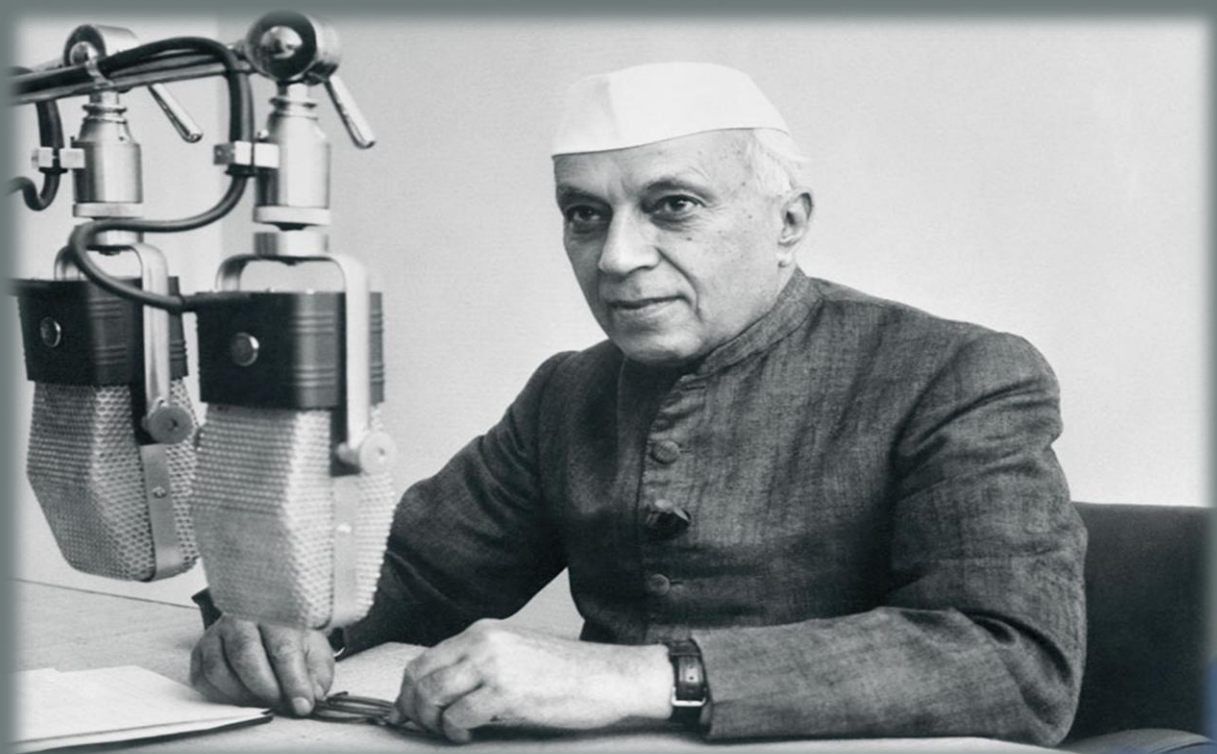


Jawaharlal Nehru's Vision of Post Independence India



An e-Book by
Prof. Uday Mehta



Published by
Centre for Study of Society and Secularism

602 & 603, New Silver Star, Prabhat Colony Road, Santacruz East,
Mumbai - 400055.

Published and circulated as a digital copy in February 2022

© Centre for Study of Society and Secularism

All rights reserved

No part of this book may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including, printing, photocopying, recording or by any information storage or retrieval system, without the prior written permission of the publisher and without prominently acknowledging the publisher.

Centre for Study of Society and Secularism,

603, New Silver Star, Prabhat Colony Road, Santacruz (East), Mumbai, India

Tel: +91 9987853173

Email: csss.mumbai@gmail.com

Website: www.csss-isla.com

Contents

	<i>Page No.</i>
1. Foreword	02
2. Basic tenets of Indian planning	03
3. Jawaharlal Nehru	13
4. Extracts from the writings of late pandit Jawaharlal Nehru - 1933 - his vision of independent India	24

FOREWORD

We thought of brining out a small booklet on Late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru after several decades of his demise because we strongly feel his life work and attempts that he and his team consisting of eminent Indian nationalists, made to reconstitute India, their vision still inspires a sense of deep depression at the present plight of the nation. Unfortunately those who claim to represent Gandhi, Nehru legacy have hardly justified this legacy.

As Rostislav Ulyanovsky, an eminent Russian Socialist Scientist brilliantly brought sometime in the last century. Nehru's activities were not confined to the sphere of politics. He had sophisticated intelligence, an encyclopedic erudition, a profound philosophical frame of mind. In his immense literary heritage a universal education and broad interests, the originality and sharpness of wit combine with the sensitive approach, full of inner warmth, temperament and dramatism, of a man seeking and fighting, at times doubting and erring but never abandoning his faith in progress. Nehru was a philosopher and a poet. One is apt to think that even if he had not been an outstanding political leader; his historic-philosophic writings alone would have entitled him to the attention and interest of posterity. Nehru's literary work, however, cannot be separated from his political biography. "The more action and thought are allied and integrated, the more effective they become and the happier you grow.... The happiest man is he whose thinking and action are co-ordinated," he said.

We strongly feel that one cannot think of better and higher tribute than the above observations.

Uday Mehta

BASIC TENETS OF INDIAN PLANNING

Uday Mehta

Constitutional Safeguards

The basic characteristic of the post-independence era is that the planned transformation that is being introduced now is due to factors wholly indigenous to Indian society. This was a qualitative break from the past. Needless to say, such break has tremendous significance in the growth of Indian society.

Partition of the country on communal grounds was the first major event after political freedom. In contrast to Pakistan which is based on theocratic principles, the new Indian state claims to take a neutral position in religious matters.

A proper appraisal of the character of the new state, reflected in the Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of the state policy as enunciated in the Indian Constitution, is essential for comprehending the nature of social transformations taking place in Indian society after independence.

The Indian Constitution has proclaimed certain rights as fundamental for the Indian citizens. These rights include among others, the right to equality before law, non-discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste or sex, unrestricted access to shops, places of public entertainment, the use of wells, tanks, roads etc. maintained wholly or partly out of the state funds to all citizens on India.

Similarly, the Indian Constitution also guarantees equality of opportunity in the matter of public employment. It also further ensures some other fundamental rights as freedom of speech and expression. Right of peaceful assembly, formation of associations and unions, unrestricted movement and right to settle in any part of the Indian Territory.

The Indian Constitution further guarantees the right to hold and dispose of property to Indian citizens. It also provides for the right against exploitation by prohibiting traffic in human beings and forced labour and child employment. The Constitution also grants right to freedom and propagation of religion, subject to public order, morality and health and other constitutional provisions.

Before analysing the implications of the fundamental rights we shall briefly refer to the directive principles of state policy.

These principles are referred to such because the provisions contained in this part shall not be enforceable by any court. But the principles laid down therein are nevertheless fundamental in the governance of the country and it shall be the duty of the state to apply these principles in making laws.

Further, Article 38 of the Constitution lays down that the state shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a

social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life.

The state shall, in particular, so direct its policy as to secure to its citizens the right to an adequate means of livelihood, guarantee to them that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good and that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment; that there is equal pay for equal work for both man and women; that the health and strength of workers, men and women; and the tender age of children are not abused and that the citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age and strength.

Further, Part XVI of the Constitution makes special provisions for Scheduled Castes and Tribes, the traditional weaker sections of Indian society. These provisions relate to reservation of seats for them in the House of the People.

New Egalitarian Social Order

Thus, the rights and directive principles of the Constitution open a new horizon before Indian citizens. The formulation of the state policy based on these rights and principles is of paramount significance to Indian society. The new state is wedded to the ideals of a parliamentary democracy. The architects of modern India aspired to build a social order based on egalitarian principles. Thus, the new society as visualised by the framers of the Constitution was no longer a closed social system but a dynamic open social organisation. In a closed society, birth determines the status of the individual in social hierarchy while the new egalitarian social order visualised by the architects of modern India was to be a dynamic one wherein the individual would no longer be a prisoner of caste hierarchy but a free being whose status would be determined by his personal achievements. With independence, theoretically at least, the Indian citizens entered a new epoch, which promised the absence of social barriers, unimpeded social mobility, wherein life goals would be evaluated in terms of “this-worldly” happiness. The modernisation of Indian society as visualised by the new democratic government left very little scope for traditions and rituals and is based on the principle of rationality. In the new social order, individualism is to be prominent, and the value system permeable.

Fundamental Rights

It can also be seen from a perusal of the Indian Constitution that it has evolved two distinct categories of rights, viz. The fundamental rights and the other privileges or aspirations embodied in the directive principles. In contrast to the right of property which has been made a basic right, right to work, employment and education and such other rights are treated as directive principles of state policy. It implies that these rights cannot be enforced in any court of law. By affirming the right to property as a fundamental right the new state maintained continuity with British rule and thereby created a premise for a bourgeois democratic state based on the principle of private property in the means of production and profit as motive of production.

