POLITICAL SCIENCE
MA [PREVIOUS]
Course II
Paper - Indian Political Thought

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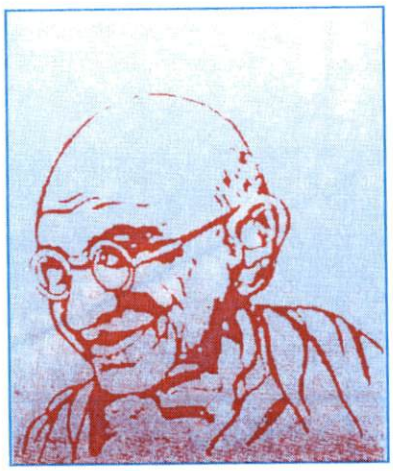

KARNATAKA STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY
Manasagangothri, Mysore - 570 006

Block - 6

ಉನ್ನತ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಇರುವ ಅವಕಾಶಗಳನ್ನು ಹೆಚ್ಚಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮತ್ತು ಶಿಕ್ಷಣವನ್ನು ಪ್ರಜಾತಂತ್ರೀಕರಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಯನ್ನು ಆರಂಭಿಸಲಾಗಿದೆ.

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ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯವು ದೂರಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ಪದ್ಧತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬಹುಮಾಧ್ಯಮಗಳನ್ನು ಉಪಯೋಗಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. .....ವಿದ್ಯಾಕಾಂಕ್ಷಿಗಳನ್ನು ಜ್ಞಾನ ಸಂಪಾದನೆಗಾಗಿ ಕಲಿಕಾ ಕೇಂದ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ಕೊಂಡೊಯ್ಯುವ ಬದಲು, ಜ್ಞಾನ ಸಂಪತ್ತನ್ನು ವಿದ್ಯೆ ಕಲಿಯುವವರ ಬಳಿ ಕೊಂಡೊಯ್ಯುವ ವಾಹಕವಾಗಿದೆ.

ಡಾ. ಕುಳಂದೈಸ್ವಾಮಿ

"The Open University system makes use of Multimedia in distance education system. ..... it is vehicle which transports knowledge to the place of learners rather than transport to the place of learning.

Dr. Kulandai Swamy

ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ ಸಂದೇಶ

ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಂದು ಮಗುವು ಹುಟ್ಟುತ್ತಲೇ - ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ. ಬೆಳೆಯುತ್ತಾ ನಾವು ಅದನ್ನು '**ಅಲ್ಪ ಮಾನವ**'ನನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡುತ್ತೇವೆ. ಮತ್ತೆ ಅದನ್ನು '**ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ**'ನನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡುವುದೇ ವಿದ್ಯೆಯ ಕರ್ತವ್ಯವಾಗಬೇಕು.

ಮನುಜ ಮತ, ವಿಶ್ವ ಪಥ, ಸರ್ವೋದಯ, ಸಮನ್ವಯ, ಪೂರ್ಣದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಈ ಪಂಚಮಂತ್ರ ಇನ್ನು ಮುಂದಿನ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಾಗಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ. ಅಂದರೆ, ನಮಗೆ ಇನ್ನು ಬೇಕಾದುದು ಆ ಮತ ಈ ಮತ ಅಲ್ಲ; **ಮನುಜ ಮತ.** ಆ ಪಥ ಈ ಪಥ ಅಲ್ಲ; **ವಿಶ್ವ ಪಥ.** ಆ ಒಬ್ಬರ ಉದಯ ಮಾತ್ರವಲ್ಲ; ಸರ್ವರ ಸರ್ವಸ್ತರದ ಉದಯ. ಪರಸ್ಪರ ವಿಮುಖವಾಗಿ ಸಿಡಿದು ಹೋಗುವುದಲ್ಲ; ಸಮನ್ವಯಗೊಳ್ಳುವುದು. ಸಂಕುಚಿತ ಮತದ ಅಂಶಿಕ ದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಅಲ್ಲ; ಭೌತಿಕ ಪಾರಮಾರ್ಥಿಕ ಎಂಬ ಭಿನ್ನದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಅಲ್ಲ; ಎಲ್ಲವನ್ನು ಭಗವದ್ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂದ ಕಾಣುವ **ಪೂರ್ಣದೃಷ್ಟಿ.**

ಕುವೆಂಪು

Gospel of Universal Man

Every Child, at birth, is the universal man. But, as it grows, we turn it into "a petty man". It should be the function of education to turn it again into the enlightened "universal man".

The Religion of Humanity, the Universal Path, the Welfare of All, Reconciliation, the Integral Vision- these ***five mantras*** should become View of the Future. In other words, what we want henceforth is not this religion or that religion, but the Religion of Humanity ; not this path or that path, but the Universal Path ; not the well-being of this individual or that individual, but the Welfare of All ; not turning away and breaking off from one another, but reconciling and uniting in concord and harmony ; and, above all, not the partial view of a narrow creed, not the dual outlook of the material and the spiritual, but the Integral Vision of seeing all things with the eye of the Divine.

Kuvempu

Karnataka State
Open University

Political Science
Course II

Block

6

Introduction

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Units 17 - 18

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Block VI

This unit deals with two important socialist thinkers of modern India: M.N.Roy and Jawaharlal Nehru. Unit 17 focuses on the life sketch of Roy, which includes the relationship between Roy and Marxism, his notion of Humanism and also his political and social ideas. Finally this unit also makes an evaluation of Roy's contribution to the political thought

Unit 18 focuses on Jawaharlal Nehru. This includes focus on life history, his notion of individualism, socialism, democracy, secularism, democratic socialism, and internationalism. Finally unit also makes an estimate of Jawaharlal Nehru as a modern political thinker

M.N.Roy

Unit 17 Socialist Thought-M.N.Roy-Life Sketch- Roy and Marxism-Humanism-Political and Social Ideas- Evaluation

Structure

17.1 Objectives

Following are the major objectives of this unit:

- To study the life history of M.N.Roy
- To study Roy's understanding of Marxism including his major contributions to the Marxism
- To evaluate Radical Humanism
- Finally to understand political and social ideas of M.N.Roy

17.2 Introduction

M.N.Roy, "an outstanding international personality of the modern age, " an intellectual of international eminence" "one of the greatest, if not the greatest, Indian philosopher of twentieth century" " an intelligent and intellectual giant", a " constant source of original ideas", " a consistently correct prophet," " the most colorful of all non-Russian Communists in the era of Lenin and Stalin" was a man with unique personality. Lenin called him "the Oriental Marx. He was an outstanding intellectual-activist or man of action and thought of the last century. He was an active participant of major struggles for social emancipation of the last century. As an activist he was totally dedicated to radical

Transformation. As a man of thought he advocated profound social philosophy of change, which contained originality in thought. He began his carrier as an anarcho-nationalist in India, later on came to be known as the real founder of Indian Communism. He was the one who took an active part in the revolutionary activities in India, Mexico, the Soviet Union, and China. Incidentally he was the one who founded the communist party of Mexico in the world outside the then Soviet Union. At the same time he brought in new theoretical discourses to understand the Indian situation. He was the contemporary of such internationally acclaimed revolutionaries or nationalist as Gandhi, Lenin, Stalin, Mao, Ho.Chi Min, Bukharin, and Barodin. He was send to China to assist Chairman Mao wherein he remained part of think tank of the Party, guide and personal advisor to chairman Mao There are three phases in the history of M.N.Roy: He began his carrier as an ardent nationalist and later on became a hardcore Marxist and finally ended up as a Radical Humanist. The latter became one of the important philosophies for the future. His main ideas were to stress on the ideal of freedom. In fact, as V.M.Tarkunde argues, " freedom was the basic inspiration and consuming passion

of his entire life." He is called also as correct prophet, mainly because his prediction about India, Soviet Union, and China about the political conditions and the struggles proved to be correct. His contributions extended between the issues of nationalist struggles and the philosophy of Scientific Humanism.

17.3 Life Sketch:

M.N.Roy was born on 21 March 1887 to an upper caste family in Arbalia in Bengal. - However, some time it is also argued that he was born in the year 1886. His real name was Narendranath Bhattacharya and adopted the name of M.N.Roy when he was in the U.S. His paternal grand father was a head priest of temple. His father however had left the priesthood and had become a teacher of a Sanskrit school. In fact, Narendra was the fourth from the second marriage of his father. Uptil the age of eleven he studied at Arbalia where he studied up to sixth standard. In 1898 his family moved to Changripota, which influenced Roy much more, as the village was known for well-known personalities. Between 1898 and 1905 Roy studied at Harinahbhi Anglo-Sanskrit School. During his students days he was known for his intellectual curiosity, helping the downtrodden. During these days he organized a volunteer group whose activities included nursing people who were poverty stricken, raising money for the sick people. Many intellectuals or the social reformers of his time influenced him. Among them Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Swami Vivekananda were important. In 1905 his father died. It was a period when Bengal was partition. This made Roy to actively oppose partition. This the time when he began to identify with nationalist movement- here his phase as a nationalist began- he was involved in a number of political conspiracies and offences. During this period, as part of *Anusheelan Samiti* he went to raise money for the destitute. Meanwhile he organized a small knit of revolutionaries. On December 6 1907 he did the first robbery, and was arrested, charged and tried but was released on the ground of insufficient evidence. In fact, it is here he justified robbery for political cause. In 1908 he went to Benaras to help people suffering from famine. In 1910 he was arrested for dacoit. During this time, he had planned for an armed insurrection against the colonial rule. Even he got the promise from the Germans for the supply of arms to overthrow the British Empire, but in vein. This made him to travel different countries under different names. He traveled to Java, Japan, China, and finally reached San Francisco in 1916. From there he moved to Mexico. It is here

he became an ardent Marxist who had read the basic philosophy of Marxism and Socialism. He became the member of Marxist Socialist Party and became its organizing secretary. In fact, he came to be known as the founder of Mexican Communist Party, which was incidentally the first one outside the then Soviet Union. It is here that his second phase began as a confirmed Marxist. Roy attended the second Congress of Communist International in Moscow in 1920. It is here the great debate between Lenin and Roy took place about the role of colonial capitalist class or bourgeoisie in the nationalist movement or revolutionaries in colonial and semi colonial countries. When Lenin viewed Gandhi as playing a progressive role, Roy took diametrically opposite position calling Gandhi a medievalist. However, both the theses of Lenin and Roy was placed before the second Communist International, and that both were adopted by the conference. This made him a great theoretician who could occupy high position in different policy making bodies of Communist International or what is called Comintern. In fact, he was selected to the Presidium of Communist International; even he became the head of Eastern department of the Communist International and of the Moscow Oriental University. Nonetheless his main objective was to build communist movement in India. He could able to send large number of communist workers and literatures to India to develop communist movement in India. It was during this time that he became a bitter critic of moderates. During this time he advocated a mass party. In 1922 he wrote *India in Transition* in which he criticized Indian moderates, radicals for injecting religion into politics including the Indian bourgeoisie. Incidentally in this book Roy advocated class struggle as the only means for Indian independence. Nonetheless, during the same period he shifted the headquarters of revolutionary activities to Berlin from India. Same year he wrote, " *India's Problems and Its Solutions.* " Even though he criticized Gandhian tactics of non-cooperation, including the policies of Congress, however, he advocated a block with Congress so as to capture the party from within. He thought that the radicals would change the scape of congress from within, but in vain. Here he advocated that Congress should include programmes of national reconstruction Next year his attitude towards Gandhi changed which is apparent in his book on "One Year of Non Cooperation." In this book that he gave glorying tributes to Gandhi and compared the latter with St. Thomas Aquinas, St.Francisi of Agasi. Meanwhile he was bit critical of economic policies of Gandhi, including the policy of mixing religion with politics. He was also opposed to Gandhian political methods. Even though in 1924

