... My chief business, in so far as the people are concerned, has been to try to explain things to them in as simple language as possible....for the rest well really one does one's best and does not worry too much about the future". He, however, overlooked that the voluntary association of the masses in active implementation of his policies was so inadequate and slender that they remained Government measures. They did not take the shape of national urge. Mass co-operation was conspicuous by its absence.

The revolution contemplated by Nehru is still struggling to find its bearings. Congressmen gripped by love of office and power have proved themselves poor material to lend vitality and strength to it. Politicians in India live in compartments like Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde. They have two standards—one for the self and the other for the non-self. What they preach, they seldom practise; what they believe they seldom speak. Political hypocrisy is the bane of the public life of the country. There is no political party that does not trade in it and there is no politician (some excep-

tions apart) who is not willing to do devil's work in Christ's livery. Amaury De Reincourt said in Nehru's lifetime that "Congress standard of ethics was poor and its discipline slack. Its only remaining element of strength was the personality of Nehru—the caesarian figure who symbolises the unity of nation in his person as a substitute for a unifying body of abstract ideas". With his death the caesarian figure that symbolised the unity of the nation disappeared. The Congress claim that it was the recognised mouthpiece of the country was shaken on the loss of monopoly of political power in nine Provinces, within three months of the results of the fourth general election. Congressmen big and small impressed the people in the reflected glory of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawahar Lal Nehru. They were the echoes of the two voices and when the two voices were silenced the echoes could no more be heard to attract popular attention! Cacophony of small fry was of no consequence. It could not work as political lever to balance the national mind in favour of the Congress!

Nehru knew the difference between utopian and scientific socialism. "We mean and want a society", he explained, "in which there is equality of opportunity and the possibility of every one to lead a good life. Obviously this cannot be attained unless we produce wherewithal to have the standards that a good life implies. We have, therefore, to lay great stress on equality, on the removal of disparities and it has to be remembered always that socialism is not spreading of poverty. The essential thing is that there must be wealth and production". He did not consider it necessary to socialise the existing industries. Even the Communist countries did not support destruction of all relics of capitalism. Khrushchev when addressing the Communist Party

Central Committee suggested in 1962 that "they should make use of the things that the capitalists have, that are rational and economically profitable". Nehru favoured creation of new heavy industries under State control rather confiscation of old industries as within limitations private enterprise could assist the industrial growth of the country. Nationalisation of old industries with the Government control was not essential as they did not disturb the economy of the country. The State supervised and regulated their working. It was advisable and profitable to leave some initiative to private individuals. Scientific socialism was to him a growing and dynamic conception as something that must fit in with the changing conditions of life and activity in every country. While minimum coercion was not altogether rejected for building a new social order conversion remained the base of his approach. It was enjoined by creative social behaviour. "In India", he said, "our problems are essentially of economic development and higher standard of living. We have deliberately laid down as our objective a socialist pattern of society though we have not precisely defined it. I think it is desirable to avoid precise definitions because they tend to become dogmas and slogans which come in the way of clear thinking in a world which is rapidly changing. But too much vagueness also comes in the way of effective action. There have to be, therefore, definite goals and some clear notions as how to reach them".

Four different methods have been recommended for the solution of the socio-economic problems of the country. The capitalists press the liberal approach with a distinct slant in favour of free enterprise. This does not agree with the new conception of democracy that supports a frontal attack on the economic theory of 'laissez-faire'. The Communist ap-

proach does not conform to the local genius of the people as it attaches little importance to the question of individual liberty. It lacks powers of resilience and a scheme to adjust and accommodate. The Sarvodaya is based on an appeal to higher emotions of man and does not elicit much response. It is an improved form of humanitarianism and cannot produce structural changes. Nehru's conception of democratic socialism was a move in the right direction as violent methods resulting in the reaction of back-peddalling led to the jungle. In Azad Memorial Lectures he said, "we cannot be untrue to science because that represents the basic fact of life today. Still less can we be untrue to those essential principles for which India has stood in the past throughout the ages. Let us then pursue our path to industrial progress with all strength and vigour and at the same time remember that material riches without toleration and compassion and wisdom may well turn to ashes and dust".

Nehru's economic policy that inclined towards heavy industries and the public sector was designed to give a powerful impetus to the industrial growth of the country to add to her wealth. But he insisted that the wealth so produced should be evenly distributed among those who produced it. "Machine", he once said, "freed human society from the bondage of nature".

PLANNING

Planning fascinated Nehru. "Planning", he wrote, "is of course taking place in Communist countries. But to apply the basic principles of planning to a democratic structure of Government and thus to have democratic planning is certainly a new experiment and the world looks upon it with great interest and hope".

Indian planning attaches great importance to the economic needs of the people. Balanced diet, decent housing accommodation, cheap educational and medical facilities and protection from other physical wants are its main and declared aims. But it does not, in profession, lose sight of those higher values of life that in the words of Professor Schumpeter "make individuals with adequate ability and moral character in sufficient numbers to stabilise economic and political democracy". Decentralisation and co-operation are the basic principles of planning in India. Under-developed countries have their peculiar problems that do not respond to planning if it is conducted on the lines of planning of advanced countries. Rural areas cannot be raised to higher levels of living without putting new life into village institutions as a means of making them self-sufficient and self-reliant. Mahatma Gandhi once said, "Decentralisation made for endurance and social stability".

The Indian National Congress set up the National Plan-

ning Committee in 1937 under Nehru's Chairmanship but it could not register any progress as the political tussle culminating in the "Quit India" movement dislocated its functioning and performance. Nehru, however, laid the foundation of future economic planning as it was essential to avoid waste of the limited resources of the country for its economic development. "Planning", he explained, "means a thoughtout approach to strengthening of base and pace of progress so that Community advances on all fronts". Planning as he interpreted on another occasion was science in action and could not succeed unless it was flexible, wide awake and alert.

Free India launched her First Five-Year Plan in 1951, two other Plans followed and the Fourth is before us. The first Plan was intended to correct the disequilibrium of the economy of the country caused by the second world war and the partition of the country. Alongside it aimed at all-round balanced development of the resources of the country. The Second Plan came into force in 1956. It exceeded the objectives of the First Plan and recommended rapid industrialisation and even distribution of economic power. The Third Plan while retaining the objectives of the Second Plan shifted back the emphasis from industry to agriculture. Nehru, however, considered the targets of the Third Plan, "rather on the low side" Considering that India's annual revenue is smaller to that of the General Motors and lower to that of a single city of America (New York)—as stated by Frank Moraes in his book "Nehru—Sunlight and Shadow"—Nehru's regret that the objectives of the Third Plan were below the mark may be relevant but Planning in India suffered from two major disadvantages that relegated the question of higher targets to the background. There

was no plan to work the Plans and the co-operation of the people was negligible. Conditions were not created in which their co-operation could be available to give vitality, strength and self-propelling energy to the Plans. The slow progress of planning made Ashok Mehta—the Minister of Planning—say that, “Planning has been a terribly frustrating experience”.

The strength of a country depends on its economic progress. Even in the atomic age the development of human mind to explore new possibilities of better living is more important and more conducive to human happiness than raising of the divisions of the Army. Investment in men is more profitable than investment in goods. Nehru attached greater importance to a new dimension of the mind, “to tackle problems arising from the tremendous technological advancement which had outmoded War” than to technological progress itself. Without the new ethical dimension of the mind technological development could result in inhuman cruelty for destruction. It was, therefore, an obvious necessity to broaden the human outlook to harness the technological advance to productive aims and creative ends of life.

India's Community Development programme is an agency through which the Plans move to work a transformation in the social and economic conditions of the rural areas. Nehru claimed that Community Development Projects “were changing the face of rural India”. The claim erred on the side of optimism. Results as confront the people in actual life have a different tale to tell as the co-operation of the people has been very inadequate. Members of the popularly elected bodies from the Panchayats to the Lok Sabha take little interest in their working and officials associated with them confine to academic discussions and organisational look-

over. No ability or foresight is pressed into service to stimulate the thinking of the rural areas to force their thoughts to the surface and assist the process of self-help. Democracy at the grass roots remains neglected. Dr. Carl Taylor observed with some justification that, "those who plan and direct the Community Development Projects do not know that it is necessary for them to possess knowledge to catalyse and form responsive and responsible local groups, mobilise and organise whole villages".

Planning as it is claimed by its sponsors aims at the establishment of a Socialist Pattern of society. The resolutions moved at the All India Congress Committees at Avadi, and Nagpur were inspired by Nehru. He wanted the Congress to follow a more definite and determined policy to create a new social outlook. Democracy could not long survive in a country where poverty and unemployment remained unsubdued! Wretched hovels of semi-naked and semi-starved masses in juxtaposition to the magnificent houses of the millionaires called for redress, small children of the industrial workers living in narrow lanes of big towns where fresh air and sunlight much less other amenities of civilized life were denied threw into shade the advantages of political freedom from foreign rule! A way out had to be found and Avadi showed the light. It was there that the All India Congress Committee decided that "planning should take place with a view to the establishment of a socialist pattern of society, where the principal means of production are under social ownership and control, production is progressively speeded up and there is equitable distribution of national wealth". The Nagpur resolution on land reforms emphasised ceilings on land and joint co-operatives. Notwithstanding opposition from his own party men who did not know

what joint farming was Nehru's faith in the efficacy of joint cultivation as weapon to fight rural poverty remained unshaken. Opposition to co-operative farming stems from a misconception that it would lead to the growth of the communes of the Russian variety. The basic idea at the back of co-operative farming as has been discussed earlier in the book is to step-up production and activate the productive power of the land. Small farm-holders without means to invest on the improvement of the land and lacking political influence to gain from the assistance given by the Government cannot raise farming from subsistence level to commercial enterprise without co-operative effort of their neighbours. Individual handicaps are easy to remove under co-operative effort of the many than by half-hearted and pessimistic exertion of a single man!