As Dr. A.R. Desai points out, it is no accident that most of the fundamental acts which were framed during the British period with regard to property and forms of property organisation, continued to persist in their essential aspects during the post-independence period. Similarly, the Central Code for crime and procedure for Criminal Code wherein the basic categories of crime against property and persons were embodied under British rule remained almost unchanged even after independence. The clauses embodied in the Directive Principles indicate the tasks and services that are to be provided to different sections of the people by the state, provided they can be realised within the framework of a social order based on the axis of private property system.

It is also essential at this juncture to briefly refer to the approach and actual measures adopted by the Indian planners since independence to achieve the above objectives. As this appraisal basically deals with the agrarian problem, its scope is restricted to these endeavours which seek to achieve all-round development and welfare of the rural people. It may be noted here that the Government of India has kept agriculture as a state subject.

First Five-Year Plan: Guiding Objectives

While stressing the need for planning in underdeveloped countries, the First Five Year Plan, Draft Outline, points out:

“In the industrially advanced countries, broadly speaking, the emphasis of planning is on a correction of the shortcomings of the system of private enterprise through changes which would secure a more equal distribution of the benefits of economic development. For countries relatively underdeveloped, the problem is to promote rapid development and at the same time to see that the benefits of this development accrue to all classes of community. Economic progress is, therefore, interpreted to mean much more than the building up of efficient apparatus for production of material goods. It means also the provision of social services, the widening of opportunities for the common man and social equality and justice. Such all-round progress cannot be attained without planning.

The problems before the planners in an underdeveloped country like ours were innumerable. Politically, the new government was confronted with the problem of the absorption of the feudal states, reconstitution of the regional state units, elimination of foreign pockets and of evolving a democratic set-up of administration. In the economic sphere, the government was faced with the task of building up a prosperous national economy based on a harmonious growth of its industrial and agricultural sectors, and also that of creating a strong industrial base that could free Indian economy from foreign dependence. This also implied acceleration of the process of capital formation and provision of minimum subsistence needs of the vast bulk of the unemployed and underemployed people as well as of poor peasants, artisans, agricultural labourers and lower strata of middle class.

The government tackled the problem of absorbing the feudal states adroitly and firmly by eliminating the erstwhile princely states and incorporating their territories into the

Indian Union. Although during the pre-independence period the Indian National Congress had accepted the principle of reorganisation of the provinces on linguistic principles, nevertheless, the Indian Constitution did not provide for the reconstitution of the provinces on this basis. This led to a series of struggles of various linguistic groups in different parts of the country. The government ultimately instituted a States Reorganisation Commission to study this crucial problem. Nevertheless, the Commission's recommendations did not fully resolve the problem of reorganisation of provinces, and the struggles over border territories still continue in some states as Maharashtra and Mysore. In the administrative sphere the new government has created separate ministries at the Central as well as the State levels to efficiently implement its developmental programmes.

In the economic sphere, the two Industrial Policy Resolutions of April, 1948 and April, 1956 indicate a major approach of Indian planning in this direction. These Resolutions clearly affirm that the economic development in India shall proceed on the principles of a mixed economy. The government seeks to translate this policy into action through its five-year-plans. The adoption of the pattern of mixed economy implies complementary growth of public and private sectors. Public sector occupies a significant place in Indian planning and is projected essentially for the development of heavy industries.

Problems in the Agrarian Sector

In agrarian areas, the new regime was confronted with problems of (a) sub-division and fragmentation of land; (b) a vast chain of intermediaries between the actual tiller of the soil and the State; (c) exploitation of the kisans by the moneylenders and other vested interests in land; (d) defective land tenure system; (e) growing burdens of land revenues, in short, problems of colonial framework of Indian economy and the resultant growing burdens of indebtedness and increasing impoverishment of the peasantry.

For achieving an egalitarian social order, the Plan Draft Outline proposed such measures as the abolition of zamindari, the fixation of fair rents for tenants, the provision of security of tenure for the cultivator and the progressive substitution of usury by organised credit at reasonable rates of interest to promote economic and social equality. Its recommendations for reorganisation of the rural economy in the direction of co-operative village management are intended to create conditions in which pursuit of economic equality and social justice will be reconciled with the urgent need for increased production.

Land Policy

In the formulation of land policy, increase of agricultural production was given topmost priority in the First plan. Secondly, the planners sought to diversify agricultural economy with a view to achieving a higher level of efficiency.

The process of the abolition of intermediaries' rights had already begun at the initiation of the First Five Year Plan. With regard to the implementation of this programme, the Plan points out: "On account of the abolition of feudal tenures which is in progress in many states, the system of landholding over the greater part of the country is beginning to approximate in substance to the ryotwari system."

The Plan visualised two aspects of land reforms: (1) from the point of view of agricultural production, and (2) from the point of view of different interests in land. For resolving the problem of small holdings, an upper limit of land was thought of

(i) through a limit for future acquisition, (ii) limit for resumption for personal cultivation. Limits would differ for different States. Further, in respect of land which is managed directly by substantial owners and where there are no tenants in occupation, the First Plan was guided by two broad principles:

- (1) There should be no absolute limit to the amount of land which any individual may hold
- (2) The cultivation and management of land held by an individual owner should conform to standards of efficiency to be determined by law.

The Plan permitted resumption on the ground that the number of family holdings not exceeding three which can be cultivated by the adult workers belonging to an owner's family with the assistance of agricultural labour to the extent customary among those who cultivate their own lands.

Co-operative Farming

Further, the Plan advocated strongly for the adoption of the system of co-operative farming as a way out of the evils of small and uneconomic holdings which are considered the root cause of the obstacles in the path of agricultural development. For encouraging co-operative farming, the First Plan provided for the following incentives: (i) Preference should be given to co-operative farming in leasing agricultural waste land. (ii) Preference also in the matter of supplies, finance, technical assistance and marketing.

Co-operative Village Management

The Co-operative Village Management is described in the Plan as an ideal and in a sense unique way for solving many vital problems like land fragmentation and uneconomic holdings and their resultant evil effects on productivity of land. The First Five Year Plan while indicating the immense significance of the co-operative village management for rural India visualised that even after the problem relating to land belonging to substantial owners have been dealt with, there would still be considerable disparity of interests between the small and middle owner, the tenant and the landless labour. Concession to one at the expense of another may certainly benefit a few, but intrinsically such measure may not sufficiently promote the rapid increase of agricultural production. Apart from sharpening the conflict of interests within the rural community, proposals for further regulations in effect may amount to sharing poverty. Under such circumstances, the scheme of co-operative village management was considered an ideal solution for preventing such sharpening of internal tensions of the village community and at the same time paving the way for the efficient and superior mode of cultivation.

Safeguards for Private Property in Rural India

It can be seen from the above observations that even under the scheme of co-operative village management, the property rights of peasant proprietors are to be duly safeguarded and any undue curtailment of the right of private property, according to the Plan, would only tend to sharpen the tensions and would amount to sharing poverty among the agrarian population.

According to the First Plan, the primary objective of co-operative village management is to ensure that the land and other resources of a village can be organised and developed from a standpoint of the village community as a whole. The rights of ownership are determined by the land reform legislations of the state. Even after a system of co-operative village management is established, the rate of rent or ownership dividend to be allowed to an owner in respect of his land will be determined on the basis of the tenancy law of the state. What the land management legislation enables a village community to do is to manage the entire area of a village, both cultivated and uncultivated, as if it were a single farm. According to their needs and experience, village communities will devise arrangements which serve them best. There has to be a great deal of trial and experiment before patterns of organisation which will best promote the interests of the rural population can be evolved.

Pattern of Reorganisation

As a matter of fact, even prior to evolving this “unique” approach for reshaping the agrarian economy, the planners had given thought to some other methods of raising agricultural output and the size of the unit of cultivation. In this connection several ways of rural reorganisation were discussed. These are:

- (i) By nationalising land making it available for collective cultivation;
- (ii) By placing a ceiling on existing holdings and utilising land in excess of the ceiling for increasing the size of uneconomic holdings or for distribution to the landless or for co-operative cultivation.
- (iii) By offering some inducements to small farmers to become members of co-operative farming societies, and
- (iv) By taking village as a whole as a unit of comparative management in which while meeting the claims of ownership through an ownership dividend, the entire area is treated as a single farm and is divided for convenience of cultivation into suitable blocks.

In this context, nationalisation of land was viewed by the planners as unsuitable and undesirable in Indian conditions. The planners argued that apart from compensation to the landlords, there is the age-old tradition of peasant proprietorship in this country, which cannot be easily overlooked. It may be pointed out here that this argument is far from convincing. As we observed in the first chapter, one of the basic characteristics of the Indian village community during the pre-British period was collective possession of village land. This fact has been noted by a number of scholars. Thus, Indian history does not vindicate the above presumption of the planners.