Comintern advocated direct contact between the Indian National Congress and the Communist, Roy rejected the idea. Instead he preferred a separate Communist party. In 1926 his book *"Aftermath of Non-Cooperation* " came out which tried to probe the reasons for the failure of non-cooperation. At the same time he argued that the Bourgeoisie was too afraid of revolution. . In the same year he wrote another book, *"The Future of Indian Politics."* In 1927 S.A.Dange, Muzaffar Ahamed, and S.V.Ghate formed the communist party of India. In fact, during this time Roy advocated an illegal communist party on the one hand, and a broad based, open and legal Worker's and Peasant Party on the other. The same year he went to China as a special representative of Communist International. Next year he came out with his theory of decolonization, which was rejected by the Comintern. He was expelled from the Commintern in 1929. This was a part of larger conspiracy to purge everybody who was opposing Stalin, the then communist leader of Soviet Union. In fact, Roy had written many articles criticizing some of the positions taken by the Communist International. These articles were known as German Communist Opposition.

Roy returned to India in 1930 after his expulsion from Comintern. Next year he was arrested and was sentenced to imprisonment for a period of twelve years for his involvement in the famous Kanpur Conspiracy case. This case was related to the charge that he was attempting to overthrow the British Empire. His sentence was reduced to six years due to his appeal. Before his arrest in 1931 he attended Karachi Congress. After his release from the jail in 1936, Roy gave a call to people to join the Indian National Congress. It is here he was advocating a radical programme for the Congress too- he wanted Congress to adopt radical agrarian programme which include socio economic programme of democratic freedom. He even joined the Indian National Congress. He was keen to develop Congress with its network with village and Taluk Committees. Nonetheless large number of his followers started working in the grass root level so as to radicalize the Congress. In 1940 Roy had to part with the Indian National Congress due to his differences with the latter on the issues of participating in the World War II. . However, during Second World War he opposed the fascist forces and thereby supported the allies. For him the survival of democracy became important. This is the reason why Roy argued that; " If Fascism succeeds in establishing its domination over the whole of Europe then good-bye to revolution and good-bye to Indian freedom as well." Further he argued that the "defeat of Fascism will weaken imperialism."

Meanwhile he condemned the Quit India Movement of Gandhi. The differences between Congress and Roy on the issue of World War and the subsequent freedom made the latter to part with the Congress and to form Radical Democratic Party in 1940. In fact, Roy correctly predicated the defeat of fascism and the subsequent freedom to India. Roy predicted that Indian freedom would be the result of not only world war but also the socio-economic changes taking place in Great Britain. During this time he thought that the working class of India was not a revolutionary force rather the middle class. Interestingly in 1943 he came out with a document for the future independent India entitled, " People's Plan for Economic Development of India " and in 1944 he came out with another document, " Draft Constitution of Free India." These two documents contained his radical ideas.

His disappointment with Marxism and the parliamentary democracy at the end of war made him to look for some other ideologies. All these made him to turn to radical humanism. His theoretical positions are contained in his famous twenty-two thesis- this is in fact a radical departure from the power politics. This made him to dissolve the Radical Democratic Party in 1948 and launch a movement called Radical Humanist Movement. He died on January 25 1954.

M.N.Roy was a prolific writer that shows his deep intellectual attitude towards large number of issues. Philosophical discourses, empiricism, and a precise perspective mark his books. Following are some the books he penned over the years

- Historical role of Islam
- Beyond Communism
- New Humanism- A manifesto
- Men, I met
- Politics, Power and Parties
- Materialism
- New Orientation
- Fragments of a Prisoner's Diary
- India's Message
- From Savagery to Civilization
- Reason, Romanticism and Revolution
- Scientific Politics

- India: Her Past, Present and Future
- India in Transition
- What do we want
- India's Problems and its solutions
- Revolution and Counter Revolution
- Memoirs

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Describe the life sketch of M.N.Roy

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17.4 Roy and Marxism

M. N. Roy started his career as an ardent Marxist, who on later date became a Radical Humanist. Even when he was a radical humanist, Roy was fond of Marxism, but as a critique. Incidentally the last theses (twenty two) of his Radical Humanism make it a point that "radicalism starts from the dictum that "Man is the root of Mankind"(Marx) and tried to reconstruct the world centering around man. It is here Roy tries to give importance to Marxism

As a Marxist his most important contributions came at two different levels. One, at the level of intellectual scholarship or as a writer. Secondly, while working for Communist International. These are found in his earlier phase. In the first case his different books – *India in Transition* etc are full of Marxist analysis wherein he combines the Marxist method and Indian reality to understand the colonialism and its impact. Nonetheless his famous contribution came when he participated in Commintern, which made the Commintern to

adopt what is called "supplementary thesis on National and Colonial Question." It is here he opposed clubbing or treating all the eastern countries as homogenous one and, argued that," Super profits gained in the colonies are the mainstay of modern capitalism . . .. By exploiting the masses in the colonies, European imperialism is in a position to make concession after concession to the labor aristocracy at home" However the most important argument of Roy centered on the nationalist movement. Here he opposed the view that the nationalist bourgeoisie is the most revolutionary category thereby the entire communist should back the national bourgeoisie. Rather he argued that," national revolution can be carried out only under the leadership of a political party representing the workers and peasants'.

However, Roy's understanding of Marxism underwent a profound change in due course. He became a critique of Marxism when he established Radical Democratic Party. He differed with the Marxism principally on the issues of role of ideas in history and the issues of primacy of moral values.

There are two sides in his critique of Marxism, especially when Roy was addressing the issues from the point of view of a radical humanist. In one side Roy emerged as an admirer of Marx. Meanwhile his critique centered around weaknesses in Marxism in particular, Communist regime of Russia in general.

To begin with, Roy appreciated Marx as a " passionate Humanist," a "romanticist," " a great moralist," "an intellectual honest" who had a passionate faith in revolution. Further, he appreciated Marx that the latter was a great defender of freedom and stood for the freedom of the individual. Marxism too has its liberal side: it is apparent in the issues of freedom, economic man etc However, Roy called the labor theory of value of Marx as the cornerstone of Marxian economics, who adopted a constructive criticism against the liberal political economist. Roy further argued that most of the arguments that Marx made were derived from the liberal tradition or from the bourgeoisie romanticism. In the latter case he cited the following issues: ethical question, ascetic morality etc.

On the other hand Roy began to argue that the communism which emerged as a salvation of the civilized world, now causing grave misgivings among progressive forces of the modern world. The so-called proletarian revolution, he believed never came to be realized. It failed to become a world revolution as it confined to one socialist country called Soviet Union. Roy felt that the, " picture of proletarian revolution had lost its original moral appeal

and the glamour of humanist romanticism." This is because the revolution could not able to carry to its logical end, it could not able to spread to the different parts of the world, and neither it could able to overcome the subordinate role of the proletariat. Further, he argued that constructive aspect of proletarian revolution was not in tune with Marxist scheme. Even the "initial stage was not quite true to its model". It is in this context Roy argued that Revolution should have began in Britain first and then spread to the other parts of the world, especially because of the growth of social forces. Rather it began in Russian and remained confined to that country alone. He called the Russian Revolution as an " accident." More than that it remained in the rubric of "pre-history." He called Marx a "false prophet." Meanwhile Roy visualized the degeneration of Communist theory and practice. His criticisms of Marxism and Communist ideology centered on following issues:

- Marx has not written anything about the social engineering or technology aspect in the socialist economy.
- Marx notion that the capitalism will be replaced by socialism remained a wishful thinking
- Marxism has become a totalitarian theory
- Marx concentrated too much on forces of production than on dynamics of ideas.
- The idea of revolution was a romantic one
- The argument of class conflict overlooks the class cohesiveness in history
- Society has not polarized neatly into two sphere as predicted by Marx
- Marx's predictions of disappearance of Middle class proved to be wrong. The middle class certainly existed and 'proved to be decisive in the critical period". In fact, "the concentration of the means of production in fewer hands enlarged the middle class'
- There was nothing in the economics of socialism in Marx
- Marx was unconcerned about post-revolutionary political practices- how would be the political society after the revolution? How the administration would be organized etc were not dealt with by Marx
- Withering away of the state in Marx was an utopia
- His argument about the economic relationship was an anarchist idea
- "Communism in practice has been disappointing; the ideal itself has been put to doubt by its experience"
- Roy criticized the Marxian theory of surplus value, arguing that it is a fundamental

fallacy not only in Marxist economics but also of the entire philosophy of revolution. It is here Roy used the term "social surplus" instead of "surplus value." Roy argued that social surplus is intrinsically linked to moral issues than economics

Second set of his arguments centers around communism or the communist party as such. Roy argued that communism has overlooked the presence, importance, and the primacy of middle class. Secondly he argues that there is no intellectual freedom in communism. Thirdly, communist party takes a cynical attitude to cultural values. Fourthly, the strategy of capturing power through class struggle, insurrectionary method etc itself proves its inadequacy for the capture of political power. This is the reason why communism is reduced to dogmatism and sectarian body.