Political democracy according to its definition of the twentieth century remains a hollow sham unless it is supported and supplemented by social and economic democracy. Babeuf is said to have lost his head in 1797 for saying it for the first time but E. H. Carr emphasised that "we have reached a stage when realization of Babeuf's dream has become imperative". According to him so long as democracy remained the political partner and counterpart of laissez-faire capitalism, responsibility for the working of the economic system could be rejected as beyond the reach of the political arm. But once state intervention in the economic process is accepted as legitimate and inevitable political responsibility for economic ills can no longer be declined". Power to vote is of no consequence if it is not followed by power to solve social and economic problems that depress and cripple those who have either been devested or are being exploited by the vested interests of Society!

Progressive Indian opinion has been conscious of the necessity of completing the political democracy with social and economic democracy. Gandhi before his death was appalled by the poverty of the masses and doubted even the existence of political freedom in the face of prevailing misery of those to whom life in free India meant nothing and offered nothing! With a stricken conscience he declared that if he lived for some years more he may have to reform politics by offering non-violent battle to his own countrymen. But he was not spared to life to reform politics, and Nehru without Gandhi had to struggle single-handed and fight reaction and revivalism both in his own party and outside. His approach confined to peaceful methods and "to the old vedantic ideal of the life-force which was the inner base of everything that existed on the earth". He, however, deprecated the coddling economics of the past. He wanted to modernise the Indian outlook without upsetting her spiritual values of life, and proposed to activate her productive capacity with creative potentials of atomic energy.

Democratic planning is partial planning. Authoritarian planning alone can be complete planning as it ignores private initiative. Democratic planning cannot stamp it out but it can and always puts some checks on private enterprise lest it grows into an aggressive acquisitive force to exploit the economic plight of the poorer sections of Society. Nehru held that "India should encourage private enterprise in many fields though even that private enterprise must necessarily fit in with the national plan and have such controls as are concerned necessary".

The weakest link of the chain of planning in India is its excessive reliance on external capital and foreign exchange. Hunck points out in 'India's Silent Revolution'

that "India is continually burdening itself with credits and postponing the day of reckoning...." The Planning Commission worked on large assumptions and the first three Plans were based on wishful thinking. Planners, it appeared, first fixed the targets then set out to search the means for their fulfilment. They looked to what was desirable and forgot what was practical. The execution of the schemes of the Plans, therefore, remained both inadequate and ineffective. Ashok Mehta before he joined the Government very pertinently remarked that "on paper the policies leave little to be desired....all criticism is directed to the weakness of implementation. Nehru, however, forgets that good ideas get vulgarised through inept execution". Party politics, misleading political propaganda and inter party political differences reacted on the schemes of planning and weakened and disturbed what the Planning Commission called, "rhythm of expansion in the development of the people".

The development of human personality is an important plank of scientific planning. Indian planning has heavily invested on material development, but has invested very little on creation of a new man. No attempt was made to revolutionise the popular mind. Education of the rising generations was left to the care of the ranting dilettanti Intellectuals who could create a new consciousness lost both initiative and courage and ran after the patronage of the politician who took more from Society than he gave it in return. Little wonder that after an expenditure of over Rs. 20,000 crores during the first three Five-Year Plans unemployment that was approximately four million at the end of the first Plan swelled to approximately 14 million at the end of the Third Plan.

Difficulties arising from the inadequacy of "know-how"

made their own contributions to the slow progress of the Plans. Nehru who was in earnest, however, wanted to make planning a successful enterprise—notwithstanding many difficulties. He inspired the Plans and the Community Development Projects to open a new window on the rural areas and create a new idea of human personality on the mass mind. Speaking of the Community Development Programme he said, “the work which has been started spells the revolution about which people have been shouting for so long. This is not a revolution based on chaos and the breaking of heads but on a sustained effort to eradicate poverty”. The revolution, however, did not succeed according to the assurance of those who planned it. But it was not Nehru’s fault but of the people themselves who did not understand the spirit of planning and of his own party men who as the members of the ruling party did not offer their leader sustained and sincere co-operation! Nonetheless he gave to the Indian revolution a direction and an aim and felt it to his successors and the people to complete it. Leaders and individuals, he said, “may come and go, they may get tired and slacken off, they may compromise or betray but the exploited and suffering masses must carry on the struggle for their drill-sergeant is hunger”.

The Plans according to Walter Crocker as he discussed them in his book “NEHRU” though big and costly were not big enough to effect a structural change or even an appreciable rise in the standard of living, but they were big enough to disturb both the economy and the social life of India.

Planning could not in any case be deferred to the future generations as the development of agricultural industry and industrialisation of the national economy were two pressing obligations of the Government from the start of India’s free-

dom! Nehru found a solution to both the pressing problems in planning but he knew that industrial growth was not possible without agricultural progress and it was this commonly shared awareness that shifted priority from industry to agriculture in the Third Plan. In between 1951 and 1966 India registered all-round progress though rapid rise in population partially neutralised it on many fronts! In an article to the **Reporter** of October 12, 1966 Chester Bowles wrote that, "when I came to India as American Ambassador in 1951 there were 23.5 million children in school, today there are nearly 68 million. In 1951 production of finished steel was 1.04 million tons, today production stands at close to five times that amount. In 1951 electric power production was 2.3 million Kilowatts, today it is ten million. In 1951 per capita income was Rs. 275 today it stands at Rs. 325. In 1951 only 59 million acres of land were irrigated, today almost 90 millions are. In 1951 only 3,700 villages were electrified today there are 5,200. In 1951 there were 8,600 hospitals today there are 14,600".

This is an impressive record if it is read in isolation to the size and requirements of the country. India is a vast country where poverty, backwardness, squalor and unemployment are common features of the lives of those who either live in remote corners of the countryside or in overcrowded unhealthy slums of big cities. Rise in population worsens from year to year what is already a disquieting position. Discussing the adverse effects of the rise in population on the illiteracy of the people the Planning Commission in a working paper admitted that, "the growth of literacy rate has not kept pace with the increase in population with the result that the number of illiterate persons in 1961 was 353 million as against 298 million in 1951".

Planning in India remains a Government venture, it is still not the demand or a scheme of the masses. It undeniably lacks popular support. It has gained little momentum and when it successfully fights popular inertia, ineptitude and conservatism it fights a defensive battle and its attack is confined to small pockets and not the whole country. Nehru claimed "that the push forward in regard to basic policies has come from the Congress organisation representing public urges and the Government and the Planning Commission have followed these up and worked them out in detail". Nehru overstated his case. The Congress organisation of free India never faithfully represented the true urges of the people. From a movement when it represented the national mind it declined, after freedom, into a political party that talked in terms of the policies of the party. The Congress spectrum looked like the rainbow in the sky where progress and reaction, socialism and liberal democracy, communalism and secularism, worked together and agreed to influence the national policy by mutual adjustment. Politics governed its outlook, its thinking and manoeuvring. Even the solutions of the social and economic problems were not wholly separated from considerations of political aims! In all that the Congress attempted from office the retention of political power was a fundamental consideration, gain to the masses never preceded it. The main strength of a political party and its capacity to do good to the people is found in men of integrity and character. Whether it was planning, administration or other schemes of the Congress Governments the poor human material of the ruling party exercised a deleterious effect on them! Slave India produced persons of extraordinary ability, free India, as the old stock started exhausting, did not replenish it. What to say of Patel and

Nehru even smaller leaders once they had gone, remained unreplaced!

Joan Robinson when making an assessment of the economic and industrial progress of India in his book 'Economic Philosophy' correctly said that "the relatively slow economic development of India under institutions imitated from parliamentary democracy contrasted with that of China under the direction of the Communist Party. Western Liberalism has only warmed the surface of the deep waters of Indian tradition".

FOREIGN POLICY

Non-alignment, the cardinal point of India's foreign policy, cannot be judged without correct assessment of the philosophy of truth and non-violence that formed the cornerstone of Mahatma Gandhi's political creed for attainment of India's freedom. Non-violence as its author often emphasised was neither a voice of cowardice nor a counsel of inaction. It implied fiercest struggle against the forces of evil and exploitation both within and without with no idea of surrender before final victory! Resistance to wrong without vindictively harming the wrong-doer was interpreted as active non-violence for attainment of enduring success with moral force latent in every human being.