Secondly, India being wedded to a democratic set-up, this method was considered harmful. The planners visualised that the policy of co-operative village management would provide an ideal alternative wherein the element of coercion would be absent, yet the cultivation would be collective as the farmers would pool their resources together. The village was considered an ideal unit of planning. Further, keeping in view the reality of Indian agricultural conditions, the planners visualised that the scheme of co-operative village management may not become feasible immediately. That is why they laid stress on development of different types of co-operative farms in the initial stage. Formation of such farms was sought to be expedited by making provision for special financial and other technical assistance to such farms.

The next important programme evolved by the First Plan to achieve all round amelioration of rural life was the Community Development Projects and National Extension Service.

Community Development Projects and National Extension Service

In the First Five Year Plan, Community Development Programme was described as the method and rural extension as the agency through which the process of transformation of the social and economic life of villages was to be initiated. The Programme sought to achieve intensive development of the project area with the help of active participation of the rural people. The programme envisages the creation of numerous voluntary organisations for fulfilling its objectives. In the Community Development Programme, the unit of operation is the developmental block which represents on an average 100 villages with a population of 66,000 spread over an area of 150 to 170 sq. miles.

The Second Five-Year Plan

In contrast to the First Plan, the Second Five Year Plan was formulated with reference to the following principal objectives:

- (i) A sizable increase in national income so as to raise the level of living in the country;
- (ii) Rapid industrialisation with particular emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries;
- (iii) A large expansion of employment opportunities; and
- (iv) Reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and more even distribution of economic power.

Unlike the First Plan which laid more stress on agricultural development, the Second Plan considered rapid industrialisation as the core of developmental programme.

The Second Plan also further proclaimed the attainment of the socialist pattern of society as the ultimate objective of the Indian planned development. The underlying implications of the “socialist pattern of society” were that the basic criterion for determining the lines of advance is not private profit, but social gain. The benefits of economic development must accrue to the relatively less privileged classes of society, and

there should be a progressive reduction of the concentration of income, wealth and power. The public sector has to expand rapidly and the private sector has to play its part within the framework of the comprehensive plan accepted by the community.

Pattern of Village Development

The Second Plan while continuing the earlier policy adopted in the First Plan, further developed the concept of reconstruction of the village community along co-operative lines. According to the Plan, it implied, firstly, that a more or less homogenous social structure in which different sections of the community have equal opportunities is brought into existence and secondly, that the economic basis of village life is to be greatly expanded and strengthened.

Nevertheless, taking into consideration the immediate reality of rural society, the Second Plan observes: "During the transition to co-operative village management, lands in the village will be managed in three different ways. Firstly, there will be individual farmers cultivating their own holdings. Secondly, there will be groups of farmers who will pool their lands voluntarily in their own interests into co-operative working units. Thirdly, there will be some land belonging to the village community as a whole. This will include the common lands of the village, the village site, cultivable waste lands assigned to the village, lands whose ownership or management is entrusted to the village on the application of the ceiling on agricultural holdings and lastly, lands available for the settlement of the landless. Thus, one could visualise within the scheme of land management in each village an individual sector, a voluntary co-operative sector and community sector.

Tenancy Rights

Commenting on the performance of the Land Reform Programme adopted during the First Plan period, the Second Plan points out: "In giving effect to legislation for the protection of tenants some difficulties have arisen which can be traced to the definition of the expression 'personal cultivation' which is frequently used, but not always with the same meaning. In all states, 'personal cultivation' includes cultivation through servants or hired labourers." Broadly speaking, personal cultivation may be said to have three elements, namely, risk of cultivation, personal supervision and labour.

Referring to the problem of land ceiling, the Plan exempts the following categories from the purview of ceiling:

- (i) Composite enterprises such as tea, coffee and rubber plantations.
- (ii) Orchards where they constitute reasonably compact areas.
- (iii) Specialised farms engaged in cattle breeding, dairying, wool-raising, etc.
- (iv) Efficiently managed farms which consist of compact blocks on which heavy investment or permanent structural improvements have been made whose break-up is likely to lead to a fall in production.

Third Five Year Plan: Approach to Agriculture

The Third Plan laid increasing emphasis on making economy self-reliant and self-governing within the shortest period.

Unlike the first two plans which stressed more on the significance of institutional changes, the Third Plan concentrated more on technological improvement in Indian agriculture. The Plan states: “.....the development of agriculture based on the utilisation of manpower resources of the countryside and the maximum use of local resources holds a key to the rapid development of the country”

The Third Plan was also optimistic in increasing the crop-yields by providing adequate irrigation, supplies of fertilisers, improved seeds and implements, education of the farmers in using better methods of cultivation and reforms of land tenures and development of agricultural economy along co-operative lines. According to the Plan, “In any long-term view, the prospects of agricultural development are closely connected with the success achieved in:

- (i) Bringing about technical changes, specially the adoption of scientific agricultural practices and improved implements and other equipments.
- (ii) Fuller utilisation of manpower resources in rural areas and the organisation of the maximum local efforts;
- (iii) Reorganisation of rural economy along co-operative lines, including the provision of services, credit, marketing, processing and distribution and co-operative farming;
- (iv) Improved utilisation of available land resources through systematic land-use planning, extension of multiple cropping and introduction of improved cropping patterns, and
- (v) Expansion of non-agricultural activities in rural areas so as to diversify the occupational structure and reduce dependence on agriculture.

Fourth Five-Year Plan

According to the Fourth Plan (1969-74), the record of the previous few years showed that the basic strategy of Indian planning as enunciated at the beginning of the Second Five-Year Plan is not at fault. The Fourth Plan aimed at accelerating the tempo of economic activities with a view to providing productive employment to all, extend the base of social services and bring about significant improvement in living standards of the people. It proposed to introduce safeguards against the fluctuations of agricultural production and the uncertainties of foreign aid.

In the agricultural sector, the Fourth Plan stressed two major objectives. The first objective is to provide necessary conditions for a sustained increase of about 5 percent per year over the next decade. Secondly, it proposed to involve as large a section of the rural population as possible, including the small cultivator and the agricultural labourer, to participate in development and share its benefits. For raising agricultural production, the Plan strategy basically relied on intensive agriculture taking into consideration the limitations of bringing additional area under cultivation.

Fifth Five-Year Plan

The Fifth Plan was scheduled to be launched on 1st April, 1974. The two major objectives proclaimed by the plan are: removal of poverty and attainment of economic self-reliance. The National Development Council in December 1973 approved the Draft Fifth Five-Year Plan with an outlay of Rs.53,411 crores.

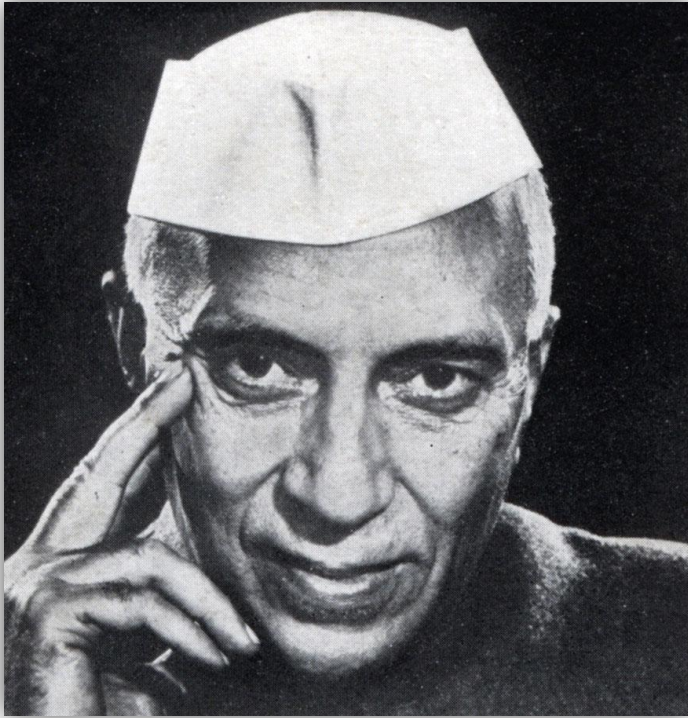
In the agricultural sector, the “approach” document on the Plan envisages stepping up of annual expenditure on rural water supply schemes from Rs. 40 crores to Rs. 100 10 120 crores per year to meet the basic minimum needs by the end of the Fifth Plan. It also proposed an enlarged programme for providing house sites to landless labourers.

Employment policy in the Plan seeks to expand both wage and self-employment. The Fifth Plan is also optimistic about providing 100 percent facilities for education in the age group 6-11 and for 60 percent in the age group 11-14.