Roy's critique of Marxism also stemmed from his analysis of Russian Marxism. He believed that communism practiced in Russia was not an authentic one. Marxism practiced in Russia is purely pragmatic one. They lack theoretical foundations and also a thorough knowledge about the Marxist ideology. This is the reason why Roy argues that there is a discrepancy between reality and idea. Secondly, Communist Movement, including the Communist International in the ultimate analysis is identified with Russian communist Party. The latter claimed the monopoly over the theory too. This is the reason why communist movement elsewhere at the global level became the victims. In fact, the Commintern became the first victim of Russian Communism. Thirdly, Roy argued that, the socialism or communism experienced in Russia was nothing more than the state capitalism. It is in the socialist economy of Russia that labour is even more exploited by the state- they are forced to produce larger surplus value. In Russia the working class instead of becoming socialist became trade unionist. They could not able to work out an independent ideology; rather they followed either the bourgeoisie or middle class socialist intellectuals.

Merits and Demerits

a. Merits

- One of the greatest contributions of Roy can be seen in his thesis on "Colonial and National Question." It is here he gave a new perspective to the communist thinking.
- Roy was a critical Marxist too- he never succumbed to dogmatism or orthodoxy. His opposition to Stalinism or authoritarianism are the classical examples for his Critical positions

b. Demerits

- Despite advancing class conflict in the colonial countries, however Roy's thesis has not resolved the contradiction emerging from within the communist movement. This is because of clubbing Roy's thesis with Lenin's concept of tactical cooperation with nationalist revolutionaries. This contradiction continues to plague the communist movement even today.

Check Your Progress - 2

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Describe Roy's critique of Marxism

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17.5 Radical Humanism

Radical Humanism is treated as " the best and clearest exposition of a philosophy of freedom based on modern scientific knowledge." To understand M.N. Roy's basic philosophy of Radical Humanism it is essential to understand his critique of two major systems of political thought and practice: Parliamentary Democracy and Communism. This critique covers the inadequacies that these system contains including the alternatives proposed .In fact he differed with Marxism especially on the role of ideas in human history and on the primacy of moral values. In the case of parliamentary democracy his arguments centers around the following: that in parliamentary democracy civil liberty becomes mere formality, that it is also a class dictatorship, that the working class have very little chance of exercising the sovereign right; that the parliamentary democracy cannot control the executive; that parliamentary democracy cannot control or defend democracy and guarantee civil liberties under all circumstances- which is why liberalism could not able to checkmate the emergence

of fascism.; that there are basic contradiction between philosophy and political practice of liberalism.

Radical Humanism, Roy believed is an answer to both ideologies of parliamentary democracy and the Marxism. - It was to overcome the "crisis' and for ushering in new world order. It combines the traditions of humanism and moral radicalism. In his Radical Humanism, Roy located the basic values of freedom, rationalism and morality to man's biological evolution. He argued that, "man is essentially rational and therefore moral." " The reason in man is an echo of the harmony of the Universe." This is the reason why he argued that the innate rationality is the guarantee for harmonious order, because, " morality is a rational function". He believed that the human progress always stands for freedom and search for truth. Therefore he stood for making individuals or the man conscious of his innate morality. In the final analysis man becomes center to the Radical Humanism or what he calls "measure of all things." Therefore, pattern of any social organization or political institutions should be judged by the freedom it gives to the individual. Attaining or securing maximum freedom to individuals, as individuals becomes primary concern of any social relationship. Meanwhile he called the Radical Humanism as New Humanism, "because it is Humanism enriched, reinforced and elaborated by scientific knowledge and social experience gained during the centuries of modern civilization."

In the political front Roy gave up the ideas of party politics. This is why he dissolved Radical Democratic party in 1948. He believed that the political power should primarily vest in the people's committees than in the political structures.

In Radical Humanism he developed new concepts and the ideas. One of the new ideas in Radical Humanism is the " cooperative economy." In this economy means of production in the final analysis will be vested in the working class than with the capitalist or with the state. He believed that cooperative economy was far better than the state ownership or capitalism

He made most important argument that stressed the fact that Radical Humanism stands for cosmopolitanism of spiritual kind. Or it creates what is called cosmopolitan Humanism. This is apparent in the following arguments: " Humanism is cosmopolitan. Cosmopolitan commonwealth of free men and women is a possibility, It will be a spiritual community, not limited by the boundaries of Nation states- capitalist, fascist, communist or any other kind-

which will gradually disappear under the impact of cosmopolitan Humanism. That is the Radical perspective of the future mankind."

M.N.Roy came out with twenty-two theses about Radical Humanism. These are as follows:

1. "Development of Individual is the measure of social progress. Collectivity presupposes the existence of individuals. Collective well-being is a function of the well-being of individuals
2. Human progress stands on the premise of quest for freedom and search for truth. The quest for freedom is the continuation, on a higher level- of the biological struggle for existence. The search for truth is a corollary thereof
3. Attainment of freedom is the purpose of all rational endeavors- it is basically for liberating man. Freedom is nothing but progressive disappearance of all restrictions on the unfolding of the potentialities of individuals as individuals.
4. Human beings are essentially rational. Human will is the determining factor for everything, including revolution
5. Economic interpretation of history is deduced from a wrong interpretation of materialism. It implies dualism, whereas materialism is a monistic philosophy
6. Ideation is a physiological process resulting from the awareness of environments. But once they are formed ideas exist by themselves. The dynamics of ideas runs parallel to the process of social evolution, the two influencing each other mutually.
7. For creating a new world of freedom, revolution must go beyond an economic reorganization of society. Freedom does not necessarily follow from the capture of political power in the name of the oppressed and exploited classes and abolition of private property in the means of property
8. Any social philosophy or scheme of social reconstruction should recognize the sovereignty of the individuals. Success of every society must be judged by the experience
9. The argument that the State would wither away under Communism is a utopia. Planned economy in the socialist industries presupposes powerful machinery. Democratic control of that machinery alone can guarantee freedom under the new order.
10. State ownership and planned economy do not by themselves end exploitation of labor nor do they necessarily lead to an equal distribution of wealth. Economic democracy is

not possible in the absence of political democracy.

11. Dictatorship tends to perpetuate itself- it disregards individual freedom and in the process defeats its professed end
12. The formal parliamentary democracy also has defects. The defects are due to the delegation of power. To make democracy effective, power should always be vested with the people. There must be ways and means to wield the sovereign power effectively. Atomized individuals are always powerless for all practical purpose
13. Liberalism is falsified under formal parliamentary democracy .Its doctrine provides legal sanction for the exploitation of man-by-man. Economic man is always bound to be a slave or slave-holder
14. Alternative to parliamentary democracy is not dictatorship but organized democracy. The parliament should be the apex of a pyramidal structure of the state reared on the base of an organized democracy composed of countrywide network of People's Committees.
15. The function of revolutionary and liberating social philosophy is to lay emphasis on the basic fact of history that man is the maker of his world
16. The method and programme of social revolution must be based on a reassertion of the basic principle of social progress. The social renaissance comes through educating the masses about freedom and rational co-operative living
17. Radical democracy presupposes economic reorganization of society so as to eliminate the possibility of exploitation-of man by man. Economic liberation of the masses is the essential condition for the individuals advances towards the goal of freedom
18. The economy of the new social order will be based on production for use and distribution with reference to human needs. Its political organizations will be based on the direct participation of the entire adult population through the people's committees. Its culture will be based on universal dissemination of knowledge and on minimum control and maximum scope for scientific and creative activities. The new society will be democratic- politically, economically as well as culturally. It will be a democracy which can defend itself
19. The ideal of Radical Democracy will be attained through the collective efforts of spiritually free men united in the determination of creating world of freedom. They

will function as guides, friends and philosophers of the people rather than as their would –be rulers. The new state (Radical Democratic) will believe in widest diffusion of power and rise with the support of enlightened public opinion as well as intelligent action of the people.

20. In the Radical Democratic state the State will cease to be the instrument in the hands of any particular class to coerce others
21. Radicalism integrates science into social organization; it also reconciles individuality with collective life. It gives to freedom a moral-intellectual as well as a social content.
22. Finally, Radicalism starts from the dictum that "man is the measure of everything" (Pythagoras) or "man is the root of mankind" (Marx) and advocates reconstruction of the world as a commonwealth and fraternity of freemen by the collective endeavor of spiritually emancipated moral men"

Merits and Demerits

a. Merits

- Radical Humanism emerged out of Roy's critique of Marxism and parliamentary democracy. More than that he tries to make man," measure of all things"
- Radical Humanism tries to create a man who is rational, free and autonomous
- Radical Humanism was an alternative to the existing practice of politics too

b. Demerits

- As a radical humanist Roy tries to understand Marxism from the humanist perspective which was not so seriously taken by others
- Radical Humanism is more of an utopia than a reality

Check Your Progress - 3

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Describe Radical Humanism of M.N.Roy

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17.6 Social And Political Thought

Roy's political thought emerged at a time when British colonialism was controlling India and also at the time the nationalist movement under different leadership was growing. In fact, Roy's critique of nationalist movement needs to be located in the context of his initial disappointment with the nationalist leaders and also as a Marxist. To begin with, the nationalist movement during early period of 19th and the twentieth century had given rise to two schools of thought. One school regarded the British rule as a divine gift and preferred to create India on the images of British political institutions. They dominated the political discourse till the beginning of Swadeshi movement. Roy was critical about them and called them liberal bourgeoisie, modern intellectuals, radical leaders, moderates, radical intelligentsia, and also denationalized intellectuals. Second school of thought looked at the colonial rule as an evil, "Satan," exploiters, etc. They wanted to construct India on the basis of indigenous modernity, ancient culture, and values. Gandhi represented this school. Roy referred to and called them in different names, " medievalist, orthodox nationalist, Hindu nationalist, and Indian nationalism." However some of these notions underwent sea change in due course. In fact, he became one of the ardent supporters of Gandhi, although he still criticized Gandhian ideas and strategies.