Non-alignment was based on the pattern of non-violence. India, since independence, has steered clear of Power blocs. It was not signatory to any of the Military Pacts like South-East Asia Treaty Organisation and the Baghdad Pact. Military pacts Nehru once said are "a warlike approach to peace". It has nonetheless worked for universal peace. Aligned country often excites cold war with threats and counter-threats of war. With no territorial designs on other countries, India talked a language of neighbourly understanding and good-will and was ever willing to sign No-War Pacts with them. It preferred Western conception of parliamentary democracy to Eastern heritage of an authoritarian

rule and knew the importance of tolerance and forbearance to foster it. It is anxious to retain and develop friendship with Russia and America for growth of its stagnant economy. Non-alignment appeared to Nehru an essential condition for completion of economic revolution of the country. Aldous Huxley said that, "every road towards a better state of society is blocked sooner or later by war, by threats of war, by preparations of war".

Non-alignment left India free to examine international disputes on merits and work its influence for peace. The policy was a distinct though distant echo of the policy that George Washington recommended to America after the war of Independence. George Washington said, "observe faith and justice towards all nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all. In the execution of such a plan nothing is more essential than that permanent inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachment for others should be excluded and that in place of them just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another a habitual hatred or a habitual fondness is in some degree a slave". Nehru did not say anything different to what Washington said for his own country. Non-alignment left India free to take active and righteous path according to its own assessment in Korea, Indonesia, Hungary and Suez Canal disputes. It gave her complete freedom to judge international disputes on the touchstone of morality and appeal to the world opinion to speak against the aggressors. "Where freedom is menaced", said Nehru, "or where aggression takes place we cannot be and shall not be neutral". Huxley correctly evaluated the philosophy of Non-alignment and explained that like non-attachment it imposed upon those who practised it the adop-

tion of an intensely positive attitude towards the world. "Experience", he argued, "shows that every country wants peace but no country except a non-aligned country works for those things that make for peace".

The main objectives of India's foreign policy were and are (a) liberation of enslaved countries, (b) preservation of peace, (c) termination of racial discrimination, (d) removal of poverty and its ancillary adjuncts like disease, ignorance and want. These aims could best be served by non-alignment as the voice of an aligned country was considered the voice of the group with which it was aligned! Non-alignment created an independent base to speak with an open mind and move in good faith to narrow the gap between the warring countries or between the countries that prepared for war. Nehru's foreign policy again closely agreed with the foreign policy of George Canning that he explained to his young cousin Startford in a letter.

Canning wrote: "To preserve the peace of world is the leading object of my policy. For the purpose it is necessary in the first place to prevent to the utmost of our power the breaking of new quarrels, in the second place to compose, where it can be done by friendly mediation, existing differences, and thirdly where that is hopeless to narrow as much as possible their range and fourthly to maintain for ourselves an imperturbable neutrality in all cases where nothing seems to affect injuriously our interests and our honour".

At the outset of his career as Foreign Minister Nehru made it clear that India would follow an independent foreign policy keeping in view the bigger interests of peace as world peace was necessary for India's development. Walter Lippman endorsed it as a natural expression of the vital interests of a new State. Nehru's mental make up was a

happy blend of idealism and realism. They played supplementary roles to give a solid background to his state-craft. Idealist Nehru looked to realism as often for support as realist Nehru looked to idealism to illumine his path. Opportunism as a creed of international behaviour did not appeal to him although in the words of Phillips Talbot India like all great powers was sometimes faced with the necessity to compromise national self-respects and principle.

The five Principles of Peace known as Panch Sheel were prescribed by Nehru for international conduct and were endorsed by every non-aligned country. Russia and China also accepted them as instrument of Peace. Panch Sheel emphasised mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-intervention in each other's internal affairs, equality, mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence. Nehru took them to the Bundung Conference where they were unequivocally accepted. England and America approved the spirit underlying the philosophy of Panch Sheel.

China, as subsequent events proved, accepted them to hoodwink the world and gain time to consolidate her military strength for aggressive attack on peaceful neighbours. Chinese expansionism first appeared in an attack on Tibet under the specious plea to "liberate three million Tibetans from Imperial aggression, to complete the unification of the whole China to safeguard the frontier regions of the country". India's protests against the conquest of Tibet were rejected by Peking as manoeuvres of foreign Imperial Powers. Nehru emphasised peaceful settlement of the Sino-Tibetan dispute but the Chinese Government clinched the issue by reducing the question to a simple domestic problem where no outside suggestion had any relevance!

The Sino-Indian border dispute arose out of the refusal

of the Chinese Government to accept the Macmahon Line as boundary mark between India and China. The Communist Government took a new position to the one taken and accepted by its predecessor with regard to the accuracy of the Macmahon Line. Caroe said, "The Macmahon Line was shown in the map initialled by the Chinese representatives at the Simla Conference in 1914 which clearly indicates that the Chinese Government was fully aware of it. It is thus quite inconceivable that the Chinese negotiator or his Government could really have remained in ignorance of this part of the red line as Peking now pretends". Five years later in 1919 the Chinese Government wanted modifications of some of the deliberations of the Simla Conference to settle the boundary dispute but Macmahon Line was not an item included in the demand of modifications. The Chinese raised an objection against it for the first time in 1947 and crossed it on September 8, 1962 by an aggression on the Indian territory!

The Chinese aggression made Nehru a sadder and wiser man. Nobody had tried harder than Nehru to make friends with China and nobody other than Nehru had put greater reliance in the sincerity of Chou En-lai. And nobody, therefore, was more unhappy than he on an unprovoked attack on India! Appealing to his countrymen to rise to the occasion to protect the integrity of the country he said, "I feel I must speak to you about the grave situation that has arisen on our frontiers because of continuing and unabashed aggression by the Chinese forces. A situation has arisen which calls upon all of us to meet it effectively. We are men and women of peace in this country conditioned to the ways of peace. We are unused to the necessities of war. Because of this, we endeavoured to follow a policy

of peace even when aggression took place on our territory in Ladakh five years ago. We explored avenues for honourable settlement by peaceful methods. That was our policy all over the world and we tried to apply it even in our own country. We know the horrors of war in this age too, we have done our utmost to prevent war from engulfing the world. But all our efforts have been in vain in so far as our own frontier is concerned, where a powerful and unscrupulous opponent not caring for peace and peaceful methods has continuously threatened us, even carried these threats into action. The time has, therefore, come for us to realize fully this menace that threatens the freedom of our people and the independence of our country.... Everything else is secondary to the freedom of our people and of our motherland and if necessary everything else has to be sacrificed to this great end. There may be some reverses in that area but one thing is certain that the final result of the conflict will be in our favour. It cannot be otherwise when a nation like India fights for her freedom and integrity of the country”.

India rose to the occasion to meet the challenge of aggression with the courage of a warlike nation. The policy of non-alignment was put to severe test and stood the strain without any sign of exhaustion! Western democracies came to India's help without any hesitation and Russia did not withhold the promised aid. What was more significant it disapproved the disregard of the Five Principles of Peace by the Chinese Government.

Moral pressure of the Soviet Russia, quick delivery of Western aid and rise of the Indian people as one man to fight back the aggression made China realize the risks of the gamble. Unilateral withdrawal followed. The **Herald Tri-**

bunc said, "The implications for Peking were too vast and too dangerous to be ignored. The Chinese Communists if they insisted on advancing into India were faced with the prospects of running into a wall of American and Soviet Arms. We must assume that the implied threat of a Soviet-American coalition against Communist China frightened Peking much more than anything else".

The Chinese aggression failed to destroy India's faith in non-alignment but it became "India's tree of knowledge". Indian diplomacy that had so far worked on assumptions and presumptions started moving in the world of reality. Nehru's faith in the Five Principles of Peace, however, remained firm as they constituted a solid base for permanent understanding between different peace-loving countries. It has been correctly said that aggressive powers forget a fundamental truth of civilization that nations have no rights, men and women have. These rights can be preserved within the framework of Panch Sheel than by disregard of the creative philosophy that they support. Non-alignment that governed India's foreign policy at the time of Chinese aggression perhaps averted a global nuclear war on the Asian soil as it minimised the chances of conflict between the two power blocs. "As far as I can see", said Lord Attlee discussing the policy of non-alignment, "Nehru desires that the uncommitted nations by their non-alignment with one group or the other, should develop enough influence in the world to prevent a world catastrophe and towards that end he is anxious that India should play a useful part. This, in effect, is the kernel of his foreign policy". Mahatma Gandhi's comment that Nehru's nationalism was equal to his internationalism was borne out by his claim that India was a good friend of all and had no enemies. If there were

any she tried to convert them into friends. Not only that, if two countries fought for territorial gains Nehru tried to bring them together. The part played by India in the Korean and Indo-China wars are instances in point. Here India being non-aligned served as a dependable means of communications between the two warring sides! Nehru, however, knew that India was not strong enough to exercise a powerful influence in international affairs. H. L. Park carefully analysed India's foreign policy under Nehru's leadership and observed that "the political aspirations of India rest firmly upon democratic base of Parliamentary and party Government, on adult suffrage, on rule of law, on responsible administrative and Military services and in positive search for individual liberty and national freedom. India's foreign policy as its leaders see it is devised to serve these ideals of national life".