Conclusions

It can be observed from our brief appraisal of the Plans that in contrast to the British rule, the Government of India after independence inaugurated a programme of rapid industrialisation. Thus, with the attainment of political independence, India entered a new era of planning based on mixed economy. According to the planners, those large-scale ventures which would essentially provide infrastructure for the growth of private sector were to be built and operated by the state through public corporations. The remaining industries, including agriculture, which produced nearly half of the national income, fell within the domain of private sector. This is evident from the fact that even the First Plan while stressing the need for co-operative village management strongly advocated peasant proprietorship under the pretext of Indian traditions. As we observed earlier, in the co-operative village management scheme also ownership rights over the land are fully protected. This is also true of commerce, export-import as well as wholesale and retail trade though it is partly supervised and regulated by government. Similarly, financing and money-lending are still essentially a preserve of private banks and institutions or individuals.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU



Jawaharlal Nehru went down in history and is remembered by his contemporaries as India's greatest political figure, an outstanding leader of the national liberation movement, a consistent fighter for peace, democracy and social progress, a staunch opponent of social injustice, colonialism, racism and national oppression, a sincere friend of the Soviet Union. During several decades his name was linked inseparably with the struggle for India's liberation from colonial slavery, for its resurrection and establishment as a great sovereign state of Asia. Since August 15, 1947, when Nehru raised the three coloured national flag over the historic Red

Fort in Delhi he stood for seventeen years at the helm of independent India, leading her along the path of eradication of colonialism, the vestiges of feudalism and ages-old backwardness, towards national revival and rejuvenation.

Under Nehru's leadership India's government system was reorganised by setting up states according to the national ethnic and language characteristics, which put an end to the British administrative system based on the "divide and rule" principle and the feudal fragmentation of the country; the initial agrarian reforms were carried out, undermining the traditional system of large landed estates, which had served for two centuries as the foundation of British colonial domination. He directed the restructuring of the national economy on the planning principle, laid the basis for India's industrialisation policy – the key prerequisite for her economic growth. On Nehru's initiative and with Soviet assistance a large state sector was established in the economy, which is steadily growing stronger today. He was a consistent democrat, a fighter for equality, against the survivals of caste discrimination and religious-communal reaction, for India's strong national unity based on a combination of the principles of centralism and democracy.

Nehru's activities were not confined to the sphere of politics. He had sophisticated intelligence, an encyclopedic erudition, a profound philosophical frame of mind. In his immense literary heritage a universal education and broad interests, the originality and sharpness of wit combine with the sensitive approach, full of inner warmth, temperament and dramatism, of a man seeking and fighting, at times doubting and erring but never abandoning his faith in progress. Nehru was a philosopher and a poet. One is apt to think

that even if he had not been an outstanding political leader; his historico-philosophic writings alone would have entitled him to the attention and interest of posterity. Nehru's literary work, however, cannot be separated from his political biography. "The more action and thought are allied and integrated, the more effective they become and the happier you grow.... The happiest man is he whose thinking and action are co-ordinated," he said.*

He thought in concrete terms, with an eye to the tasks of the day but simultaneously he sought to gain an insight into the future. In his thinking he combined magnificently the day-to-day life of his long-suffering people, their great past and radiant future. For Nehru historical and philosophical meditation was not an end in itself but a search for an answer to the most important problems of concern to his homeland and all mankind. Nehru looked into the past in order to comprehend the present and to foresee the future.

It is from these positions that he wrote the first two books which came out in Russian-*The Discovery of India and An Autobiography*.

These books helped greatly to inform Soviet people of the contemporary problems of India. The book *Glimpses of World History* brought out recently in Russian is written in the same vein. The author's outlook is wider here. In his letters to his daughter from a British jail Nehru presents a picture of the development of human society on a worldwide scale, dwelling upon the major events of world history, singling out and summing up the main aspects of the historical process. The history of India is described along with and in comparison with developments in other countries and parts of the world. This is a profound and original work of an historian, though not an academic research. Just as in *The Discovery of India*, Nehru attempts to comprehend the past of his country, in the given case, through the prism of world history so as to see its present more clearly and outline the ways of changing it. The past engages Nehru's interest primarily as a "pointer to the future". For him history is a school of life, experience, and struggle, the source of the origin of the world outlook. Nehru approaches it as an active political leader stimulated to research by the requirements of struggle and practice in general. "My fascination for history was not in reading about odd events that happened in the past but rather in its relation to the things that led up to the present. Only then did it become alive to me. Otherwise it would have been an odd thing unconnected with my life or the world," he said.

Of particular interest is the world outlook of a man who was one of the acknowledged leaders of the national liberation movement, headed the independent Indian state and influenced its present and future over the last quarter-century more than anybody else.

Nehru approaches the history of mankind and of his country primarily as a rationalist thinker. He seeks within it an inner meaning, a logic of development and does not approach it with a priori, extra-historical categories. Such is also Nehru's attitude to the past of his homeland. It lacks – and in this respect Nehru differs favourably from many others – an uncritical admiration for antiquity, an idea, wrong by virtue of its narrow-mindedness, of the exclusiveness and separateness of India's historical path. Also noteworthy is the fact that Nehru's views are quite unaffected by religious or reactionary ethic mysticism fairly common in India. The traditions of not only European but also world rationalism, European and world intellectual culture critically interpreted by Nehru, who had gone through the

school of classical European upbringing, influenced his historical concepts, especially in relation to India, helped him to rid himself of bias, lopsidedness, idealisation, and to see his homeland just as it was in comparison with other countries – great and impotent, rich and poor, happy and unfortunate, free and suffering under the jackboot of the occupationists.

"It was in my blood and there was much in her that instinctively thrilled me. And yet I approached her almost as an alien critic, full of dislike for the present as well as for many of the relics of the past that I saw. To some extent I came to her via the West and looked at her as a friendly Westerner might have done," he wrote.

Having rejected abstract and fruitless quests of the meaning of history outside it as such, Nehru gradually discovered and later recognised the internal laws of historical development, and thereby made a fundamental step to a realistic, almost materialist but not yet dialectical-interpretation of the historical process.

"In Asia, many historical forces have been at work for many years past and many things have happened which are good and many things which are not so good, as always happens when impersonal historical forces are in action. They are still in action. We try to mould them a little, to divert them here and there, but essentially they will carry on till they fulfil their purpose and their historical destiny."** His recognition of the objective laws led Nehru to a comprehension of the upward spiralwise direction of the historical process – not without occasional regression – an understanding of it as an objective and progressive course of events, as an ascent, in the final analysis, from the lower to the higher.

These elements of Nehru's world outlook positively influenced his political activities as well. He tried to approach them neither voluntaristically nor moralistically, nor from the viewpoint of religious requirements, but scientifically, attempting boldly to introduce them into the general, objectively necessary course of history, to bring them into line with progressive tendencies. It was precisely in conformity with the demands of the stormy period when he lived and worked, predetermined by all of mankind's proceeding development, that Nehru regarded the line of mass political struggle as justified and realistic. This is precisely how he approached the planning of his country's policy. He abided consistently by the progressive scientific conception that the people were the genuine creator of history, while the activities of the political leaders should be subordinated to the struggle for meeting the aspirations and requirements of the masses. Here there is still no clear realisation of the historical role of the struggle between classes, but Nehru emphasised in this context that "the people were the principal actors, and behind them, pushing them on, were great historical urges.... But for that historical setting and political and social urges, no leaders or agitators could have inspired them to action."

The influence of scientific socialism manifested itself perhaps most strikingly in Nehru's views on the historical process as being guided by objective laws and on the role of the masses. Nehru's world outlook formed under the influence of many schools, both Indian and European, which may prompt one to regard Nehru as not original, as an eclectic, and put a stop at that. This, however, would be quite unpardonable primitivism. Nehru is much more complex, and an oversimplified approach to the study of his views is impermissible. Nehru was characterised by a striving to comprehend and assimilate much of what had

been accumulated in mankind's experience and to select what was best in it. Nehru sometimes used in the political struggle individual principles of various philosophical systems and this, of course, at times hid from his sight their incompatibility, irreconcilability, antagonism, and inevitably led to eclecticism, though he tried to avoid it in every way. He preferred "a mental or spiritual attitude which synthesizes differences and contradictions, tries to understand and accommodate different religions, ideologies, political, social and economic systems".

Nobody had ever succeeded in producing "synthesis of ideologies". Nehru knew this. Contradictory elements, divorced from their class soil outwardly, as it were, did not and could not find unity and reconciliation in his own world look. Nobody can harmonise what is incompatible, antagonistic, contradictory in class character. As an honest scholar Nehru not infrequently revised critically his initial conceptual constructions devoid a strictly defined class basis, seeking to go ahead and develop his views. In this sense the direction of Nehru's political and social quests, the tendencies of their development were fruitful and retain their significance in India to this day. It is important, however, that in his quest for an answer to the most vital problems of the anti-imperialist struggle which he led and of the future of the former colonial countries Nehru sought to keep step with the times, with the 20th century, in which the road to socialism is the only one worth following.