Some of his basic arguments about Indian politics can be enumerated as follows:

- He believed that India was never been a nation till the advent of British. Until then India

contained *"a number of nationalities inhabiting a continent than a composite national unit.' Even the earlier struggles against the Muslims should not be treated as nationalist struggle-they were all feudal uprisings*

- The sepoy mutiny or first war of Independence of 1857 was a reactionary movement of a decadent feudalism. Even the agenda of the revolt was to retrieve the power of the feudal lords. He argues, *"Socially it was a reactionary movement because it wanted to replace British rule by revived feudal imperialism, either of the Moghuls or of the Maharattas.*
- Political nationhood is a recent phenomenon; it is a result of certain economic development.
- In India feudalism was destroyed not by any violent revolt or revolution as in the case of Europe, rather through a peaceful and gradual process.
- Normal economic development and the rise of native bourgeoisie in India was checkmated by the British preceding one hundred years of 1857 war through the following methods: forcible export of accumulated wealth; the deliberate destruction of the craft industries
- India came under the direct capitalist exploitation after the failure of 1857 revolt
- Indian intellectuals are the creation of British government. He writes," The Indian Intellectuals who, together with the progressive element in the landholding class, form the basis of the modern bourgeoisie, are the creation of British Government."
- During the British rule Indian bourgeoisie had not only increased its wealth, but that it not stalled the British imperialism to exploit India. Meanwhile, Indian bourgeoisie has grown at the cost of Indian poor- the gap between the poor and the rich had increased or widened.
- British exploitation not only destroyed the native industries, but also created huge population of poor, agricultural workers, etc. The British exploited India through the methods of introducing new agrarian relations or structures too: Zamindari system, Ryotwari system etc.
- The belated growth of industrial working class is due to the retarded industrial development of the country.
- Roy argued that it was wrong to assume that India never witnessed any capitalist

development prior to British rule. In fact, British rule hampered the normal course of economic development

- Roy strongly believed that in India more than the caste, class played a dominant role against the British imperialism. There are examples for such a tendency. One such instance was the agrarian revolt in different parts of India, which were the result of "accentuated class differentiation." This is the reason why he bitterly criticized the two schools of thought: one, the radical religionist with strong nationalist jingoism and two, class conscious modern bourgeoisie with liberal tendencies
- The political movement against the British was the result of two factors: " first the rise of a class which had accumulated a considerable amount of capital in its hands and which wanted to have the right to participate in the exploitation of the natural resources and labor power of the country and second, " the growing poverty and the existence of a great number of unemployed and unemployables due to the intensive and extensive exploitation by foreign capital"
- The rise of the power of the Marathas marked the first stage in the political nationalism of the history of India.
- The first hundred years rule of British was a period of social and political stagnation "resulting form the ruthless destruction of the progressive tendencies in production."
- Incidentally he believed that it was the intellectuals who were trained in the modern political thoughts that laid the theoretical foundation of the nationalism. but the dynamic push was given by the revival of native middle class.
- He called the fathers of Indian nationalism as constitutional democrats and reformers
- He further believed that the western –oriented Indian intellectuals are the initiators of progress. They were the instrumental in bringing political patriotism; theirs was a revolutionary movement in the strict sense of the term. . "
- He was bitter critical of Congress or Gandhi led nationalism. Nationalist movement led by other school is a most reactionary one. Even Gandhi, for Roy belongs to medievalism. Swami Vivekananda represents spiritual imperialism or Hindu nationalism. For Roy, Gandhi represents the most reactionary form of Indian nationalism. This is apparent in the following arguments: "In fact, Gandhism is the acutest and most desperate manifestation of the forces of reaction trying to hold their own against the objectively

revolutionary tendencies contained in the liberal bourgeois nationalism. The impending wane of Gandhism signifies the collapse of the reactionary forces and their total elimination from the political movement." Nonetheless there were times when Roy made beaming tributes to Gandhi. This became apparent one year after the non-co-operation movement. At this time Roy equated Gandhi with St. Thomas Aquinas, Francis of Agasi etc.

However some of argument about the politics underwent sea change when he became the champion of Radical Democracy and Humanism. He became a bitter critique of western model of democracy/ parliamentary form of democracy, including Marxism. While critiquing the western democracy/Marxism he became a bitter critic of dictatorship of any form, and argued in favor of clubbing politics with ethics. It is here he stressed the need for orienting democracy to the humanist tradition. Therefore he opposed reducing the democracy merely to the "counting of heads, particularly when the heads have not the opportunity to raise themselves." Further he favoured replacement of formal parliamentarism with the "actual democratic practice." At the same time he argued that the character of any party should not be judged by its capacity to catch votes, rather by its principles and published programmes. Even, " people should be asked not for professions and promises, but by the record of government." While advocating Radical Humanism, he argued that real "guarantee of any parliamentary democracy is not law, but the moral conscience of the majority in power." In fact, he was for placing the executive power of the state under the control of free individuals-free from the collective ego and also from the vested interest. Towards realizing the true democracy Roy came out with the organized local democracy. Here the state has a pyramidal structure, which is rooted on the foundation of organized local democracies. The basic function of the organized local democracies is to make individual, " citizens fully conscious of their sovereign right and enable them to exercise the right intelligently and conscientiously." This will be composed of network of political schools; it has the right of recall and referendum; it has the right to nominate candidates for election, However, Roy also concerned about the transition period for democrcy. During this period he believed that a democratic constitution should provide for " creative genius, Intellectual detachment and moral integrity occupying high place in the state." Meanwhile he favoured election as well as selection. At the same time he argued that the residual power of the state during the

transition period be vested with the Council of State who are men of wisdom, science, intelligence, integrity, moral excellence. In the ultimate analysis the State that comes into existence will no "longer be Leviathan, always to be dreaded and distrusted."

Social Thought

Even though Roy was an ardent Marxist in his initial period, however, he never overlooked certain social realities in India. One of the social realities was the presence of caste system. Here too he tried to understand the economic basis for caste system in India: its basis lies in the system of "slavery." He thinks that the initial distinction between men and men were made on the basis of color or *Varna*. Later on development of tools were added into it by the conquering and conquered races. In the final analysis the caste became the basis of socio-economic organized production in the countryside. He argued that, " class-line ran through the caste-system." Interestingly he thought that with the introduction of new technology and the growth of modern industries, " caste has ceased to be a living social factor." At the same time Roy argued that British rule also had the impact on the social equilibrium too: " the dislocation of the social equilibrium has destroyed the economic basis of caste-division." This is apparent in the case of all the castes in India. " A Brahmin can be found sweeping the street or engaged in the Kitchen, whereas the son of a washerwoman will be occupying a high administrative post or the son of the weaver teaching philosophy in the university".

Nonetheless there are certain changes in Roy's argument when he became Radical Humanist. First of all he saw the foundation of a civil society in the individual instinct for self-preservation and struggle for existence. Secondly he negated the theory that society always stands on the premise of conflict and competition. On the contrary he argues that human trait is always for helping fellow men

Merits and Demerits

a. Merits

- Roy's political thought although underwent sea change, however they were marked by high intellectual and scholarly arguments
- Roy did try to understand the political reality both as a Marxist and a Radical Humanist. They are all backed by intensive study of Indian reality

- Even though Roy was influenced by Marxism he did not rule out the social reality of Caste in India

b. Demerits

- Although Roy emerged as a critique of nationalist movement, he showed quite often his inconsistency about the nationalist leaders
- Roy's argument that the caste system has transformed into class in India is largely a misunderstood analysis of Indian reality. Caste continue to exist as social reality in India

Check Your Progress - 4

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Analyze social and political thought of M.N.Roy

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17.7. Evaluation

Marxist turned Radical Humanist M.N.Roy was a great scholar, thinker, and a critique. His contribution to Indian Marxism including his attempt to spread Marxism to different parts of the world makes him a unique personality. He can be called "Asian Marx" as he was the one who tried to apply Marxism to the conditions available in eastern world. He correctly understood the reality and thereby his suggestions for a tactical understanding in the context of nationalist movement were taken up the Communist International. Nonetheless he never subscribed to dogmatic, orthodox Marxism, which is why he was removed from the communist movement. A dramatic change took place afterwards: he became a supporter of Congress led nationalist movement, and later on formed Radical Democratic party and finally he became a radical humanist. His Radical Humanism made "man as the measure of all." This is where

his greatest contribution lies. Nonetheless he never succumbed to any rigid dogmas and also philosophical discourse. More than that he tries to understand the hard facts about India, which is apparent in his discourse on politics, society, and Indian philosophy. His analysis never confined to nationalist movement alone, rather they traversed from ancient India to the modern day. Incidentally he demystified many popular notions about India, while analyzing the past and tries to develop new paradigm for future India.

17.8 Let Us Sum Up

M.N.Roy was called differently as "an outstanding international personality of the modern age, " an intellectual of international eminence" one of the greatest, if not the greatest, Indian philosopher of twentieth century " an intelligent and intellectual giant", a " constant source of original ideas", " a consistently correct prophet," " the most colorful of all non-Russian Communists in the era of Lenin and Stalin". Even Lenin called him "the Oriental Marx."

There are three phases in the life of M.N.Roy. In the initial phase Roy was an ardent nationalist who was drawn into nationalist movement through his revolutionary activities. In the second phase, Roy emerged as an ardent Marxist whose main aim was to propagate, inaugurate, and work for Marxism or Communism in different parts of the World, including India In fact during this period Roy helped Mexican to establish Communist Party and also, helped Mao in his nationalist struggle in China. He became member of Commintern and became one of the spokesperson for the entire eastern block, whose major contribution came in the form of his "thesis on colonial and national question."

Next phase began after his expulsion from the communist party. He became part of nationalist movement- joined Congress and helped to form Radical Democratic Party. In the last phase M.N.Roy turned to Radical Humanism, in which he gave up the party politics for Humanism.

M.N.Roy was not only a Marxist but also a critical Marxist who never compromised with the orthodoxy practiced by the then Soviet Union including its leaders. Secondly, Roy also was critical of the parliamentary practices, including liberalism. It is in this critical position that one can locate his search for alternatives, which in the final analysis ended up in Radical Humanism. This does not mean that Roy escaped from understanding Indian reality. Rather his analyses were testified against the reality of India.

17.9 Key Words

Liberalism : A political orientation that favors progress and reform

Commintern : A common name of various organizations formed to unite socialist and communist organizations throughout the world.