It has been said that Nehru's approach in deciding India's relations with other countries was governed by a unique balance of emotion and intellect. In other words it was propelled by sentiment but regulated by realism! In Chinese aggression on Tibet he extended every sympathy to the people of Tibet but found no occasion to break with China. The logic of sentiment did not prevail on the logic of reality. "We have every desire", he said, "to maintain the friendship between India and China but at the same time we have every sympathy for the people of Tibet and we are greatly distressed at their plight". Critics, however, read opportunism in Nehru's attitude on the Chinese attack on Tibet and argued that both on the issue of Hungary and Tibet he wanted peace for India at the cost of the freedom of other countries. But Nehru knew that India was not strong enough to exercise a decisive influence on the fortune

of the conflicts and was reluctant to argue or act from a position of weakness! "We should either", he once said, "be strong enough to produce some effect or not interfere at all". It was altogether a different thing if the interests of India were involved.

Pakistan's bellicose threats and China's international perfidy make it obligatory on India to brush up her foreign policy from time to time. Each constitutes a formidable danger to her territorial integrity and in combination they cannot be treated lightly. Without the restraining influence of democracy and free from the checks of democratic institutions they can, at any time, again attack India. China did it in 1962 and Pakistan did it in 1965. These attacks can be renewed either singly or in combination. Non-alignment as a policy for peace time should not be raised to a dogma for all emergencies. Nehru's argument that "taking military help means getting practically aligned" was not wholly correct. In the face of a powerful attack by a foreign power, if it threatened the integrity of the country foreign aid could not be refused as survival depended on it. Even the philosophy of non-alignment needed to be relaxed and revised in the face of aggression. No democracy can successfully resist the attack of authoritarian Governments without foreign aid from like-minded countries.

A policy favoured in one decade may fall into disrepute in the next decade if policy makers put the glass to the blind eye and ignore new alignments and new pressures of international conflicts. First class brains are required to evolve a sound foreign policy for a country, second rate minds tamper with the policy of their predecessors and disfigure it in the attempt. Palmerston said that England had no permanent enemies and no permanent friends but permanent

interests to safeguard. He laid down a basic creed for formulation of a successful foreign policy of a free country! Nehru summarised it "as an attempt to combine idealism with national interest". This in a nutshell was Nehru's rationale of India's foreign policy.

SECULARISM

August 15, 1947 was the dividing line of Nehru's public life. It opened a new chapter and enabled him to strike a new note. A career of struggle, of lathi charges and incarcerations, of domestic bereavements and national uncertainties was replaced by a period of hope, optimism and purposefulness to redeem the pledges given to the nation year after year from 1929 onwards.

The two immediate tasks that claimed top priority were maintenance of law and order and integration of the States. Without political consolidation social and economic progress was not possible. Sardar Patel tackled both of them very efficiently and Nehru's co-operation facilitated his task. It gave strength to Sardar's elbow and sustained the declining morale of the permanent civil services. Communal frenzy that first challenged India's right to freedom and then threatened to damage her image was promptly clipped by the Government. Nehru put his full weight on the side of communal harmony and gave a timely sense of security to the minorities of India. Jinnah's assurance to the Hindus of Pakistan about their safety was an eye-wash—a pure political hypocrisy. Nehru on the other hand proved that the secular base of the Indian Republic was deep-laid and had a broad-based foundation. He preserved it in the face of the re-

ported taunt that after partition India was left with one nationalist Muslim and it was Jawahar Lal Nehru.

The war of succession preceded by the Great Calcutta Killings recorded half a million people killed at the close of the year. The principal theatres of destruction were the Punjab and Bengal—the two Muslim majority provinces. While Jinnah and his successors made no sustained and serious efforts to curb communal fury and offer full protection to the minorities in Pakistan, the Government of India have consistently fought communalism and protected the Muslims from the ravages of Hindu fanaticism.

Nehru's appeals for communal harmony and amity in the worst phases of communal frenzy were reinforced by the heavy weight of Mahatma Gandhi's pervasive and charismatic personality. India settled down to normalcy after a brief but bitter war of succession. But the greatest Indian since Buddha lost his life for striving to curb communal animosity to preserve the spirit of civilized life and allow the Muslim minority, that previously swore by the Muslim League, a fair opportunity to weld in the nation by wiping out their past!

The success of the Congress in electoral contests to provincial Legislatures in 1937 prompted Nehru to claim that there were two parties in the country—The Congress and the British and the real conflict was between Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism. This offended Jinnah and as has already been discussed earlier in the book, he thundered that Muslims formed a separate nation and were not part of the Indian nation. Jinnah's thesis did not appeal to Nehru. He could not comprehend that Hindus and Muslims having many points of social contacts, with common political aspirations, breathing the same air, walking on the

same roads, travelling together in the same trains and born and brought up on the same soil formed two separate nations! Endowed with a scientific mind, with complete intellectual honesty and having struggled and suffered for his country's freedom, his political philosophy was singularly secular both in thought and action. He was as John Gunther said a man with a modern mind, a man of reason and a steady rationalist. He not only fought British Imperialism but he fought communalism with equal determination. "We will not tolerate any communalism in this country", he said, "and we are building a free secular State where every religion and belief has full freedom and equal honour, where every citizen has equal liberty and equal opportunity". His belief that the Muslims and the Hindus would emerge as a single entity under social and economic urges of a free India ignored the narrow bigotry that formed the hard core of communal hatred between the daily behaviour of the communally-minded fanatics of the two communities. While the Hindu Mahasabha had its small pockets of communal infections and Jana Sangh did not put a thick cover on its narrow parochialism the Muslim League has survived as a source of inspiration to its erstwhile supporters who did not migrate to Pakistan!

The tussle on the question of Kashmir is basically a conflict between Indian secularism and Pakistani communalism. Territorial gain is incidental; it is not fundamental. India claimed Kashmir as part of the Union by virtue of the accession of the Maharaja and rated it a triumph of secularism. Pakistan based its claim on pure communalism. Nehru's offer of plebiscite under certain specified conditions was an offer to the people of Kashmir and not to Pakistan. With what claim and under which provisions of the Inter-

national law Pakistan demands Kashmir passes understanding? To a people who have given a status of political equality to seven crore Muslims and opened career to talent without communal preference the communal reasoning of the rulers of Pakistan for accession of Kashmir to their country is not likely to appeal much less induce them to surrender. Kashmir is the strongest bulwark of the Muslims of India against discrimination as it is the base of India's policy of secularism. With Kashmir as part of India, it is not possible for Hindu communalism even if it acquires ascendancy to sterilise the Muslim Minority as a political influence; without Kashmir Hindu communalism could make a serious effort to weaken their political importance in the country!

Nehru's secular approach to the problems of India was not a paper claim. It governed all his policies, it influenced all his actions, it controlled all his passions and it gave real and purposeful meaning to all his efforts to build a new India! "We must think clearly in our minds and in the mind of the country", he said in a speech to the Constituent Assembly in 1948 that "the alliance of religion to politics in the shape of communalism is most dangerous alliance and it yields the most abnormal kind of illegitimate brood". Such an alliance in the Muslim mind led to the division of the country and instigated Pakistan to attack India in 1965!

Those who doubted Nehru's sincerity on the offer of plebiscite to the people of Kashmir and sided Pakistan's demand for it ignored the basic fact that the people of Kashmir have never demanded it and the State of Kashmir is making steady economic progress as part of the Union. If Pakistan wants Kashmir merely because it is a Muslim majority province, will it also be willing to absorb the seven

crores of Muslims that live in India? So long as Pakistan is ruled by a Military dictatorship and is denied the sobering wisdom of a democratic form of Government it will continue to talk the language of authoritarian States and find spiritual satisfaction on maligning India!

Walter Crocker in his book 'NEHRU' reduces Maharaaja's accession to India as the handiwork of a fugitive Prince that was no better in his words than "a huge sand-hill of legalism". The same Act of the British Parliament that brought India and Pakistan to life as two Independent countries authorised the Indian Princes to join any one of them by signing the Instrument of Accession. Presuming that India's case was based on legalism, that of Pakistan stands on no better ground, than the quick-sand of communalism. It had not even the support of a small much less of a huge sand-hill of legalism! Allan Campbell Johnson in "Mission with Lord Mountbatten" writes that, "the legality of the accession is beyond doubt on this particular issue. Jinnah has been hoist with his own petard as it was he who chose over Junagadh to take his stand on the over-riding validity of the ruler's personal decision". This was confirmed by the U.S. representative who said on February 4, 1948 in the Security Council that "with the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India this foreign sovereignty went over to India and that is how India happens to be here as a petitioner".

India adheres to Kashmir not because it has an economic value to it but as it forms the bed-rock of its philosophy of secular democracy. With one community dominant in every State of the Republic it can be reduced to a theocratic State if social democracy falters before religious chauvinism. But even religious revivalism and social reaction will find

it difficult to have their way if Kashmir, a dominantly Muslim State, remains part of it.

Dictatorships endeavour to compensate the loss of democratic values by promise of territorial gains and keep the people engrossed on side and irrelevant issues lest there is a serious demand for representative government at their cost. It is when there is no chance of foreign involvement or there is no bugbear of imaginary foreign threat that latent democratic urges assert and people think in terms of representative government. Pakistan having been ruled by dictatorship since its inception cannot think and act like a democratic country. "Dictatorship", said Arthur Salter, "practises repression within; it lives upon aggression without". Once the carrot of Kashmir ceases to dangle before the people of Pakistan and religion and politics are separated they are bound to clamour for a democratic form of Government and put an end to the authoritarian rule!