He absorbed the traditions of ancient Indian culture and the rich history of its national liberation movement, in particular the philosophy and practices of Gandhism. He assimilated everything that West European democracy and bourgeois liberalism could offer. While receiving an education in its cradle – Great Britain – and experiencing disillusionment, Nehru turned to socialist ideas, initially in their Fabian interpretation. But once he turned to the ideals of equality and social justice, Nehru came close to the perception of many principles of scientific socialism thanks to the power of his critical, searching mind. Nehru did not resist this process. On the contrary, he avidly studied the theory and practice of scientific socialism in the belief that very much of it was acceptable to India. Nehru was one of the first leaders of the national liberation movement who were not afraid to speak of the epoch-making worldwide significance of Marxism-Leninism to the national-revolutionaries and the national-reformists. This is not surprising since Nehru himself saw in this science the ineluctable logic of historical development, the imperative demand of the time – the epoch of transition to socialism. Nehru repeatedly emphasised the favourable impact of scientific socialism on his world outlook. He wrote in this connection: "...The theory and philosophy of Marxism lightened up many a dark corner of my mind. History came to have a new meaning for me. The Marxist interpretation threw a flood of light on it, and it became an unfolding drama with some order and purpose, howsoever unconscious, behind it. In spite of the appalling waste and misery of the past and the present, the future was bright with hope, though many dangers intervened. It was the essential freedom from dogma and the scientific outlook of Marxism that appealed to me." This was a bold and original statement, especially for India which still abided by its ancient and medieval traditions, for its peasantry, the petty strata of the urban population and a considerable proportion of the intelligentsia of Hinduist sentiments.

In another place Nehru pointed out: "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."

Scientific socialism attracted Nehru not only as a theory. Its influence was particularly strong because Nehru admired the gigantic and unprecedented experiment in revolutionary remaking of the old world being carried out at that time in Soviet Russia.

"While the rest of the world was in the grip of the depression and going backward in some ways, in the Soviet country a great new world was being built up before our eyes.

"Russia, following the great Lenin, looked into the future and thought only of what was to be, while other countries lay numbed under the dead hand of the past and spent their energy in preserving the useless relics of a bygone age. In particular, I was impressed by the reports of the great progress made by the backward regions of Central Asia under the Soviet regime. In the balance, therefore, I was all in favour of Russia, and the presence and example of the Soviets was a bright and heartening phenomenon in a dark and dismal world."

Only a very honest and sincere man and political leader unburdened by the traditions of feudal or bourgeois India, a man who had a critical view of capitalism and witnessed the birth of the new, Soviet socialist world could have said such prophetic words, which have retained their significance to date.

Nehru followed with keen interest the progress of social transformations in Soviet Russia. He made his first visit to our country with his father, Motilal Nehru, a prominent leader of the Indian National Congress party, as far back as 1927 in the days of the tenth anniversary of Soviet power. What he saw here led him to conclude: "...The Soviet revolution had advanced human society by a great leap and had lit a bright flame which could not be smothered, and ... it had laid the foundations for that 'new civilization' toward which the world would advance."*

Was it not, indeed, a brilliant assessment of the genuine revolutionary process and a brilliant forecast for decades ahead?

Nehru had a profound interest in Lenin, his personality, theoretical and practical activities. Evaluating Lenin's role in history, Nehru wrote that "...millions have considered him as a saviour and the greatest man of the age".** Nehru described Lenin as "...a mastermind and a genius in revolution".***

Nehru's ideal was the unity of thought and action, theory and practice. The influence of the ideas of scientific socialism, his high assessment of the historic contributions of the USSR logically led him to recognise the need to carry out radical socio-economic reforms in India, to proclaim socialism at first as a relatively remote ideal of the social system and later as the ultimate goal of the political struggle.

In his speech at a session of the Indian National Congress party in Lucknow in 1936 Nehru said: "I am convinced that the only key to the solution of the world's problems and of India's problems lies in Socialism, and when I use this word I do so not in a vague

humanitarian way but in the scientific, economic sense.... I see no way of ending the poverty, the vast unemployment, the degradation, and the subjection of the Indian people except through Socialism. That involves vast and revolutionary changes in our political and social structure, the ending of vested interests in land and industry.... That means the ending of private property, except in a restricted sense, and the replacement of the present profit system by a higher ideal of co-operative service.... In short, it means a new civilization, radically different from the present capitalist order."

This statement was like a bolt from the blue. It was the first statement made by a national-revolutionary who pro claimed with such determination and consistency the inevitability of India's transition to socialism. It was addressed to the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois audience of the Indian National Congress party in the conditions of the British colonialist reign of terror. It should be underscored that Nehru's description of socialism as a social system based on the abolition of private property and the domination of public property as the sole means of delivering the people from the abominable ages-old poverty was correct in principle. The reader will easily note, however, that while the goal itself, its presentation and definition are correct, the means of achieving it are either not outlined at all or have a reformist character.

Nehru perceived in the socialist remaking of society the logical result of mankind's historical development. He stressed that capitalism "is not longer suited to the present age", that the world had outgrown it. He pointed out that the scientific and technological revolution makes the need for socialism particularly obvious, and that the modern scientific approach is exactly the socialist approach.

At the same time, Nehru was one of the first leaders of the anti-colonialist movement to indicate with striking clarity, forcefulness and farsightedness that the movement towards socialism was a specific requirement for the developing countries, an objectively predetermined path of progress for states which had thrown off the colonial yoke, for India in particular. In this thesis and its argumentation Nehru had anticipated many propositions put forward later by a number of Asian and African political leaders. Nehru posed clearly the question of the unacceptability of capitalism for the liberated countries in view of the fact that the latter had no time at their disposal to achieve progress by the same methods, at the same rates and in the same cruel forms of exploitation of man by man as the Western world had done at one time. Should we follow the British, French or American way? he asked. Do we really have as much time as 100 to 150 years to achieve our goal? This is absolutely unacceptable. In such an event we shall simply perish.

In his statements on the socio-economic programme of the ruling Indian National Congress party after winning independence Nehru laid emphasis on the need for industrialisation and the enforcement of the planning principle to ensure independent national development. He said in this context: "Broadly our objective is to establish a Welfare State with a Socialist pattern of society, with no great disparities of income and offering an equal opportunity to all."

One cannot but notice a measure of uncertainty and vagueness in this pronouncement though it reflects Nehru's passionate desire for India to advance along the

path of social progress. What is, indeed, a "Welfare State"? Where is it and the interests of which class or a coalition of which classes does it represent? What is "a Socialist pattern of society" and "an equal opportunity to all"? Admittedly there are many types of socialist society, although it is perfectly obvious that socialism is unique in its foundation rather than composed of different types and that "an equal opportunity" which is, incidentally, promulgated in the Constitution of India may mask and indeed masks the most flagrant and, unfortunately, growing social, class, property, caste and any other inequality of the formally equal citizens of the Republic of India.

Thus Nehru admitted the objective need for remaking the Indian society along socialist lines, although his interpretation of the very process, means, forms and methods of this remaking contained his specific, mostly subjective-idealistic and – it may be said- reformist concepts. They were attributable to the exceptionally intricate tangle of class antagonisms characteristic of modern India, its multi structural social system and, most important of all, to Nehru's underestimation of the special historical role of the working class as the vehicle of the ideology of scientific communism, as the leader of all working people and, consequently, the majority of the nation. The alignment of class forces in the national liberation movement against the British colonial rule and later in independent India limited Nehru's possibilities to translate his subjective ideals into reality. India was following the capitalist path, the contradictions inherent in capitalism were steadily growing, and the ideals of a "Welfare State" and a "Socialist pattern of society" remained somewhere in a thick fog. The bourgeoisie was growing fantastically rich, and monopolistic elite was taking shape: 75 concerns were in control of the private industrial sector. Equal opportunities did exist, but the actual inequality increased at a fast rate.

The tremendous scale of the tasks facing the general democratic movement in India and providing the basis for broad unity of national forces inevitably influenced Nehru's views and especially his policy. At times Nehru elevated to an absolute, as it were, the transient alignment of classes, which was conditioned by a definite level of the democratic movement and conformed to the objectives of its definite stage; this alignment of class forces, however, could not be preserved as soon as the question of socialist remaking was raised. The classes and class antagonisms made themselves felt with increasing urgency. Participants in the mass movements persistently demanded not so much "equal opportunities" as decent conditions of life for the working people and its improvement. Nehru, however, seemed, as it were, unwilling to go beyond the framework of the general democratic stage of the revolution in his analysis of the Indian society, to admit that the struggle for socialism required a radically different class orientation, that in a transition from the general democratic tasks to the socialist tasks the content, composition and correlation of the components of the united national front in the period of the anti-imperialist movement should, in the final analysis, change essentially, and new classes and new leading forces should come on the scene of the struggle.