Romanticist : Someone who indulges in excessive sentimentality; an artist of the romantic period or someone influenced by romanticism

Cosmopolitan : Composed of people from or at home in many parts of the world; especially not provincial in attitudes or interests

Fascism : An adherent of right-wing authoritarian views

Bourgeoisie : The social class between the lower and upper classes

17.10 Some Useful Books

Sibnaryan Ray, Selected Works of M.N.Roy

M.N.Roy, India in Transition

M.N.Roy, New Humanism: A Manifesto

M.N.Roy, Materialism

M.N.Roy New Orientation

17.11 Answer to Check your progress exercise

Check your progress 1

1) See Section 17.3

Check Your Progress 2

1) See Section 17.4 and Subsection 17.4.1

Check Your Progress 3

1) See Section 17.5 and subsection 17.5.1

Check Your Progress 4

1) See Section 17.6 and subsection 17.6.1

NOTES

Unit 18 Life-History- Nehru and Individualism-Socialism-Democracy-Secularism-Democratic Socialism-Internationalism-Estimate

Structure

18.1 Objectives

Following are the major objectives of the study

- To understand the life history of Nehru
- To analyze Nehru's perception of individualism
- To evaluate Nehru's understanding of socialism, democracy, secularism, democratic socialism, and internationalism
- Finally to estimate Nehru as a statesman, a nation builder and a democrat

18.2 Introduction

Pandit Nehru, the "builder of modern India", the first Prime Minister of independent India was not only treated as a statesman but also ideological and political heir of Gandhi. He was the product of two things: Indian renaissance and the Indian Nationalist movement. The latter is apparent in his introduction to his "Autobiography": "Many of us were molded by that struggle and are what we are today as a result of that struggle". His vision was to construct India on the lines of secularism, democracy and socialism. As a writer, historian and as an intellectual par excellence, he influenced the thinking of generations of Indians on the lines of socialism, democracy and secularism with science and technology acting as catalyst of "modern India". He was the one who initiated planned economic development in India. He was the man who gave a voice to the third world countries at a time when the world was reeling under ideologically opposite camps. He was one of the founders of "Non-Alignment Movement" and that he became the virtual creator of such terms as "neutralism and third world" in the vocabulary of international politics. He made "Non-Alignment' an effective movement, and made the people of the third world to have a platform to raise their voices at the global level. In other words, his concern for the people did not confine to India alone, rather it cut a crossed the boundaries of nations, ethnicity, and nationalities

Nehru did contribute to the nationalist movement by way of taking up the leadership and also providing a new perspective to it. As an ardent nationalist he enlarged the scope of nationalist movement by way of brining in different retrenched social categories into the main stream of nationalist movement . One such social category was the peasantry and rural categories. He represented the socialist ideology, which stood for equality, freedom, rights, and liberty from within the nationalist movement. He was the one who foresaw the future of India in the ideology of democracy, secularism, and socialism. Even though Nehru had

tremendous power in his hand, he never translated the same into authoritarian one; rather he remained humanistic to the core and defended the democratic principles

His contributions are far and wide. He strived for securing a high place for India in the comity of nations. He was the one who strived to give a direction to the foreign policy of India from the scratch. He tried to give an impression of rule of law in the international affairs. Meanwhile his influence on the international politics is immense. He became a symbol of resistance in the Afro-Asian countries, including Latin American countries. He evoked special appeal to those who were undergoing incomplete process of social transformation and also the process of incomplete decolonization.

Nehru was not merely a man rather he personified a value, a norm, a trend and an approach. He was the one who completely identified his life with the life of millions of people. This is the reason why he could able to confront the issues of poverty, backwardness, unequal distribution, or development with much ease. His personality could able to contain the growth of communalism and separatism. Despite his cherished values of democracy, socialism, and secularism, Nehru never identified with or attached to obscurantism, parochialism, and dogmatism of any type or form. He was a great humanist to the core. This is reflected in his fight against casteism, communalism including feudalism, and reactionary and sectarian forces both from within and outside. In other words Nehru located himself despite his western education and values, in the Indian condition and reality. Interestingly he represented a distinct trend in the Indian politics, combining different feelings- such as Gokhale's parliamentarism, Tilak's "Swaraj" and Gandhi's mass appeal and "Swadeshi," including Marxism/socialism. In fact, here he becomes an eclectic in the positive sense of the term wherein he combined or synthesized many perspectives, factors, or forces for a common cause of Indian democracy and nation building. This is apparent in the way Nehru tried to combine the universal philosophy of socialism with the democratic pluralism, including the social conditions prevailing in India. It is in this context Nehru emerges as one of the greatest, if not the great, statesman, political thinker, and an intellectual

18.3 Life History

Jawaharlal Nehru is vividly called "one of the founders of Non-alignment Movement", " a spirit of modern India", " a tireless fighter for right and justice", " an apostle of world peace", "idealist advocate of consciences in International politics" "pioneering articulator

of Asian resurgence" and "father of institutional democracy" and finally "architect of Indian policy in all manifestations". He is also called ideological and political heir to Gandhi. He was born on November 14th 1889 at Allahabad to a wealthy Kashmiri Brahmin family. He was not only the eldest but also only son of his family. His father, Motilal Nehru was a famous lawyer of his time and was an ardent nationalist. Since Nehru belonged to privileged family, he naturally received his early education at home – he was tutored at home. Three cultural strands along with the personality of his father helped him to shape his ideas during his childhood: Hindu, Muslim, and English. He admired his father very much for his courage, pride, liberal, and progressive outlook, including the "national pride." In due course others too including the incidents happening elsewhere also helped in shaping his ideas and understanding: his tutor T.Brooks, Boer War Russo-Japanese war etc These effects made him a broad-minded, a thorough "nationalist", standing outside the parameters of any parochial or particular identities.

Nonetheless at the age of thirteen Nehru became a member of the Theosophical Society that incidentally was a passing phase in his life. In 1905, at he age of fifteen Nehru went to England to study law. Here, the work on Garibaldi's nationalist zeal in Italy influenced him more. In England he studied at Harrow school for two years and later on at Trinity college at the University of Cambridge wherein he spend next three years to earn an honors degree in natural science. After two years he qualified as a barrister at the Inner Temple, London In. He was admitted to England Bar and came back to India in 1912. During his stay in England he was constantly in touch with Indian politics. After returning to India he joined Allahabad High Court as a practicing lawyer. However, in 1916 he married to Kamala Kaul

Nehru for the first time met Gandhi in 1916 in Indian National Congress Party meeting at Luck now. Even though both differed in their approach, however both remained attached to each other. This is because Gandhi had a different vision about India, which incidentally clashed with westernized Nehru. In 1916 he joined the Home Rule League of Tilak. During this time he was completely dissatisfied with the moderates and favored a "more aggressive and fighting attitude to foreign rule." Nonetheless what changed the political perspective of Nehru was the Jallianwala Bagh massacre of innocent people in 1919. This made him to join nationalist movement led by Congress in rigorous manner Second turning point came in 1920 when he came into contact with the peasant movement of Oudh. This completely

changed his out look and his mode of living. Next year Nehru joined Gandhi's campaign of non co-operation, which include "ahimsa" (nonviolence) and "Swaraj" (Self-Rule). Nehru was arrested for the first time in 1921. During the nationalist movement in total Nehru was imprisoned for thirteen years, including the fact that he was detained nine times. The longest of his detention lasted for three years.

Nehru became the Chairman of the Allahabad Municipal Board in 1923 for three years, but resigned after two years. During the same year Nehru also became the general secretary of Congress for a period of two years. Once again he became its secretary in 1927 for two more years. Nonetheless, Nehru was selected as the president of Congress for the first time in 1929 at the party's Lahore session in succession to his father. It is here he revealed his twin direction of "socialism and republicanism." Totally six times he served as the president of the Congress. Nehru however was arrested in 1930 during a new campaign of civil disobedience movement orchestrated by Gandhi. He was again arrested in 1932 and was detained for two years.

Within Congress Nehru identified himself with the radical wing. This was the result of multiple factors such as the success of Soviet Union, the ideology of Socialism, poverty and the backwardness of third world countries including the hold of colonialism on the third world. In fact, he toured Europe and Soviet Union between 1926 and 1927 wherein he developed an interest in Marxism and socialism. Even though he was very much influenced by the Soviet model of development in tackling poverty, illiteracy, and socio-economic injustice etc, however, he did not approve of everything that the Soviet Union stands for in the name of socialism. - He was opposed to the brutalities meted on the political opponents; In fact, in 1927 he attended the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities in Brussels as a representative of the Congress.

After his return from the Europe and Soviet Union, Nehru visited different places and advocated Socialism. At this juncture Nehru stressed the need for total political independence and social freedom. His interest on socialism led him to associate with Trade Union movement of his time. In December 1928 he actively participated in the All-India Trade Union Congress held at Jharia and later on he became its president too.

Between 1929 and 1935 Nehru changed the political direction of Congress. Under his leadership Congress adopted the resolution of complete independence. As a result, January

26th 1930 was celebrated as Independence Day throughout the country. In 1931 Nehru drafted a resolution on Fundamental Rights and Economic Policy for the Congress session of Karachi. This became the harbinger for a socialist pattern of society that Nehru was envisaging. However, the period of 1930s is also important for four more reasons: it was a period when Nehru was awarded several jail sentences which led him read many books, two, it was a period when Nehru came under the thorough influence of Marxism and socialism; three, it was a period of growing trend of communalism and finally, during this period Nehru would lay stress on Gandhian methods along with his revolutionary ideas. During this period although he came under the influence of Marxism he never called himself or identified with "communism", rather he would argue that, " I am very far from being a communist. I have been too much influenced by the humanist liberal tradition to get out of it completely." This does not mean that he completely identified himself with Gandhi either: He disagreed with Gandhian metaphysical ideas, including " Gandhi's talk of sin and personal salvation, his love and praise of poverty, suffering an ascetic life" and also Gandhi's opposition to industrialization and big machine

Nonetheless, crucial period in the history of Nehru came after 1935. In 1936 he was elected to become the President of Congress for the second time. His address at Lucknow Congress was a powerful exposition of his socialist ideas: " Socialism is thus for me not merely an economic doctrine which I favor, it is a vital creed which I hold with all my head and heart." In 1937 he was re-elected as the President of Congress for the third time. In the same year when elections were held under the Government of India Act, which brought Congress to power in majority of the provinces, Nehru faced the dilemma of forming coalition government with the Muslim League. Although Nehru turned down Muslim League's offer, it widened the schisms between Congress and the Muslim league. In 1938 he made one more trip to Europe, visiting Spain, England, and Czechoslovakia. Next year he paid a visit to China. One more turning point came in 1939 when Britain unilaterally declared India's involvement in the Second World War. At this juncture Nehru argued that "although India's place is alongside the democracies, but that India can fight only as a free country." This is the reason why Congress withdrew from the governments. Next year Nehru was arrested but was released after little more than one year. He was again arrested when he actively participated in "Quit India Movement." He was detained for three years, which was the longest

one – till 1945. Interestingly during 1942 Gandhi officially designated him as his political heir, despite Nehru being ideologically opposed to Gandhism. Nehru became the Vice President of the interim government on September 2 1946 and later on the Prime Minister of Independent India on August 15 1947