Secular democracy has started striking roots in the soil of India and Zakir Husain's election as President bears it out. The *New York Times* under the heading "A Muslim wins in India" wrote that "No facet of Dr. Zakir Husain's victory in the Indian Presidential election is more important than the demonstration that India is what Jawahar Lal Nehru and other progressive Indians claimed to be—a secular and not a Hindu State".

Nehru wanted a progressive and cohesive Society and knew that on the basis of caste and community there would neither be democracy nor Socialism. "The secular State", wrote Michael Bretcher, "is likely to be Nehru's most enduring contribution to India, and it is the one of which he is most proud".

LEADERSHIP

Jawahar Lal Nehru's leadership was supported by an unbleached honour—a rare distinction in public life of a country. He was, as Gandhiji once said, as pure as a crystal and could mount the gallows with cheerful countenance. Accommodating in tactics he was quite clear and determined on his aims. Democracy, Socialism and Secularism were his means for creation of a new India to provide fuller and better life to its people. He was not a good judge of men and rarely forgot old loyalties to tick off much less leave off political friends when they bungled or proved unworthy. This weakness of the man did not add to the strength of the leader! Gladstone's thesis that a Prime Minister must be a good butcher was either not known to Nehru and if he knew it he did not put it into practice. If he had reimbursed the depletion of talent in the organisation with new men from outside, educated and public-spirited it is possible that the achievements of the first twenty years of India's freedom would have been distinctly greater to what was possible with old freedom fighters who had no training and no background to run the administration with a disappointed bureaucracy! The low calibre of the Ministers, generally speaking, was a most powerful single factor that told on the efficiency of the administration and made men indifferent to the blessings of political freedom!

Nehru nonetheless did not lose grip on practical politics of free India. His wail that "we were not worthy of Gandhiji although we tried to follow his teachings to the best of our ability", was not a voice of defeatism nor admission of inferiority but a frank appraisal of inadequacy of results combined with unfulfilment of desire to match practice with profession. He had his own party-men in mind who had forgotten Gandhi, his message and contributions when he bemoaned unworthiness of the people!

What is my legacy to India he asked and himself replied, "Hopefully it is four hundred million people capable of governing themselves....I like to think of myself as being on pilgrimage with millions of people. And it is the destination that is important....and the movement of our four hundred million people in that direction".

Critics compared Nehru to HAMLET, the Shakespearean Prince of Denmark, for irresolution in a crisis. Smaller details of a problem seldom absorbed his mind and never diverted his attention and there were occasions when he wanted the difficulties to argue for themselves! He paused, he halted, he reviewed but he never deviated from the central object that inspired him to action. Sometimes he allowed emotions to eclipse his intellect but that did not detract from his stature. G. R. Sterling said in a different context that "the world would be a duller and more evil place if some of its great men did not allow their emotions to overwhelm their intellects".

M. Gandhi wanted to give India a soul, Nehru worked to give her vitality and stamina. "We must make India great by our toils", he appealed to the nation but got an inadequate response. Bulk of the politicians who were in active public life did not possess vision and ability to improve

the tone of the public life of the country and lacked dedication to elevate the morale of the people. Absorbed in pursuit of power they reduced themselves to the position of hot-gospellers of petty politics. Perquisites of office superseded the claims of public service and political ambition halted on a seat in the Legislature or a seat in the Government according to exploitable circumstances! What was more lamentable means were ignored for the ends and plain merit always did not have the better of crafty mediocrity! The Plans intended to revolutionise the rural economy remained Government schemes and benefited those who could forge ahead without them. Not the poor farmers but the friends and stooges of the parish pump politicians consumed the lion's share of the subsidies, grants, taqqavi and loans intended for those who lacked where-withal to improve their farming. "No reforms", said Aldous Huxley, "which leave the masses of the people wallowing in the slothful irresponsibility of passive obedience to authority can be counted as a genuine change for the better".

Most of Nehru's colleagues in the Government were men of inferior calibre. In the words of Frank Moraes, "they knew very little of socio-economic philosophies or of modern governmental procedures". Sometimes Nehru found the party talent so deficient that he had to bring in non-party men like John Matthai, C. D. Deshmukh and Gopalswami Aiyanger to the cabinet. But non-party talent in the Government was resented by partymen and as no able man could pander to their idiosyncrasies and stomach their intrigues almost all the non-party men left the Government before expiry of their terms! With the exception of Sardar Patel, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Govindbalabh Pant, and Morarji Desai and perhaps one or two other members of

the party—Nehru could not find outstanding men of high calibre in his own party and padded his Government with men, who, however, prominent in their own States, were in many cases unequal to the responsibilities of office that confronted those who held it with very intricate problems of an under-developed country! Lal Bahadur was a man of unsullied integrity inspired with high ideals and succeeded Nehru as Prime Minister of India but both in force and sweep of personality he was inferior to all the four members of the Government mentioned above! His rise to power could have been explained with an inversion of the Tacitean aphorism as applied by Arthur Salter to Baldwin—*incapax imperii nisi imperasset*—"We did not think he could be a Prime Minister till he showed he was one". Historians may well doubt his greatness but they would not be able to doubt his goodness. The baser instincts of public life like jealousy and envy were wholly absent in this case. "Shastri", writes Geoffrey Tyson in his book 'NEHRU' "shared with his master Pandit Nehru a reputation for personal incorruptibility and this counts for a lot in a society in which corruption in high places is a common-place of conversation, and in which the relationship of uncles and nephews is not always confined to the table of consanguinity". Krishna Menon, an intellectual with first rate debating powers, could not stabilise his position due to distrust of the Right-wing of the Congress and business community, the two levers of power in a democratic country!

Gulzari Lal Nanda, a man of clear but narrow vision, failed to dig himself in as in an anxiety to purify the administration he worked on presumptions that never came true. "A good Socialist and a man of integrity" Nanda pricked like a thorn in the sides of powerful interests in the Con-

gress for his avowed "Leftism". The position in the States was more unsatisfactory. Wholly incompetent men, in many cases educationally unqualified, either flattered their way up or acquired office on the back of caste or communal pressures. Cases of misuse of power were not slow to come to light and it did not take long for them to authenticate their incompetence. For poor human material of the Government the administration lost both efficiency and popular support.

The Kamaraj Plan as an experiment to strengthen the organisation and revise the old spirit of service and sacrifice did not succeed. On the other hand it accentuated groupism in the organisation, intensified political intrigues and made a section of the Congressmen desperate. Nehru relieved several senior colleagues from office but they were not replaced by superior men as Congress ranks had already been depleted of talent and politicians of vision and ability were not available to give vitality and voltage to the Government. The Kamaraj Plan was not inspired by Nehru although he had wanted for some time to divert some senior men from the Government to the organisation in an attempt to repair the damaged image of the Congress. For better or for worse the Plan changed the course of succession to the throne of Delhi and relegated Morarji Desai, a probable successor to Nehru, to the background. It, however, stands to his credit that the set-back caused to his political career by the Kamaraj Plan did not embitter him and he retained, even under very depressing political reactions, an undisturbed loyalty to the Congress Organisation! Next to integrity administrative efficiency is the strongest point in his favour and it is this asset that compensates for his fanatical advocacy of untenable fads like prohibition!

Notwithstanding Nehru's earnest desire to the contrary the administration of the country did not maintain the inherited modicum of efficiency of the British Government. Improvement was out of the question.

The services faithfully served the new Government and no less a man than Sardar Patel admitted their contributions to the consolidation of the freedom of the country. But his warning that "the most dangerous thing in democracy was to interfere with the services" went unheeded. According to K. L. Panjabi, a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service, the ability and efficiency of the permanent services "embarrassed wayward politicians who developed inferiority complex towards them". Frequent and unmerited attacks on their loyalty and distrust of their intentions backed by constant interference in the administration at the district level gradually demoralised the services who instead of saving the politicians from themselves drove them into blind alley. With abuse and misuse of political power relationship between fathers and sons, uncles and nephews ceased to be merely domestic affair but became channels of family profits. The Civil Services have been progressively losing initiative and independence and a civil servant who can check the politician from destroying the spiritual springs of the administration is now an exception and not the rule! The permanent services can neither "hinder the hindrances of liberty" nor can they "calm an impatient Minister, press a lazy one and shield an incompetent".

The ideal of a welfare State without an effective, imaginative and independent civil service remains an idea, a concept and a programme in the Blue Books of the Government. Torn between considerations of self-preservation and pangs of conscience the permanent services of free India failed to

give their best to the State and find it profitable to follow a policy of least resistance. By constant nagging the politician has demoralised them and relaxed their moral fibres.

Nehru's reliance on the Congress as an instrument to deliver the goods made him indifferent to the need of improvement of human material of the organisation. The ineffective role of parliamentary opposition deprived him of the correcting and restraining influence of democracy. Some of his colleagues and partymen withheld their moral support from him as the social changes that were the bed-rock of socialism were not acceptable to them. "I was not quite sure", he once admitted, "that our own colleagues were as socially conscious" as he was and therefore whatever he achieved was the result of his own efforts with the backing of the growing consciousness of the masses.