Not that Nehru failed to admit the existence of classes and the class struggle in the country but he advanced the thesis on the possibility to resolve the class antagonisms by compromise and reforms based on class collaboration as the key guideline for national policy. He advocated a harmonious development of society on the basis of collaboration between classes. He believed that the growth of the influence of the propertied and

exploiter classes in the country's economic and political life could be prevented by persuasion alone.

One cannot but note in this a definite influence of the liberal, bourgeois-democratic and simply reformist views, as well as Mahatma Gandhi's Utopian moralistic conceptions.

It is precisely these views and conceptions that were the starting point of the subjective criticism by Nehru and his followers of individual aspects in Soviet history, of certain principles of the theory of scientific socialism, of the communist movement in India. This reflected the profound contradiction in Nehru's world outlook, which he had never overcome, although he made some efforts to this end. The long-lasting and fairly deep isolation of India, its social thought and even Nehru himself from the achievements of Marxist-Leninist theory and the practices of the socialist construction in the USSR and other countries also limited his possibilities for a full understanding of the processes of the formation of the new socialist world and especially the overcoming of the incredible difficulties facing the trail-blazers towards socialism, a society which he justly regarded as India's only saviour from the scourge of capitalism. Nehru was coming to accept really existing socialism gradually, with great subjectivism and reservations, particularly as regards the conception of class struggle and the historical role of the working class.

On the one hand, Nehru admits the scientific truth of the Marxist interpretation of history based on revealing the class antagonisms. "Marx constantly talks of exploitation and class struggle...." Nehru wrote. "But, according to Marx, this is not a matter for anger or good virtuous advice. The exploitation is not the fault of the person exploiting. The dominance of one class over another has been the natural result of historical progress.... Marx did not preach class conflict. He showed that in fact it existed, and had always existed in some form or other." Criticising in his *An Autobiography* Gandhi's preaching of the principle of non-violence, Nehru writes: "If there is one thing that history shows it is this: that economic interests shape the political views of groups and classes. Neither reason nor moral considerations override these interests. Individuals may be converted, they may surrender their special privileges, although this is rare enough, but classes and groups do not do so. The attempt to convert a governing and privileged class into forsaking power and giving up its unjust privileges has therefore always so far failed, and there seems to be no reason whatever to hold that it will succeed in the future."**

It would seem nothing could be clearer. On the other hand, in the 1950s and 1960s Nehru nevertheless sought to reconcile his recognition of class struggle with Gandhi's conception of class harmony, contradicting his own perfectly realistic assessments of earlier years. "So while not denying or repudiating class contradictions, we want to deal with the problem in a peaceful and co-operative way by lessening rather than increasing these conflicts and trying to win over people instead of threatening to fight them or destroy them.... he said." "...The concept of class struggles or wars has been out-dated as too dangerous at a time....." The inconsistency of these conclusions despite his clear understanding of the conception of class struggle is quite obvious.

Leaving aside the confusion and identifying of class struggle with war, the absolute contraposition of non-violence to violence, the peaceful and violent ways of resolving class

contradictions, one would like to think that these words expressed not so much the evolution of Nehru's convictions at the end of his life as a pragmatic requirement issuing from the political line largely shaped by the right-wing forces in the leadership of the extremely heterogeneous, multiclass national reformist ruling party – the Indian National Congress. These right-wing forces persistently strengthened their influence in that period, which led later to a division of the Congress and the emergence from its midst of the wing which continued Nehru's domestic and foreign policies.

The experience of political struggle and the country's socio-economic development inexorably contradicted Nehru's views. It failed to confirm the conception of class collaboration, the possibility of "re-education" of the Indian landlords and capitalists but, on the contrary, it abounded in sharp social conflicts, in the course of which the privileged classes protected their interests by resorting to any means of suppressing the protest of the working people and an overt coercion against them. Once it felt strong enough, the monopoly elite of the bourgeoisie not only sought to trample underfoot the numerous and many-faced middle and petty bourgeoisie but also frenziedly strained to seize power, without stopping at the demand to dislodge the Indian National Congress party and the Nehru leadership along with it.

The heat of the class struggle, his sincere compassion for the oppressed and desire to improve their lot, his invariable dedication to the socialist ideals again compelled Nehru to make a sober assessment of the profundity and objective character of the class antagonisms in the Indian society.

Nehru could not, in the final analysis, fail to admit the existence in India of "privileged groups and classes" resisting radical reforms. He pointed out the fact that to protect their selfish interests these social strata (to which he ascribed not only the semi feudal landowners but primarily the monopoly elite of the national bourgeoisie) leant towards an accord with imperialism and neo-colonialism and might go against the interests of the country's national and social progress. The proclamation by the Indian National Congress party of socialist slogans did not lead Nehru to superficial idealisation of the Indian society. He realised that it is a far cry from a slogan to reality. Remaining a realist in its assessment he said that it was a capitalist economy with a considerable measure of government control, or a capitalist economy plus a public sector directly controlled by the state.

As a farsighted politician Nehru was aware of the threat to the policy he was planning and pursuing to build in India a society after a "Socialist pattern", a threat to progress and democracy not only from the Indian society's traditional forces of feudal or religious-communal reaction but also from the growing capitalist monopolies. Shortly before his death, in the autumn of 1963, he wrote: "Monopoly is the enemy of socialism. To the extent it has grown during the last few years we have drifted away from the goal of socialism." This was a bitter but true admission.

The years which have passed since Nehru's death have fully borne out his misgivings concerning the reactionary role of Indian monopoly capital, the feudal and semifeudal landlords and numerous political groups and parties, both in the centre and in the states, the right and the left extremist, which often joined forces in the struggle against

Nehru and the Indian National Congress party. India's left, democratic forces, all supporters of the Nehru line waged and are waging now a determined fight against the anti-popular ambitions of monopoly capital and its allies.

Nehru's views on foreign policy were consistently progressive, and in this field there was no conflict which distinguished his concepts of socialism and his domestic policy. As a thinker and statesman Nehru made an outstanding contribution to the cause of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism, to safeguarding international peace, to the post-war change in the alignment of forces on the world scene in favour of the forces of national liberation, progress and socialism.

Nehru was a consistent fighter for peace and international security. He upheld peaceful coexistence and was an active champion of detente, of curbing the arms race and effecting general disarmament. He was one of the founding fathers of the policy of non-alignment which made the basis of India's peaceful foreign policy. As he saw it, non-alignment by no means implied passive neutrality.

Nehru organically combined positive neutrality with a consistent struggle against colonialism, and invariably emphasised the importance of this struggle. It will be recalled that he contributed effectively to the disintegration of the Portuguese colonial empire. In 1961 he ordered Indian troops to enter the Portuguese colonial enclaves in India (Goa, Daman, Diu) and expelled the last colonialists from the country. Nehru's warning concerning economic dependence on imperialism is fully valid for India and other developing countries.

Nehru was one of the co-authors of the principles of peaceful coexistence - *panch sila* - which have been broadly recognised as the basis for mutual relations between Asian countries. He was one of the co-sponsors of the historic Bandung Conference, which was a milestone event in the process of uniting the newly-independent states of Asia and Africa in the struggle against imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism, for peace, freedom and socio-economic progress.

Another historic contribution made by Nehru was his unwavering efforts towards unity and alliance with all progressive forces in the world arena. As far back as 1927 he took an active part in the Anti-Imperialist Congress of Oppressed Nations in Brussels. "Ideas of some common action between oppressed nations inter se, as well as between them and the Labour left wing, were very much in the air," he wrote. "It was felt more and more that the struggle for freedom was a common one against the thing that was imperialism, and joint deliberation and, where possible, joint actions were desirable." This was an important step towards a recognition of the need for unity between the national liberation and the revolutionary movements, including the working-class movement throughout the world. Revolutionary anti-imperialism as represented by Nehru responded to the appeal for broad cooperation and unity of action from the leader of the proletarian revolution – Lenin. India takes up positions alongside the world's progressive forces fighting against fascism and imperialism, Nehru declared.

Nehru's constant desire for a mutual understanding with the Soviet Union was one of the most striking and fruitful manifestations of this line. The establishment and successful

development of Indian-Soviet cooperation were inseparably linked with the personality of Nehru and his political line. The friendly relations between our countries, the basis for which was laid by his policy, have long become, to quote Leonid Brezhnev, "a most convincing manifestation of the great alliance between the world of socialism and the world born of the national liberation movement". These relations are a model of peaceful coexistence and fruitful cooperation between states with different socio-economic systems, united by their common interests in the struggle for peace and international security.