Nehru faced multiple problems immediately after the independence: influx of refugees, integration of Princely states into the new federal structure, war with Pakistan (1948) and war with China (1962). All these problems he faced confidently and became the harbinger of "New India." As the Prime Minister of India he introduced a combination of socialist planning with free enterprise for the ravaged economy of India. He introduced five-year plans, decentralization, Community Development Projects, expansion of industrial economy, spread of education, abolition of zamindari system etc. During his period Indian economy emerged stronger- this is apparent in the increase of national income- between 1951 and 1961 the national income of India rose by 42 per cent. Nonetheless, Nehru also brought in substantial changes at social set up: minimum marriageable age was increased from 12 to 15, women were given the right to divorce and inherit property, dowry was made illegal,

One of the major concerns of India after the independence was to provide a space for third world in the middle of opposing camps and bringing in world peace. This concern was translated into reality when Nehru, along with other world leaders such as Nasser of Egypt, Tito of Yugoslavia founded "Non-Alignment Movement." Here he believed in " dynamic neutrality" in the middle of tension-ridden world. Nehru adopted a policy of strict non-alignment although at times it was difficult to pursue it totally. This came to surface in 1956 when India under Nehru voted along with Soviet Union in the UN on the issue of invasion of Hungary. Secondly, it also came to surface when he asked for western aid during Sino-Indian conflict. His conviction in world peace was apparent in the role of India in the Korean crises, crisis in Gaza Strip and Cango. In all through his life he advocated policies of nationalism, anti-colonialism, internationalism

Nehru was a veracious reader and a writer. He was an intellectual par excellence. His understanding of Indian history far exceeds the academic historians. His major contributions include the following:

Glimpses of World History (1934-35)

- An Autobiography (1936)
- India and the world (1936)
- Letters from a Father to a Daughter ((1938)
- Eighteen Months in India (1938)
- China, Spain and the War (1940)
- Towards Freedom (1941)
- The Discovery of India (1946)
- The unity of India: Collected Writings 1934-40
- Independence and After ((1949)
- A Bunch of Old Letters (1958)
- India: Today and Tomorrow (1960)
- India's foreign policy (1961)
- "Glimpses of World History".

Many of the books were written when Nehru was either in jail or detention. Nehru suffered slight stroke in 1963, but the more debilitation attack came in January 1964. He died on May 27 1964, after three months of the second attack.

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Explain the life history of Nehru.

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18.4 Nehru and Individualism

Nehru's basic philosophy centered on individual- he felt that all the activities and the relationships should be centered on human beings. Individual being in Nehru in fact is not a

theoretical construct rather a concrete and an actual one. Individuals' overall development in society was the primary and major concern for Nehru. This is the reason why he argued that, " it is the individual that counts. Every person should be given full opportunities to develop." In fact he believed that individual could be fully developed in a democratic set up than in an authoritarian regime. Good life of an individual in a democratic set up does mean three things: satisfaction of the essential economic needs; release of individuals from continuous oppression and finally, chance to develop the creative faculties of individual. Nonetheless, for Nehru individual development cannot be divorced from the development of the society. Development of each leads to the development of all. This is because of the fact that there is an inbuilt relationship between individual and the society. Meanwhile he argued that individual should not be scarified in the complex social structure of the society. Hence Nehru argued that "real social progress will come only when opportunity is given to the individual to develop, provided the individual is not selected group but combines the whole community". This is the reason why he would not stress on the privileged classes, as the good of the privilege classes will clash with the will of the masses. At the same time Nehru would prefer to recognize the individuals not on the basis of caste and creed, rather on merit and hard work. It is here he preferred individual to come out from one's own narrow self. Hence he stresses on individuality of man, dignity of human beings and the importance of human personality. And, at the same time he argued that, every "man and woman must have the opportunity to develop to the best of his or her ability." - this he thought would be a possibility in a democratic set up. However, Nehru was pained to see the loss of individuality in the midst of what is called "crowd." Nehru thought this was the result of 'deindividualization" and brutalization of human beings. Towards lifting man from the "crowd"- both mentally and physically- Nehru would advocate conditions for creative development of energies and capabilities

Nehru's arguments about individualism also can be found in his advocacy of socialism. For him socialism and individualism were not contradictory terms, rather they are complementary and mutually dependent and also intrinsically interlinked. Socialism is based on the principles of individual freedom expressing in the form of free labor. Socialism in fact will not destroy the personality on the basis of labor; rather it provides spaces for individual's total growth. This individual growth is also part of " releasing the innumerable

individuals from economic and cultural bondage." This is the reason why socialist ideas in the ultimate analysis is linked to the human freedom and political democracy. It will make the minority a majority, quantity into quality, and brings in true democracy wherein the majority who had been historically denied the rights would become the masters of political power. It is here that, Nehru advocated certain methods for the over all development of individuals in a socialist society and the state: universal suffrage, political freedom, socio-economic and political rights etc. Although his socialism demanded an interventionist state in every sphere of the individual, however, the intervention of the state should not be construed as designs of an authoritarian state. Nehru believed that, "even if the state intervention is introduced, it is in the individual's own interest". This is why Nehru argued that the socialism should not be introduced at the cost of man's creative spirit, creative energy, and spirit of adventurism."

Merits and Demerits

a. Merits

- It was Nehru who made individual as the centrality of focus
- Nehru gave importance to individual and his development both in the democratic set up as well socialistic one
- Nehru made the social and political development to the capacity building of individuals
- Nehru's arguments in the final analysis made it a point that social structures which comes in the way of growth and development of individual stands condemned

b. Demerits

- Nehru's argument while looking at the merit and hard work as the principles for recognizing the individuals, however overlooked the essentiality of certain factors for the individuals coming from the poorer background
- In the scheme of Nehru, the individuality is simply reduced to a single whole. This is because Individuality is decided and affected by multiple factors
- It is not always the case that individuality is compatible with the society. Nehru's analysis is silent about those who are marginalized despite the merits and hard work.
- Nehru's individuals are nothing but silent majority, who are without history, who has no place in the historiography.

Check Your Progress - 2

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Explain the importance of individualism in Nehru

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18.5 Socialism

Nehru was a champion of socialism, but his notion of socialism was distinctively different from what Marxist argued or advocated. He became interested in the issues of socialism much earlier in his life. His readings or studies in England brought him " vaguely to the Fabian and socialist ideas". He became further close to the ideas of socialism after returning to India; especially he derived the inspiration from his involvement in "nationalist movement" and mass struggle. Earlier his ideas were more of theoretical in nature and were vague. Even the events at different parts of the world, especially World War I, emergence of Soviet Union, anti-colonial struggles in different parts of the third world, made him an ardent advocate of socialism. Interestingly Communism had profound influence on his ideas. Even though he did not like the way freedom was suppressed or ideas were regimented in Soviet Union in the name of Communism, he nonetheless saw in the ideology of communism a space for socio-economic change.

Nonetheless, his ideas about socialism were also counter posed to two important prevailing ideologies of his time: capitalism and communism. In fact he saw in both the ideologies the stress for violence, but with difference. He saw severity of violence in capitalism than in communism. For Nehru violence in the capitalism is inherent one, on the contrary, the violence in the communism is a passing phase. The latter, Communism aims at new order, " based on peace and co-operation and real freedom for the masses." This does

not mean that Nehru was in favor of its blind application to India. Rather he would advocate that, " its application depended on the particular conditions prevailing in the country in question and the stage of its historical development." In fact, what attracted Nehru was the " essential freedom from dogma and the scientific outlook of Marxism" than its ruthless application in the countries like Soviet Union.

Secondly his ideas of socialism also came through the analysis of colonialism and its nature of subjugating India as backward, poverty stricken country. It is in this context Nehru would view the effect of colonialism on different fronts: "the greatest of these lies in the spiritual sphere- demoralization and sapping of the spirit of the people." Further he would argue that, " the present poverty of the people is the ineluctable consequences of it." While analyzing the British rule, Nehru had in mind the presence of self-sufficient village communities, village industries prior to the colonial rule. He believed that Colonialism not only destroyed the village communities and industries through different methods, but in the process made India an economically backward country, which had had the effect on the people living in India. In fact Colonialism built up its economy while making " India an agricultural colony of industrial England, supplying raw materials and providing markets for England's goods."

Further his ideas also grew with his direct contact with the agrarian population and the industrial proletariat. Incidentally Nehru came into contact with the peasantry as early as 1920-21. Nehru virtually led peasant struggle in the United Provinces during this period, which made him to understand the poverty, backwardness, and exploitation including the progressive pauperization that the peasantry was experiencing or undergoing from a close angle. Secondly his understanding about the Industrial working class grew with his association with Trade Union Congress.

It is in this context one needs to locate Nehru's interest towards building a socialist society in India. In fact, during the colonial period itself Nehru worked towards socialist direction from within the nationalist movement. This is apparent as early as 1926 itself when Nehru made the UP Provincial Congress Committee to draw up a mild socialist programme. In 1929 Nehru declared, while presiding over Lahore session, that he was ' a socialist and republican". In 1931, due to Nehru, Congress adopted a resolution on Fundamental Rights and Economic Policy. In this resolution nationalization of key industries

and services, mineral resources, railways, waterways, shipping etc became the major issues. Incidentally Nehru led the Congress left wing, although he never became a member of Congress Socialist Party that was formed from within the congress to radicalize it. In 1938 when Congress formed a National Planning Committee Nehru became its Chairman

For Nehru socialism was a " growing and dynamic concept, which is not rigid." He wants it to be suited to the changing conditions of human life and activity in every country. It is here lays the real essence and the real socialism; however, there are reasons why Nehru stood for socialism. One of the reasons is the fact that Nehru saw in it an answer for the problems afflicting Indian society. It was "panacea of human ills." In fact, he " saw no way of ending the poverty, the chronic employment, the degradation and the subjection of the people except through socialism." This is the reason why he saw socialism not merely as an economic doctrine rather a philosophy of life.

Secondly, Nehru saw in socialism a revolutionary doctrine to bring in changes in the over all socio-political spheres, the " ending of vested interests in land and industry as well as of feudal and autocratic Indian state system.'