Unity, secularism, democracy, planning and peace were the items on the agenda and each item needed an army of dedicated workers with missionary zeal. Absolute power, however, dried up the spiritual reservoirs of the ruling party, unredeemed wilderness for twenty years decimated the opposition and perquisites of office and attractions of political gains converted social workers into political careerists. The language controversy and craze for provincialism weakened the foundations of unity and smouldering communalism that often glowed into flame crippled the philosophy of secularism. Poverty of the masses and the economic power of the capitalist classes rendered democracy ineffective. Planning did not solve the problem of poverty. Peace was threatened by the jealousy of China and hostility of Pakistan. Nehru nonetheless worked for his ideals and showed the direction. He laid the foundation of a Socialist structure, gave a plan of the new order, collected material, started work and went

away full of honours and years. "For all those in the West", said Chester Bowles in 'An Ambassador's Report', "who believe deeply that political stability and democratic progress in Asia are essential to the peace of the world, I think no better path to an understanding of the new free Asia than an effort at sympathetic understanding of the mind and heart of Jawahar Lal Nehru".

Nehru was symbol of Asia's awakening and a statesman that constituted a bridge between the East and West. With non-aligned countries he created a new political outlook that as Frank Moraes said gave India "a new collective personality in World Affairs". At the Belgrade Conference (1961) Nehru's international status reached its zenith and the philosophy of non-alignment seemed to rule the roast. In the following year China attacked India and shortened his life by several years. The Chinese aggression belied all his hopes, falsified all his expectations and shattered his faith in the protestations of Chou En-lai of good-will for India. But China did not merely attack India, it destroyed its own soul, smeared its name, denigrated its history and heavily suffered in the loss of good-will of the world. Chinese expansionism could no more be doubted and marked an unwelcome contrast to the international honesty of Russia. "International peace", said Harold Laski, "has been the constant purpose of the Soviet Union ever since its formation". The Peking Government, however, gave a new twist to the philosophy of communism and it was not surprising that the Soviet Union pricked like a thorn in their side. Hind-sight wisdom made Nehru realize that "India had been out of touch with reality in the modern world and living in an artificial atmosphere of our own creation". He was shocked out of it and wisely learnt that non-alignment

could not be erected into a philosophy or a dogma but was to be adopted as a policy necessitating revision according to pressures of international diplomacy or designs of international aggression. Though often a visionary with creative visions his visions grew more precise on contact with reality. His impatience moderated under pressure of peculiar circumstance and though he was unwilling to abandon his basic principles he yielded on matters of minor details to accommodate an opposite point of view. "I never sacrificed", he once claimed, "anything I really valued". He steered always by the same stars and if he ever changed the course it was an attempt to reach the destination earlier. Correctly Adlai E. Stevenson said, "We live in an age swept by tides of history so powerful that they shatter human understanding. Only a tiny handful of men have influenced the implacable forces of our time. To this small company of truly great Nehru belongs".

In comparison to Gandhi his "political heir" did not touch the Gandhian heights of philosophic detachment, of spiritual purification, of political morality that found their best expressions in rigid adherence to an elevated code of life, both public and private. Passion, prejudice and duplicity could not touch much less pollute it. Gandhi started as a Social Reformer and passing through many phases of evolutionary changes gradually climaxed in a tremendous historical force. Like the Midas touch the Gandhian touch did not convert everything into gold but unlike it into something of greater value. It encouraged introspection, reformed character and purified the heart. Gandhi's leadership was essentially a leadership of character. It was not the leadership of intellect as he dealt with the verities of life. Gandhi was Christ, Mohammad, Buddha rolled into one.

He practised the benevolence of Christ, showed the tolerance of Mohammad and made Buddha's detachment motive force of his life. He not only made heroes out of clay, he did something more important, something more elevated. He tried to revive man's faith in himself and helped him to trace the hidden divinity within! And he rekindled the flame of Truth and Non-violence. "Wherever Gandhi sat", Nehru said, "became a temple and wherever he trod became hallowed ground for it was clear that this little man of poor physique had something of steel in him, something rock-like which did not yield to physical power, however great that might be".

Nehru lived and worked on a different plane. He moved in a different world. He talked a different language. His approach to the problems of life was primarily economic. Moral elevation followed though not at a great distance. "God", Gandhi once said, "appeared before a poor man in the shape of bread". Nehru did not use Gandhian idiom. Bread to him was the poor man's right and God would not appear before him in that shape. "For many months", he wrote, "I wandered about India and millions of faces passed before my eyes. . . . I sought to understand what lay behind those millions of eyes that stared at me, what untold sorrow and misery unexpressed. Glimpses came to me that illumined my vision and made me realize the immensity of the problems of the hundreds of millions of our people".

Gandhi wanted to change the individual, Nehru attempted to change the society. To Gandhi the enemy was within; to Nehru he was very much both inside and outside. Gandhi believed that the nation could be reformed if individuals reformed themselves. Nehru argued that unless privilege and possession remained intact the nation could

not create a new man. More than any other Indian of his generation, with the exception of Gandhi, he gave his best to the causes he held dear. But in an anxiety to register great results in record time he diffused the national resources on a much bigger canvas than they could adequately cover.

Drawing a comparison between Gandhi and Nehru a commentator in his book 'Hindu Character' writes: "A man of peace and non-violence, of suffering and humility, a follower of Christ's 'Sermon on the Mount' Gandhi was revered even worshipped. Exuberant and excitable, youthful and active, vehement and dashing Nehru is only loved. The highest adoration has gone to Gandhi who has completely quelled aggression. He is the Mahatma. However heroic Nehru might be he is yet human, with the faults and weaknesses of a mortal".

Nehru's strength was the common man, but his instrument was a political party that progressively declined under the demoralising influence of a long lease of power. But with his many failures Nehru's life in the words of Stanley Wolpert was "a heroic human search for purer values, deeper meaning and social identity". He could not make India great but he set a standard and gave a vision to the people. He had as Mahatma Gandhi said "an indomitable faith in his mission".

Walter Crocker in his book 'NEHRU' treats the readers to a flimsy research that Nehru destroyed the Nehru's and also Gandhism and the British Raj. There were no Nehrus in the making to be destroyed. It is rarely that a man of outstanding stature and superior calibre is succeeded by a man of equal distinction in a democracy. The Liberal and Conservative Prime Ministers who succeeded Gladstone and Disraeli were smaller to them in size and no historian ever

said that Gladstone destroyed the Gladstones and Disraeli destroyed the Disraelis. "Gandhi", in the words of General George C. Marshall, " was the spokesman for the conscience of mankind". No one can destroy Gandhism as it aimed "to wean men from their iniquities".

"Men like Jawahar Lal", the **National Herald** said in its editorial of May 28, 1967, "live in history as they are part of historical process and are not dependent on memorials set up in their memory for survival".

NEHRU'S DAUGHTER

No account of Nehru would be complete without a mention of his daughter Indira Gandhi who by close associations with her father acquired political training and tact to succeed her father's successor as Prime Minister of India! Lal Bahadur may have been an accident of history whose rise was facilitated by the up-setting politics of the Kamaraj Plan. Not so with Indira Gandhi. She stepped up in her own right with the support of the members of the Parliament who knew the meaning and implication of their choice. "Indira Gandhi", said Creighton Lacy in 'The Conscience of India', "is Prime Minister Nehru's only daughter, a woman of such quiet capability that she had been seriously proposed as her father's successor—with no hint of Nepotism".

India welcomed her as the first woman Prime Minister. The world was, however, surprised although it knew that Indira Gandhi, apart from being Nehru's daughter, had gradually acquired political importance quite independent of that relationship. Mrs. Vijay Lakshmi Pandit, Nehru's talented sister with greater diplomatic experience and a deeper insight into the administrative problems of the country, lacked that charm of personality that Indira inherited from her father and that made her acceptable to the people as the Third Prime Minister of India. While Mrs. Pandit

could be aloof and imperious, Indira Gandhi is all understanding and forbearing. There was general belief that she would continue the work of her father and help the country to tide over her many difficulties—social and economic. “In India”, she said at the National Press Club in America, “democracy has been made the instrument of change—a revolutionary process of industrial development and educational and social change. We firmly believe that democracy and development can and do go hand in hand and that human being cannot be sacrificed in the name of material development”. Devaluation of the rupee that induced a rise in prices provided her critics with a handle to attack her for incompetence and ineptitude. Devaluation was an attempt to roll back the tide in favour of exports as India could not depend on imports beyond a certain limit. Increase in the volume of the exports consequent on higher production and greater productivity was the only way to restore price stability. T. S. Eliot said in a different context that: “it was better to confess one’s weaknesses when they are certain to be revealed sooner or later than to leave them to be exposed by posterity”. The developing economy of an underdeveloped country calls for national effort and individual sacrifice but both are woefully lacking in India. While elsewhere one man’s difficulty is a social concern, in India it is another man’s opportunity. Scarcity and glut, big palaces and broken hovels, luxurious air-conditioned coaches and over-packed stinking third class compartments, protruding bellies with anaemic faces, rosy cheeks shining from perambulators drawn by Ayahs, summer sojourn on the hills and heat strokes of the plains, unwashed faces with dirty and wornout garments and scented hair with plastered nails and coloured lips supported by expensive saris all in juxtaposition, all side by side confirm the callous division of the

country into the two Nations of the Haves and Haves-not. Shades of Disraeli's 'SYBIL' seemed to have lengthened over India!