The favourable development of Soviet-Indian relations throughout the period since India's independence found a profound expression in the Soviet-Indian Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation signed in August 1971. The official friendly visit of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Leonid Brezhnev, to India in November 1973 perpetuated all the positive achievements in the relations between the two countries over the preceding years, and was another important contribution to the development of their friendly bilateral relations, as well as to promoting detente and security in Asia and throughout the world. The joint Soviet-Indian Declaration signed at the end of the visit and other documents developing the basic principles of relations between the USSR and India and setting the guidelines for cooperation between them were warmly approved in both countries and highly appreciated by the democratic public of the world.

The main achievements of the Indian people, of the country's democratic forces in the economic and foreign policy fields are justifiably associated with the name of Nehru and the implementation of the Nehru line.

The Nehru line both in his lifetime and especially after his death was and continues to be the target of fierce attacks from the reactionary forces seeking to prevent India's socio-economic renovation, to revise its positive foreign policy of peace, to undermine Soviet-Indian friendship. The right wing forces often attempt to distort the genuine essence of Nehru's socio-philosophic and political views, to manipulate his name in pursuance of their selfish goals alien to the interests of the Indian people. These attempts, however, are doomed to failure.

Nehru's humanistic, democratic and socialist ideals have not been buried in oblivion after his death. A sharp controversy has flared up over them. The right-wing forces would like to turn them into a screen for pursuing a policy suited for the wealthy elite. In the meantime, the followers of the Nehru line are working to promote the country's economic and social progress, to translate into life the finest ideals of this outstanding leader of the Indian people. The progressive forces inside and outside the Indian National Congress party are seeking to repulse the right-wing forces both inside and outside the Congress, making for this purpose alliances for a joint struggle against reaction.

(Extracts from the Writings of Late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru - 1933 - His vision of Independent India)

Unfortunately today we are confronted in a situation where it is difficult and attempts are consciously made to distinguish between facts and fiction, myths and reality with pervert confusion between the fact and fiction and between a reality and between genuine depiction of the evolution of an Indian society from Vedic to Buddhist period to reduction of real history to comparatively recently invented Hindu mythology from genuine depiction at the Indian Society from Vedic period to Buddhism, leaving aside the entire history of the Indus Valley Civilization.

In this sense India had never witnessed such dark where intellectuals, activist's radical or even scholar's writ moderate differences from the state manufactured history for a minor deviation. In this sense we it approves almost have entered dark eyes.

Unfortunately even without a fraction of truth myths are invented which of their looks beyond comprehension nothing could be more glaring evidence of such fantasy is the claim for a historical legacy of the present ruling strata where it would more apt to depict as the BJP's ruled. This country by people who can be aptly described as although elected by severing majority in parliament but style of governing could bother be described as that of a Hindu emperor.

Anyway our major purpose in writing this essay is to expand that myths of the present ruling dynasty as a genuine here of Mahatma Gandhi and also Jawaharlal Nehru Legacy. It would be difficult to find comparative better myths in recent history than what is being presented and relentlessly propagated in recent period.

Anyway instead of unstrung time in reputation of such fiction, it would be more appropriate to depict the role and legacy of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. We would not rate to the contribution and ideals of Mahatma Gandhi as he never involved himself in attaining political power or any official position in independent India. Our appellate would be limited to the role and vision of the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in past independent India.

In this context first we refer to the vision of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in thirties, we was an active part and dominant figure of freedom movement. This would enable to understand also his role and contribution in past independent India.

In this context its of great relevance to refer to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru respective of India after independence while he was playing a leading role in liberation struggle against the British rule in India as early as in 1933.

As he aptly remarries there are as it many other countries, the usual accompaniments of growing nationalism an idealism a mysticism, feeling of exact action belief in the mission of one's country and something of the nature of religious revivalism. Essentially all these are middle class phenomena's.

Our politics must either be those of magic or of the science. The former of course required no argument or logic the better is in theory at least entirely based on clarity of thought and reasoning and has no room for vague idealistic or religious or sentimental process which confuse and befog the mind personally i have no faith in or use for the ways of magic and religious and I can only consider the question on scientific grounds.

What then are we driving at? Words which may mean much or little or nothing at all.

Again, whose freedom are we particularly striving for, for nationalism covers many sins and includes many conflicting elements? There is the feudal India of the princes the India of the big Zamindars of the professional classes of the lower middle class, of the workers. There are the interest of foreign capital and those of home capital of foreign services and home services. The nationalist answer is to prefer home interests to foreign interest, but beaoned that it does not go. It tries to avoid disturbing the class divisions or the social status. It imagines that the various interests will somehow accommodate when the country is rise. Being essentially middle class movement nationalism works cheaply in the interests of that class.

Nothing is more absurd than to imagines that all the interests in the nation can be fitted in without injury to any at every step somehow to be scarified for others.

There is an attempt to cover this up and avoid it on the ground that the national issues must be settled first. Appeals are issued for unity between different classes and groups to face the common national and those who point the inherent conflict between landlord and tenant or capitalist and wages labourers are criticized.

Further he argues let us give the benefits of freedom to as many stroups and classes as possible but essentially whom do we stand for and when a conflict areas whose side must we take? To say that we shall not answer that question now is itself an answer and taking of sides for it means that we stand by the existing order the states question.

Independence is a must abused word and it hardly connotes what we are divderiving at. And yet there is no other suitable word and for want of a better, we must use it. National isolation is neither desirable nor a possible ideal in a world which is daily becoming more of a unit. International and international activities dominate the world and nations are growing more and more interdependent are ideal and objective cannot go against this historical tendency and we must be proper to discards a narrow nationalism in favours of world cooperation and real internationalism. Independence therefore cannot mean for us isolation but freedom from all imperialist control, and because Britain today represents imperialism, our freedom can only mean after the British connection is severed. We have no quarrel with the British people, but between imperialism and Indian freedom. There is no meeting ground these can be no peace. It imperialism goes from Britain we short gladly cooperate with her in the wider international field; not otherwise.

The real question before us, and before the whole world is one of fundamental charge of regime politically, economically, socially and thus can we put India on the road to progress and stop the progressive deterioration of our country.

(Reference Whether India Jawaharlal Nehru pp 3 to 19, reproduced from the book whether India? Edited by Iqbal Singh and Raj, Rao, Padmaja Publications, Baroda First Published in April 1948, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's assule also titled whether India pp 3 to 19)

Past Independence Period

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru - Role in Past Independence Period.

After independence also Late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was of the firm view that political and economic independence of the nation pressure a model of economic development based on large scale heavy industry and overall modernisation big dams, large steal plants and later nuclear reactors became the symbols of that guiding vision of modern India. At the opening of the Nangal Canal in Punjab in 1954 Nehru said 'the biggest temple and mosque and Gurudwara is the place where man works for the good of mankind' which place can be greater than Bhakra Nangal where thousands of men have worked or shod their blood and sweat and laid down their lives as well? Where can be a holler place than this which can be we regard, as higher *(Quoted Darryl D'Monte, Temples or Tombs Industry Versus Environments Three Controversies, New Delhi, CSE, 1985, P-1)*

Convinced that it was for "good of mankind" Nehru presents modern development as a sort of secular religion, making economic growth and scientific progress along with Social Justice at the center of his humanistic outlooks.

He made tremendous efforts to propagate this outlook on modern progress as the philosophy or ideology which should unite and guide the nation. Bhikhu Parekh identifies and discusses seven goals which according to Nehru are part of this overall goal of modernisation; national unity parliamentary democracy industrialisation, socialism, scientific temper secularism and non-alignments. The underlying thrust is the appeal to reason to a scientific attitude. He tries to nurture "Scientific Temper", as the mentality needed to solve the problems facing the nation what else he argued can unite the nation which otherwise would be divided along lines of religion, caste, language and ethnicity *(Reference - Bhikhu Parekh, "Nehru and National Philosophy of India, EPW Jan 5th 1991")*

This spirit he saw embodied in the procats of industrialization the harnessing of the forces lying hidden in nature in the building of a science based economy and culture and in the ideal of a democratic socialist society. He used all possible occasions and channels to propagate this national ideology. He succeeded in marginalising the Gandhian approach and making his own approach the widely accepted framework of national orientation.

How could this outlook with its orientation towards western modern civilization become the ideological frame for Indian nationalism which was born from the right against western domination? Nehru's argument was (1) Modernisation is a historical must the only

way to survive as an independent nation in the modern world; (2) it is liberalise, it is the way to overcome traditional fetters as it leads to a higher form of civilisation in which human personalities can be realised more fully.

Critics have pointed out the shadow side of this national ideology of modernisation (Bhikhu Parekh) what happens ideologically is the same marginalisation which we find in economic which we find in economic social and political reality. This approach appeals to the westernise & intellectual elite, the industrialisation the urban middle, those who find employment in the modern sector and may be section of the 'modern farmers'.