Thirdly, Nehru also saw in socialism a philosophy to end private property and the replacement of profit system through the means of co-operative system.

Fourthly in Socialism Nehru viewed the growth of new civilization, radically different from the existing capitalist order

Nehruvian principles of socialism

- Nehurvian socialism firmly believed that socialist ideology will not lead to authoritarianism rather it will strengthen the framework of democracy
- Nehruvian socialism believed in social reconstruction, especially its principal concern was to remove economic inequalities among the people. Nehru saw the presence of inequality in the presence of private property.
- Nehruvian socialism accepted the fact that inequality leads to exploitation and perpetuation of poverty. This is the reason why Nehru advocated economics of plenty-which would not only reduce the inequality but also exploitation
- Nehruvian socialism viewed that class interests in the ultimate analysis shaped the politics and the economics of the country.

- This particular socialism believed in transformation through peaceful methods, especially using the parliamentary methods.
- Nehruvian socialism never believed in violence, force, or revolution to achieve socialism. Rather it believed in the power of the people for any radical transformation.
- Meanwhile Nehruvian socialism believed in state control of the means of production, (such as land and mines, factories etc), means of distribution. In other words it believed in public ownership of the basic and major industries
- Nehruvian socialism believed in co-operation and harmonious social relations. This means it believed in co-operatively controlled small and village industries. This is nothing but democratic collectivism.
- Nehruvian socialism also believed in industrialization of India-both small and heavy industries.
- Nehruvian socialism advocated continuous planning. This would help in the expansion of productive capacity of the country in every possible way.

  Towards achieving the goal of socialism Nehru, as the Prime Minister of India introduced multiple measures/policies:
- To bring about radical transformation at the grass root level Nehru strongly advocated the abolition of feudal categories such as Zamindars, talukdars. Towards this end Nehru introduced Zamindari Abolition Act
- He supported and favored the growth of heavy industries, including the construction of big dams. He called the latter as the "temples of modern India." Nehru believed that the rapid industrialization would reduce the pressure on land
- He introduced planning in India- five year plans were introduced, modeled after Soviet Union. This was introduced on the assumption that it would boost economic development and also reduce inequality among the people
- Further Nehru had the firm belief in co-operative farming, including agricultural development.

Merits and Demerits

a. Merits

- It was Nehru who argued that the solution of world's problems including India lies in adopting socialist pattern of society

- While advocating socialism Nehru was not in favor of mechanistic interpretation or application of the ideology
- Nehruvian idea of socialism never believed in violent overthrow of regimes nor subscribes to violent revolution. Rather it believed in peaceful means to achieve the goals

b. Demerits

- His notion of socialism was neither able to solve the problems of India nor it made India a distinctively different country
- His ideology of socialism was a bundle of contradiction

Check Your Progress - 3

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Discuss the meaning of socialism in Nehru.

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18.6 Democracy

To begin with Nehru unlike the great western philosophers did not coin the term "democracy" nor advocated any theory of it. For him, democracy is a dynamic concept, which is changing according to the conditions and the time. Its domain is expanding over the years. This is the reason why he argues that, " democracy is a dynamic not a static thing as and as it changes it many be that its domain will become wider and wider". He was more of an experimentalist than a theorist. He had a strong faith in democracy that was mediated through his readings as well as his interaction with the western parliamentary democracy. Nonetheless, Nehru's attitude towards democracy was a blend of humanitarianism, the rise of socialism and working class movement both in India and elsewhere. For him democracy

cannot simply be reduced to counting numbers but rather changing the conditions of life style.

Nehru's appreciation of democracy needs to be countered with his contempt for authoritarian ideology. In fact, Nehru was bitterly opposed to such ideologies as Nazism or Fascism. Between fascism and Communism Nehru would prefer Communism. This is because of the fact that Nehru liked certain aspects of Communism such as the material changes that it introduced in the former Soviet Union. However what he disliked in communism was its "dictatorial" ways, its aggressive methods, and the habit of purging very body that stands opposed to it. Nonetheless, he "inclined to the belief that democracy and communism would have to co-exist in the twentieth century world."

In Indian context Nehru saw the principles of democracy operating right from the ancient period- Indian history, culture, and philosophy are replete with democratic ideologies. It is in the ancient practices that Nehru saw the "metaphysical democracy" operating, wherein the freedom of individual was highlighted; his rights and duties were defined and protected. This type of democracy was present according to Nehru in the guild system, in caste associations, or in social practices. All these things are have had the effect on the practices of Indian democracy in the contemporary period: Indian democracy is not only expanding but also strengthening in the middle of multiple crises. It is here Nehru emerges as a strong believer both in Indian democracy and in the ancient civilization. .

For Nehru, democracy in the ultimate analysis becomes a state of society, a state of mind as well as quality of manners. In its practical side, Nehru took up the moral values associated with it. In fact, Nehruvian concept of democracy derived from the indomitable belief in the land and the people. He would think that land and people constitute the core of Indian democracy. Many a times he argued that the people constitute the India. Therefore the essence of democracy lies in winning freedom for the entire population, not to the fragment of it, in the real sense of the term. This he calls, " fullest democracy" This is apparent in the following argument: " We wanted to change the masters from white to brown, but a real people's rule, by the people and for the people, and an ending of our poverty and misery". This is the reason why he would oppose the totalitarian argument about the democracy including those democrats who compromised with the enemies at the cost of democratic ideals. This is apparent in his opposition to death of Spanish republican by the so-called

democratic England

Essence of democracy

- The basic ideals or the essence of democracy lies in providing political liberty, equality and progress through peaceful methods
- Further Nehru believed that essence of democracy lies in taking the whole people of the country into confidence and making them partners in running the nation, partners in government, and partners in industry. This is done knowing very well that there exist inequality and differences.
- In addition, essence of democracy lies in recognizing the dignity of men, both in their totality and in their individual capacity.
- It also lies in creating equality of opportunity to all people in the political and economic domain. This is the reason why Nehru argued, "Democracy must mean removal of disparities." It is here Nehru visualized the political democracy transforming itself into economic democracy.
- Further it lies in ending economic backwardness and poverty.
- It "involves the freedom of individual to grow and to make the best of his capacities and ability."
- It " involves a certain tolerance of others and even of others' opinion"
- Finally, it involves certain meditative tendency and certain questioning search for truth

His argument in favor of parliamentary democracy was based on the following principles:

- It is a peaceful method of dealing with problems; it believes in peaceful acceptance of decision taken; it involves peaceful methods of transformations.
- It is a method of arguments, discussions and decisions and of accepting that decision
- Parliamentary democracy also accept the role of minority who plays important role
- Parliamentary democracy enlarges the scope of people to participate in the state building
- Parliamentary democracy leads to economic democracy or what is called welfare state. This helps in working towards certain measures of equality of opportunity in the economic sphere
- Parliamentary democracy helps in free expression, freedom of thinking and also recognizing the presence of different political parties.
- Parliamentary democracy stands on the premise of flexible constitution and the

supremacy of parliament.

- Parliamentary democracy produces best results such as "national well-being, and the happiness of the million and millions of our people"

However, Nehru argued that the parliamentary democracy demanded many virtues such as ability and devotion to work, a large measure of co-operation, self –discipline and finally restraints.

Nehru was in favor of creating conditions for the success of democracy. One condition was the need for mass education. He argued that, " we can hardly have a political democracy without mass education." Secondly, Nehru argued in favor of creating conditions for equality of opportunity. Thirdly, Nehru was in favor of universal adult suffrage and a good standard of living.

Nehru also was in favor of creating a real democratic political structure. Towards that end, Nehru stressed the need for following institutions:

- Popular Sovereignty:
- Elections;
- Adult Franchise
- Political Parties
- Leadership
- Civil Liberty and Rule of Law
- Peaceful Methods

All these do not mean that Nehru was blind to the drawbacks of the democracy. He thought that democracy sometime slow down the pace of growth. Most of the time, democracy gives the impression that largest number of people are always right- Nehru contended this argument. Thirdly, as he argued, " democracy can go mad; it can be incited to do wrong." Fourthly, Nehru saw in the war a greatest threat to the democracy. This is because of the fact that war puts an end to the very values that democracy cherishes. Other drawbacks are: wastage of time and energy and slow nature of democracy.

Merits and Demerits

a. Merits

- Nehruvian idea of democracy was distinctively Indian in Nature. This is because of the fact that it gave primacy to people who are marginal, dispossessed and voiceless

- Under Nehru meaning of democracy was expanded to include participation, people's power and voice to the historically retrenched classes and categories
- Under Nehru democracy became a way of life, a thought, an approach, an attitude and individual autonomy

b. Demerits

- Despite the grand design, for most of the people democracy remained a mirage
- Even Nehruvian democracy could not able to solve some of the fundamental problems uch as poverty, backwardness etc.
- Nehruvian democracy failed to reach many people, it remained as a principle of upper class or elites-

Check Your Progress - 4

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Discuss the meaning of democracy in Nehru

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18.7 Secularism

Nehru was basically an agnostic who had aversion towards religion from the beginning of his childhood. The arguments of "other world " in the religious discourse never attracted him. Despite his social background and the surroundings it was difficult for Nehru to adhere to any particular religion or its dogmas. Nehru, was the product of his time, however, he differed from others in terms of approaching religious issues. Despite his aversion to religious discourses, Nehru immensely believed in the innate spirituality and human dignity. . This is why Nehru said, " I am not a religious man, and dogmas do not appeal to me." There is one reason why Nehru did not have linking of religions: 'religions hinders the moral and spiritual

progress of people".