The home of the poor is often no home and poor men's children live precariously as rivals for food with their parents. Life means little to them and offers still less. It was a wise man who said that the nearer one gets to the Capital of India the farther he goes from the realities of the Indian life. Great cities disfigured by slums with care written on the faces of those who live in them are a challenge to the idea of a Welfare State and constitute a threat to democracy. Nehru knew that "no democracy can exist for long in the midst of want, poverty and inequality" and that "Welfare State has no meaning unless every individual is employed and takes part in nation building". Indira Gandhi is aware of what her father said and believed. In her anxiety to push on the work of reconstruction started by Nehru she has been unsparing and assiduous but there is no national will to build the nation and no social conscience to purify the public life. Black-markets are more active than open transactions, profiteering has bigger scope of gains than honest business deals, lawlessness pays higher dividends than respect for the laws of the land and political fortunes are made more quickly with hypocrisy than by political rectitude! The task of purification and rejuvenation is herculean but the frail Indira Gandhi, with resolute determination, is in the thick of the struggle. She strives and in striving tries to sustain the morale of the nation. Her team of Ministers, by and large, are unequal to their offices and smaller to the size of the problems of the country! M. C. Chagla's resignation on the language policy weakened the Central Government and the outgoing Minister was praised for his political

convictions. The **Link** said that "there is hardly any place in the kind of politics in vogue today" for a man like Chagla. The Indira Gandhi Government showed lack of courage and prescience in handling the vexed question of the national language of the country. The tentative decision that in five years the regional languages could profitably become the media of expression in colleges and Universities and develop adequately to meet the requirements of law, medicine and technology was both improvident and unfortunate! Fillip to regional languages without the connecting and co-ordinating link of the English language carried a direct threat to the unity of India. The sponsors of the new policy of the Government forget that more powerful to the logic of words is the logic of reality. The Lord according to the Old Testament is reported to have suggested to the angels, "Let us go down and confuse their language that they may not understand one another's speech". Triguna Sen and his colleagues may be ticked off by the future historian if their language policy leads to spiritual alienation of the South India from the North India even if the fears of balkanisations happily prove illusory.

Welles Hangen in his widely read book 'After Nehru Who' did not rate Indira Gandhi as a serious candidate to her father's place. He argued that she could not muster support to become the Prime Minister "Except with Nehru's strong backing or without the support of unseen forces dedicated to the Nehru legend and its trappings". Indira Gandhi apart from being Nehru's daughter from whom she learned much and to whom she owed much more was not an echo of her father. The Nehru legend could not have defeated a formidable rival like Morarji Desai who was not far behind Lal Bahadur Shastri in the "Consensus" race.

While Mohammad Ali Jinnah's sister and Sardar Patel's daughter had no political existence outside the political influence of a brother and a father respectively, Indira Gandhi had steadily grown into a political being that could neither be ignored nor denied an opportunity to play a prominent role in the public life of the country. When the time came she did not go out in search of the key to open the door. Nor as Welles Hangen anticipated was the door battered down by Nehru's friends and admirers. Her moderately left politics reconciled her to the bulk of the Congress Leaders and the members of the Parliament. Morarji Desai is superior to Indira Gandhi both in calibre and grasp but he lives in the age of economic man when Indira Gandhi has shrewdly grasped the fact that the age of social man has commenced and economic man has lost much of his political value. Vice-President Humphrey described her "a politician of considerable magnitude". The **Chicago Sun-Times** called her a "twentieth century Indian Mona Lisa whose smile meant all things to all men".

Her refusal or reluctance (as the case may have been) to occupy the centre of stage in the Government of Lal Bahadur raised her stock, enhanced her reputation and saved her the charge of political pushfulness that often blocks the road. She became the Prime Minister as she was not in-ordinately keen to occupy that exalted position. She got the prize as she did not run after it. Nehru correctly assessed her when he said, "I have great regard for her qualities, her temperament, her energy and integrity".

CONGRESS WITHOUT NEHRU

Within three years of Nehru's death the country went to the polls for the fourth general election. The claim that it was Nehru who took the Congress to victory on his shoulders was vindicated. The Congress leadership minus Nehru was so diminutive in size that it could not save the loss of over half a dozen provinces to the Congress. Nor could it check the rot of defections in the Congress ranks that subsequently cost power in several more States. The strength of the Congress at the Centre also appreciably dwindled but it retained its majority in the Lok Sabha.

The Indian masses voted first for Gandhi, then for Nehru. They seldom voted for individual Congressmen. With Nehru's death they started voting for individual candidates and rejected, in bulk, those Congressmen who had no credentials of merit or who had failed to satisfy the people. The Congress ticket without the stamp of Nehru's personality was not a passport of success. It was like the ticket of any other political party. Congress in power had established its claim to a progressive policy programme but authenticated its inadequacy both to implement it to the satisfaction of the people and to find out the best available material of the party to run the Government. It had started losing its hold on the people in Nehru's lifetime but his voice and living appeal in electioneering campaigns created

political nostalgia and the hesitant voter reverted to his old loyalty to the people's Tribune. The minorities, the illiterate farmers, the hard pressed industrial labourers, the unemployed and the under-employed were willing to trust Nehru even when they lost confidence in the profession and performance of the Congress Governments! Nehru's ideas and ideals were in conformity to their aims and hopes. His popularity, therefore, pulled through the Congress to victory in the second and third general elections although shrinkage of the Congress base could not be doubted.

Nehru appealed to the educated voter through his head and attracted an uneducated voter through his heart. M. N. Roy was not well served by his facts when he said that "Logic has never been the strong point of Nehru, otherwise he could not be the heir-designate of the most successful prophet of irrationalism of the twentieth century. Nehru is misfit in politics, he was cast for the role of a poet or play actor". Roy ignored Nehru's basic sincerity to the creed of political democracy and the depth of his economic convictions for social equality. His faith in the people of India, notwithstanding their caste and communal differences, remained undimmed. He once said, "Nehrus come and go. That is the way of the world. But the people of India continue. They will lay strong foundations, they will produce enough people to lead them and they will march forward hand in hand". It was this faith, this hope and this reliance that gripped the masses and, notwithstanding its many failures, they aligned with Nehru's Congress. During his lifetime Nehru and Congress were synonymous in India and Nehru and India were synonymous to the world outside! On his death the Congress lost the Nehru-strength and its political opponents made big dents on its image. Congress

was orphaned on Gandhi's death, on Nehru's death it lost its God-father. Collective leadership is always a poor substitute for a leader who has complete grip on the mass mind and maintains his status and importance by towering above his political coadjutors! India was reduced on Gandhi's death, Congress was reduced on Nehru's death, while Congressmen reduced themselves by political trafficking and mutual distrust and recriminations! Observers are not lacking who argue that the Congress has out-lived its utility and new historical urges cannot be influenced to accommodate it. This seems an extreme view, a hasty generalisation. Having survived all these years the Congress under new auspices and with a new social out-look can still play a significant role in the history of the country. Political ninnies and noodles, exhausted political fossils and wornout careerists that damaged the image of the Congress for twenty years must be replaced by better human material if the party is to be saved from total disintegration. Nehru once correctly said that "in the final analysis it is the quality of human beings that counts". Congress was built by character, by service, by sacrifice, by public and private morality. It is being destroyed by greed, by hypocrisy and by what the Greeks called "hubris" or arrogance that invites disaster.

Defections endorsed in prosperity by the Congress leaders, went back like boomerangs on them in adversity. Having sown the wind of a handful of favourable defections they had to reap the whirlwind of wholesale unfavourable defections! Defectionists who crossed the floor knew that in the absence of Nehru the Congress leadership was inadequate to tip the electoral scales against them in future. Plums of office having been shared by the members of the inner circle of the leaders in the States without break the

defectionists thought their chance lay elsewhere. Old timers blocked the path of new aspirants and as politics declined from a dignified career to a lucrative profession defections became part of political game to gain new political laurels.

The heavy Congress reverses can be traced to many causes. Nehru's death snapped the link that connected the organisation to the masses outside. Rajagopalacharia's comments that "Congress representatives in the Legislatures are such people whom any first class magistrate could round up because they are persons without any ostensible means of livelihood" in reality meant nothing more than that the selection of Congress candidates to the popular assemblies was very unsatisfactory and Congress leadership had sacrificed everything to the chance of success of their nominees. Groupism, personal vendetta, concession to docility and preference for those who danced attendance on pocket-leaders to those who depended on their education and merit worked havoc not only in U.P. but accounted for heavy reverses in all the States!

The Congress Working Committee made a post-mortem of the electoral debacle in order to detect the loopholes. Kamaraj Nadar passed the buck to the Government and absolved the organisation from responsibility for poor electoral performances. Morarji Desai agreed with him. Gulzari Lal Nanda traced them to economic and religious discontentment. Chavan argued that the reverses could not be attributed to the inadequacy of the record of the Government. S. K. Patil blamed the Government and its policies. In an article a distinguished correspondent of the **Times of India** compared the members of the Working Committee who attempted to find out the causes of debacle to the blindmen of the fable who touched the different parts

of an elephant to describe the animal! Apparently they all failed to describe it!