The inbuilt marginalisation of a majority of the people by this modernisation ideology is connected with the central role assigned to the state in the Nehruvian model. Industrialization was designed primarily to secure an independent base for a strong state and only secondarily to improve living standards for the masses (p.167) introduction Swaraj, How and for whom?

For a long time nationalism has served as the basic ideology of the Indian state. It has been shaped in decades of struggle for national independence and changed in the years after statuses, textbooks in the schools, programmes in the media, official speeches on Aug 15, Oct 2 and Jan 26 celebrate the events and heroes of that struggle and try to keep that heritage alive, as something which demands loyalty to the nation, state.

However, there have been dramatic, shifts in the symbols which are meant to guide the nation from the Charkha to Nuclear Plants to satellites and missiles (Agni etc.). Emphasis has been mostly abandoned and replaced by the language of economic experts, who advocate and promote the integration of the Indian economy into the capitalist world market.

At the same time the state seems to be less successful in security the loyalty of all India citizens its rulers themselves, undermine its credentials in terms of democracy and social justice communalism challenge its secular basis, corruption undermines its institutions and separatism questions its territorial integrity.

In order to understand what the ideological options are today we need to have an idea of the development of nationalist thought in the past what, where the guiding ideas of Gandhi, Nehru and others. The dilemmas which made it possible that India today follows a path which differs from their dramas?

Orthodox Marxists have simple answer the national movement led by the Indian Congress was from the outset and throughout dominated by the bourgeoisie and accordingly served capitalists interests.

Bipin Chandra disagrees. He upholds the view that the national liberation struggle representing all sections of the people. It was a multiclass movement it was a multiclass movement which was open for the people was a multiclass movement which was open for different tendencies who would win the ideological battle for hegemony and thus determine the future path of development depends on the actual balance of forces within

the movement. In his view the moderate forward an independent economic development led by the industrial bourgeoisie which however too weak for the task Gandhi's vision of a non colonial economic development based on peasants and artisans was not realistic. The left together with Nehru had chances in the 1930s to establish the hegemony of a socialist vision of development but did not grasp them and so the peoples movement for national independence remained under the hegemony of bourgeoisie economic ideology.

Gandhi tried a very different radical solution. In *Hind Swaraj* (1908) he proposed to break with the western model of civilization based on division of labour and the centralised modern state. In that sense he was not a modern nationalist. He worked the request of village India. His ideal of true Swaraj, was political, economic and moral independence based on for reaching decentralization. He calls that ideal Ramarajya, but projects this not in a communalist way as a base for Hindu nationalism but as a universal moral base for a truly free and just society. In course of time, as leader of the national movement Gandhi makes his compromises reluctantly allowing. Congress men to participate in elections and legislatures and agreeing to plans for large scale industrial under certain conditions. However, when the congress leader fail to cope with the compromises on the basis of moral integrity, Gandhi returns to his utopian alternative opposing the dominance both of the state and the market. In his drastic reorganization plan for Khadi production in 1944 Gandhi proposes to get away from production for the urban market. Production for use in the villages should be the guidelines similarly he proposed at the time of independence to disband congress. Congress workers should devote themselves to constructive work in the villages that is the heart of his idea of Swaraj.

Gandhi through his mobilization of the peasant masses helped to forge the power which ousted the British and brought about the independent nation-state. But he himself did not acknowledge that as the purpose of his life and work.

(Reference Towards understanding Indian Society by Gabriel Dietrich Bas Widenga centre for Social Analysis Team, Madurai 626010, first published, 1997 Chapter six, symbolic representations p.p. 107-176)

Manoj Kumar Jha writes: What does it mean for those who lost loved ones to Covid mismanagement, or sleep in poverty, or do not believe in dominant ideology and are bold enough to voice their dissent?

I have been thinking of writing these words as every day sees a vilification campaign against you and the ideas you held dear. I have always believed that anybody wanting to understand India has to do so with an open and scientific mind as you did. In the *Discovery of India*, you wrote: "I have always maintained that it was not her wide spaces that eluded me, or even her diversity, but some depth of soul which I could not fathom, though I had occasional and tantalising glimpses of it. She was like some ancient palimpsest on which layer upon layer of thought and reverie had been inscribed, and yet no succeeding layer had completely hidden or erased what had been written previously." I hope the small men who smear you today understand the essential beauty of India and how it has successfully encountered challenges and evolved for the better, because each layer has added to its inner beauty. For your generation and for millions even now, India is not simply

a physical entity but the interconnected lives of people and communities shaped through the long march of history. I truly hope that today's leadership learns to respect each layer of thought and faith that has gone into making the texture of India.

You and your peers recognised that the division between classes and masses was more fundamental than the division between Hindus and Muslims; that is why Bapu's Ram Rajya was a dream of a nation free from such divisions. It was certainly not the Ram Rajya today's leaders talk about.

Our first general elections were held in 1952, in the shadow of the Partition and Bapu's assassination. Yet, we did not allow communal rhetoric or brazen religious polarisation to have any say in the electoral process. You had conveyed to all Chief Ministers in 1950 that "so long as I am Prime Minister, I shall not allow communalism to shape our policy, nor am I prepared to tolerate barbarous and uncivilised behaviour." In spite of the great human tragedies of the initial years, we collectively made sure that India charts a course of peaceful coexistence. After the birth of Pakistan, we had to make sure this nation does not become a Hindu Pakistan. We knew that the best safeguard against such reactionary sentiment lay in vigorously promoting tolerance, and committing the state to safeguarding the uniqueness of each religious group and its culture, apart from promising equality in every sphere.

We were a poor nation but rich in composite culture; in preserving and promoting it. We made sure that the world pays attention to the way we derive pride from this and to our efforts in building a nation not exclusive to any particular religious identity. It must be saddening for you to see that after almost seven decades, elections are not being contested on matters important to the life and livelihood of ordinary citizens but on issues which blatantly divide people and communities. The most polarising face appears to be the most preferred face. Some leaders today do not wish to acknowledge that while communal rhetoric can get them votes, it shall destroy the essence of India which is inseparable from its secular democratic ethos. Incidents such as the recent violence in Tripura are an indicator of how much the soul of India has been mauled by the communal targeting of minorities.

You were the Prime Minister of this great country first and then a leader of a party. And history remembers you fondly even now. Contemporary politicians and leaders must not forget that history will be brutally honest in judging them, unlike those who are under pressure to be their yes-men today. You must be deeply distressed to see citizens, protestors and dissenters being detained for years. Such blatant state action to deny their liberty and take away their inalienable human rights cannot be justified by the use of laws such as UAPA. That these laws are immoral is proved by the fact that they are used against defenders of the poorest and most powerless sections of Indian society. Activists, students, journalists, lawyers — these are the best resources to build a vibrant society and polity. Their continued detention on flimsy charges is an injustice that will be difficult to justify in history, even if brute power keeps them in jails. The media cacophony to drown agitated outcries of common citizens strikes at the very foundation of the republic.

Those who vilify you today should themselves reflect on what independence and democracy mean for people who lost their families to Covid mismanagement, who are

lynched because they belong to a particular religion, who sleep in poverty, and ones who do not believe in the dominant ideology and are bold enough to voice their dissent? And what does independence mean for our farmers who have been protesting since the present government bulldozed the farm laws through without consulting them?

An accountable Parliament with opposing voices reflects the ethos of our country. Throughout your tenure, you ensured that processes and institutions that define democracy are cemented on firm ground. In spite of having an overwhelming majority in Parliament, you never brushed aside the Opposition or ridiculed dissenting voices.

In spite of everything, I disallow myself to feel pessimistic about it. I know that India will soon rise from the depths that it is being pushed into. She has no shortage of patriots who, beleaguered as they are, love her dearly and are already paying a high cost for their love for this country.

As we remember you ahead of your birthday, we do so in a way you would have liked to be remembered: "This was a man who with all his mind and heart loved India and Indian people. And they in turn were indulgent for him and gave him their love most abundantly and extravagantly.

(Reference - November 14, 2021, Indian Express, Bombay "Those who vilify Nehru Must reflect on true meaning of independence" by Manoj Kumar Jha)

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr. Uday Mehta is a sociologist with broad interdisciplinary background. He received his SSA and Ph.D from Tata Institute of Social Sciences and Mumbai University. He has contributed to the field of sociology through many of his books such as Agrarian Strategies in India, State Secularism and Religion: Western and Indian Experience (Co-editor: Asgar Ali Engineer), and Modern Godmen in India. His most recent publications are Sectarianism, Politics and Development and Secularism in India, Concepts and Practices (co-editors: Ram Puniyani)



Centre for Study of Society and Secularism

602 & 603, New Silver Star, Prabhat Colony Road, Santacruz East,
Mumbai – 400055.