Power exacts a heavy price and demoralises those who run after it. It both woos and jilts according to the toughness of the moral fibres of those who compete for it. It has no permanent friends and no permanent enemies. Dame Power does not believe in the restrictions and loyalty of a matrimonial alliance; it enjoys the freedom of a spinster. It was enamoured of Nehru's personality. It was impressed by his integrity. It liked even his child-like pranks! It started flirting with others once Nehru was not there to whistle for it!

Not only the Government and the organisation contributed jointly to electoral misfortunes, the part played by individual Congressmen was equally disastrous. If Congressmen behaved with restraint, did not abuse their association with the ruling party and did not forget their real status and inherent worth they would have retained people's confidence. By feeding their conceit on illusions that even a lamp-post with a Congress ticket could smash a superior rival they went a cropper. Political narcissism undid them! In an editorial 'Learning from the Defeat' the **National Herald** in its issue of February 25, 1967 correctly said, "All Congressmen are responsible for the kind of defeats which the Congress has suffered in the general elections, there is no need to search for scape-goats". Frank Moraes considered the results of the fourth general election "a silent revolution" and in bringing it about the electorate "showed a sense of judgement and discrimination". "The verdict of the electorate", he further argued, "is justified and in the eyes of most Indians the Congress has at last got what it long deserved".

The Gandhi Congress ended with Gandhi, the Nehru Congress ended with Nehru, whether there can be a people's Congress remains to be seen! The Congress as a political force has been progressively losing ground. To regain what has already been lost it is necessary to restore the self-respect and dignity of honest but humble Congressmen who spiritually dissociated themselves from the active politics of the organisation when they could not bear the over-bearing behaviour and rank favouritism of the men of straw who acquired fleeting importance in the district politics on the strength of venom that they injected into it with group-syringes. The true measure of the future utility of a political party is what it can do when it is faced with disintegration; or is otherwise in distress! To survive and revive it must, like the political parties of England, seek the aid of men of ability and follow the lead of men of character and integrity.

PERSONAL EQUALION

“Who rowing hard against the stream,
Saw distant gates of Eden gleam,
And did not dream it was a dream”.

“The struggle in Nehru”, John Gunther said in ‘Inside Asia’, “was triple. He was an Indian who became a Westerner, an aristocrat who became a Socialist, an individualist who became a great mass leader”. In addition he was an emotional political agitator who became a sober statesman. That was, however, a later development to John Gunther’s assessment. A very pleasing trait of his character was that he grew old but stayed young! Age did not harden his youthful playfulness into morose severity. He preserved his mental resilience and humour until the Chinese betrayal made him sedate, prosaic and sombre. Disillusionment shattered his faith in international commitments as it never occurred to him that the friendship that had existed between India and China for two thousand years, would be disturbed by aggression on the Indian territory! India had shown utmost solicitude to the people of China and the Indian Government had sincerely desired to befriend their Government. The slogan ‘Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai’ was not an empty claptrap but honest expression of the wish of the people of India to preserve friendly relations with their Chinese neighbours. Nehru’s anguish on unprovoked attack

was an unuttered caesarian lament "Et tu Brute". Thou too Brutus!

His faith in democracy and socialism, however, even after Chinese aggression did not undergo a change. His personal equation remained unchanged. He remained what he had always been—a lover of peace, a friend of the under-dog and a benefactor of mankind. "Peace is our passion", he said, "as it is essential for our growth". It remained so till his death in 1964. When Gandhi died the world lost a messiah, when Nehru died the world lost a creative thinker who in the words of Frank Moraes "imparted and imported new values and dimensions which though he adopted them to Indian conditions drew their inspiration primarily from outside India". Nehru's wail that he was queer mixture of East and West out of place everywhere was more idiosyncratic than real. He was a simple human phenomenon that was out of place nowhere as he talked a universal language. Born and brought up in the East he received his education in the West and returned to the East to galvanise it with modern Western philosophy of change and advancement without which India could not be lifted to the twentieth century. He early realized that India had to choose between progress and some of her old customs. He looked to realistic pressures—social and economic to transform India. When some one mentioned Gandhi's indirect attack on caste system he agreed but added, "an even greater power than he is at work—the conditions of modern life and it seems that at last this hoary and tenacious relic of past times must die".

Gandhi's leadership sublimated Nehru's political thinking and contact with the poor peasantry of U.P., with a simultaneous study of Marxian philosophy of Socialism, made him an instrument of human struggle for a happier and

better world for those whom life meant little and offered still less. "Our final aim", he wrote in his autobiography, "can only be a classless society—with equal economic justice and opportunity for all, a society organised on a planned basis for raising of mankind to higher material and cultural levels, to a cultivation of spiritual values, of co-operation, unselfishness, the spirit of service, the desire to do right, goodwill and love—ultimately a new world order".

Nehru's mental horizon was wider to the horizon of many living statesmen of his time as the object of his foreign policy was "enlargement of human freedom". He considered it both possible and necessary that Capitalism, Socialism and liberal democracy could and should thrive in juxtaposition without destroying one another. The wisest course appeared to accept the world as it was and bring toleration to make it bigger and fuller for human happiness. National salvation of a country he argued lay in its own thinking, profiting where necessary by the example of other countries but in essentially finding a path for itself suited to its own condition.

Neither ego nor vanity disfigured Nehru's personality. He struggled against odds and went forward with the sustaining faith in the goodwill of the people to assist him to give the twentieth century definition of democracy to them. He consistently insisted that a new definition of democracy was necessary to conform it to the requirement of the changing world.

"It is entirely wrong", said Julian Huxley in an essay on 'Living in a Revolution', "to equate democracy with representative government. That is one aspect of democracy, the political aspect: democracy must extend into economic and social and all other aspects of life if it is to be complete".

Nehru aimed and worked for complete as opposed to partial democracy that formed the bedrock of the conception of democracy of his many compatriots and colleagues.

Nehru's faith in the growing generations of his country was tremendous. "Every child", he once said, "whether boy or girl is a potential President or Prime Minister of India". It is said that General Garfield, the President of America, never passed a boy in a street without thinking that someday he might owe him a salute! Such is the strength of democracy that even a non-descript boy of unknown parents can, with his natural gifts, industry and integrity, occupy the highest office of responsibility. Nehru's confidence in his own people was part of a great behaviour and offered a vivid contrast to De Gaulle's self-consciousness. When a deputy of the National Assembly asked him what the future of France would be in his absence De Gaulle replied, "you have to find another De Gaulle". Speaking in the Constituent Assembly Nehru said, "whether we are men and women of destiny or not, India is a country of destiny".

Nehru was industrious, kind, accessible, responsive and understanding. His handicap was a country where communalism, casteism and traditionalism were dominating prejudices, where sense of civic responsibility was dwarfed by pressures of private gains, where politics was exploited as a profession and not valued as a career, where men sought palm without dust, where administration was slack and circumlocutory, where small men handled big problems and big men remained engrossed in small matters and where corruption seeped from top to bottom and rose up from bottom to top. Notwithstanding heavy odds he utilised his opportunities as best as circumstances allowed and created new ones to further his cause. Nehru struggled to lift

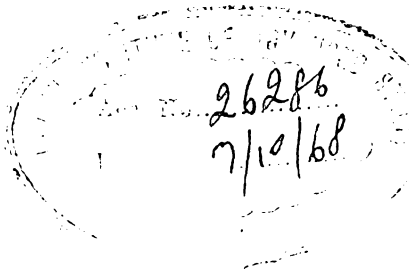
India to world influence keeping in view Gandhiji's desire to lift it "to world service". History while not ignoring his many failings may rank him with Jefferson, Lincoln and Roosevelt as maker of a new nation with a positive and purposeful philosophy of life. "Nehru", said Carlos P. Romulo, "is one man in a Century". Lord Bertrand Russel said in a written article "that Nehru's absence will teach us how much we owe him". Sir J. A. R. Marriot writes in 'England Since Waterloo' about Gladstone that "...Nevertheless no one could look upon him without a sense that here was a man cast in an heroic mould and whether he was right on a given question or wrong in nothing was less than great". Future historians when they write the history of India and make an impartial and objective assessment of Nehru's achievements and failures may find he was forestalled by Marriot in his assessment of Gladstone.

Nehru's contributions in domestic affairs were democracy, the idea of secularism, the Plans for development of the economy of the country and political stability. He found India in the bullock-cart age and he made her understand the importance of the new age of automobile and the aeroplane! His idea and ideals according to Marie Seton that were discussed in the book 'Panditji' had become part of India's twentieth century heritage and have passed to the world heritage.

A person attempting within a decade of his death, to write a book on Nehru must not be expected to present a life-size and life-like picture of the man. His nearness to the object makes the task difficult. Correctly the first Lord Birkenhead when asked to give an estimate of Lord Reading said, "It is still too soon to run the risk of affronting the correct perspective of posterity by attempting any exhaustive

or final estimate of the effect of his life and work". For the present the best epithet that can be placed on any memorial raised in his memory can be the praise that William Ewart Gladstone gave to Lord Macaulay.

"An extraordinarily full life, of sustained exertion, high table-land without depressions". Nehru however desired that the epitaph should be: "This was a man who, with all his mind and heart loved India and the Indian people. And they, in turn, were indulgent to him and gave him of their love most abundantly and extravagantly".



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