His aversion towards religions in the final analysis made him committed to secular principles. For him secularism was not only a political doctrine, but also a social practice of treating all the religions equally. It also means a certain, ' mental attitude" of individuals belonged to one group towards other group. In fact for Nehru secular philosophy must have spiritual values and certain standards of behavior. His concept of secularism combined the following four principles

- The first principle is the principle of religious freedom in the midst of multiple religious practices prevailing in India. . It was nothing but granting equal status to all religions without discrimination. In this context Nehru opposed the idea of special privileges to any particular religion. Meanwhile Nehru supported the idea of right to perform religious ceremonies to all communities. However for Nehru secularism means, ' equal respect for all faiths and equal opportunities for those who profess any faith". Meanwhile Nehru was concerned about the presence of caste system in India. That is why Nehru said; " a caste-ridden society is not properly secular." In the ultimate analysis he defended the elimination of all social inequalities for the practice of true secularism
- Second important principle was the neutrality of state in the matters of religion. In other words, Nehru preferred total neutrality of the state vis-à-vis the religion. In 1931 while drafting Karachi Congress Resolution Nehru made his point clear: " that the state shall observe neutrality in regards to all religions." This obviously means the separation of the state from religion. This is the reason why Nehru opposed using the terms like Hindu state or Raj or Muslim Raj. Acceptance of such terms, Nehru believed, would go against the basic ideas of democracy
- Third important principle was that secularism should be practiced in all the sphere of the social life. This is because Nehru was a witness to the growing communalization of communities such as Hindus and Muslims. He was also concerned about the way the religious practices were brought into the political discourses of his time, leading to the division in the nationalist movement and the practice of politics. Towards this end Nehru came out with the idea of secularism at all the levels of social practices, including the practices of the state. It is here Nehru opined that a state should be established, which should protect, " all religions but does not favor one at the expense of others and

does not itself have any religion as the state religion"

- Fourth principle was that secularism stands for modernism. It is the anchor of democracy too. Modernity that stands on the principles of human rationalism and reason requires the practice of secularism to succeed. More than that democracy flourishes only when secularism becomes the value of the state and the politics. . This is the reason why Nehru stood for establishment of modern institutions that would support the secular ideals and values.

Merits and Demerits

a. Merits

- Nehru became the principal architect of Secular India
- Credit should go to Nehru who saw the greater threat emerging out of the narrow nationalism to the secularism

b. Demerits

- Nehruvian model of secularism has partly failed in India wherein anti-secular fervor is growing at an alarming rate
- Despite the best efforts there are time when Indian state acted in non- secular manner
- It is difficult to state that Nehru's dream of a secular society emerged in India

Check Your Progress - 5

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Discuss the meaning of secularism in Nehru

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18.8 Democratic Socialism

Nehru was fundamentally a social democrat. His concept of democratic socialism combined the spirits of democracy and socialism without rigidly adhering to any one particular ideology. This is because combination of both would promote the growth of human beings and the society.

Nehru tirelessly worked for the establishment of democratic socialistic state in the midst of poverty, backwardness, and skewed development in India. He did not use, nor believed, in violent methods to bring in radical transformation, rather he preferred peaceful techniques, and made use of the "requirements of time and practical utilities". His democratic socialist state attached much importance to the public sector against the private one. Secondly, he made the parliament a supreme body, as it represents the interests of the whole nation. This is the reason why Nehru declared that; " No Supreme Court and no judiciary can stand judgment over the sovereign will of Parliament representing the will of the entire community." Thirdly, the democratic socialist state believed in bringing in effective changes at the grass root level, especially it believed in abolishing the feudal lords who were driving the peasantry towards pauperization and poverty and that they were acting as the drag on the national economy. Fourthly, democratic socialist state does not believe in nationalizing all the industries, although it aims at it in due course. However it stresses on nationalizing the key industries. Nonetheless the ulterior agenda of nationalization is to create higher production and employment than to make the state all-powerful. Fifthly, the democratic socialism aims at " socialist pattern of society which is classless and casteless." In fact, the 60th session of National Congress held at Avadi in 1955 adopted a resolution towards achieving socialist pattern of society. This socialist pattern of society was defined by Nehru as follows: " We mean a society in which there is equality of opportunity and the possibility for everyone to live a good life. We have to great stress on equality, on the removal of disparities." To remove the backwardness, and inequality democratic socialism stresses on the higher or more production and more wealth. - It does not matter whether production has increased in industrial sector or the agrarian sector. Nehru argued, ' the primary test is whether you are adding to the wealth of the country by increasing the production of the country. If not you become stagnant." Further, the democratic socialism is open to the changes that are taking place in different sectors including industrial and agricultural elsewhere at the global level.

This is why Nehru argued that state should not hesitant to concentrate on more and more new industries of the latest type.

Merits and Demerits

a. Merits

- Nehru combined both the principles of democracy and Socialism
- He tried to build a society on democratic principle
- His democratic socialism is distinctively different from other ideologies such as Marxism

b. Demerits

- His notion of democratic socialism remained as an utopia than a reality
- His notion of democratic socialism could not able to solve everyday problems of the society
- Even it failed to create new society or the new social relations at the grass root level

Check Your Progress - 6

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Discuss Democratic Socialism of Nehru

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18.9 Internationalism

Nehru was an internationalist par excellence. His internationalist views grew during the period of nationalist movement itself. In fact his view about nationalism and internationalism grew simultaneously during this period. He could able to combine the philosophy of nationalism with universalism. This became almost his political doctrine.

During the nationalist movement Nehru could able to trace the Indian background to the international outlook. Three important characters became important to Nehru who advocated internationalism: Gandhi, Tagore, and Vivekananda. Further, he also traced the idea of internationalism in the National Congress of India- this is because Congress had developed a foreign policy based on the principles of eliminating colonialism and co-operation among free –nations. Further more, his ideas of internationalism grew out of his first hand information about the countries that he visited and experience that he derived from these countries. Further, Nehru's internationalism grew at a time when the world was witnessing the war, colonialism, violence, and the growth of fascism in European continent and other parts of the world. Incidentally he saw the nationalist movement of India as part of the larger struggles of the exploited, a "part of the world struggle for the emancipation of the exploited everywhere and for the establishment of a new social order." It is here he opposed to the narrow meaning of nationalism. This is because, Nehru was aware of the danger inherent in the narrow nationalism: it breeds hate, it subjugates people, it creates racial chauvinism, and it creates conditions for communal conflicts

He had his own ideas about internationalism which he defined in the following manner during 1930s: " the internationalism that I look forward to is not one of common subjection, imposed from above, but a union and co-operation of free nations for the common good. It is this kind of world order that will bring peace and progress to man kind".

After the attainment of independence Nehru pursued the internationalism with greater vigor. His main intention was to see that no country, including India remains indifferent to the things happening in different parts of the world. Towards establishing internationalism Nehru pursued the following: one, proper understanding about other countries about their race, ethnic problem and national movement etc. This is to overcome the inhibition about the others; two, judging the countries and peoples through personal contacts. This helps in understanding the different policy measures as well as perspectives. Nehru aptly argued, ' if we do not personally know the people of a country we are apt to misjudge them even more than otherwise, and to consider them entirely alien and different". Third, Nehru advocated "international habit of mind." Fourth, Nehru advocated the policy of overcoming isolationism. This is argued on the basis that isolationism of any country is not only hinders the progress of the country concerned but it is also undesirable. Finally, Nehru advocated the reconciliatory

approach of negotiation and co-operation in the international politics

However Nehru's ideas of internationalism received a concrete shape with Nehru pursuing the idea of Non-Alignment as part of foreign policy. This is a dynamic concept, which does not believe in passive neutrality. It also took a concrete shape when Nehru, along with Chou-En –Lai advocated *Pancha Sila* or five cardinal tents of international cordiality. These principles included the following: I) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; 2) Non-aggression 3) Non –Interference in each other's internal affairs; 4) Equality and Mutual advantage and 5) Peaceful co-existence and economic co-operation.

In fact the ultimate goal of Nehru's internationalism was to create a world order distinctively different from the existing one. This world order might incorporate the principles of federal principles, "a growth of the idea underlying the United Nations." In this world order, every country is given the freedom to fashion its future, however, every country is subjected to covenant of World Government. All these concepts of World Order or the World Government does not entail respective countries to loose their sovereignty – rather they will remain sovereign both from within and without.

Merits and Demerits

a. Merits.

- His concept of internationalism received acclaim from among the small and big powers of his time
- His concept was aiming at bringing in or introducing a new world order or World Government which is unique in itself
- His principle of internationalism was rooted in the Indian History and tradition.

b. Demerits

- His concept of internationalism was not free from ambiguities and contradictions. This became apparent when he was advocating Non-Alignment policy
- His notion of internationalism some time received jolts especially when China, Pakistan betrayed the cause of India
- Even his notion of World Government remained more as an utopia than a reality
- Nehru's internationalism also received jolts in the context of different crises emerging at the global level such as the Korean crises

Check Your Progress - 7

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Discuss the Internationalism of Nehru

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18.10 Estimate

Nehru was an innovator in the strict sense of the term. He innovated the idea that industrialization would solve larger problems of backwardness and unemployment. He was also a symbol of order. He had the charisma of containing communal riots, charisma of dismemberment of the country. Nehru was a symbol of resistance, a symbol of hope and a symbol new voice of the third world, including the marginalized people of India His supports to anti colonialism in Afro-Asian countries clearly demonstrate his concern for third world people. He was an internationalist who believed in world peace and harmony. This can be seen in his ideas about *Pancha Sila* and Non-Alignment.

However there are criticisms leveled against Nehru. One of the criticisms is that he rarely initiated or inspired a mass movement. This is because of the fact that most of the time he was identified with the west or the modern. Most of the time his task was reduced to help the organization whenever the movement was its full swing. A second important criticism was that he was neither an original thinker nor a revolutionary in the strict sense of the term. Most of his ideas were either borrowed or they already existed for many years. Thirdly, Nehru was an "elitist incapable of leading a social revolution." This is argued on the basis that Nehru had a different upbringing, which include his different values and life styles.

Despite all these criticisms one can safely argue that Nehru was basically a dreamer, an architect of modern India, who wanted to create a new India on the basis of democracy,

secularism and socialism. Present day India owes much to him. If democracy, secularism, and socialism have triumphed in India it is basically due to Nehru.

18.11 Let Us Sum Up

Nehru is called by different names: "statesman," "architect of modern India," "political and ideological heir to Gandhi" Fundamental philosophy of Nehru centered on individual. He had not only great respect for individualism but also stood for individual growth. Nehru believed that the individual growth is possible in a situation of freedom and opportunities. This is possible in a democratic country as well as in a situation of socialism. Nonetheless, Nehru was an ardent champion of democracy. For him democracy was much more than establishment of different political institutions: it is a form of government, a form of socio-economic structure, it is a way of life and also mental make up. In the hands of Nehru, democracy became a dynamic concept, an approach of balance and harmony, and finally a peaceful method. Towards realizing democracy Nehru would advocate universal suffrage, freedom, civil liberties, rule of law, presence of opposition, political parties etc. He would advocate equality in economic and social domain as prerequisite for success of any democracy. This is the reason why he pushed many reforms to bring in radical transformation at the grass root level. However his concern for the development of India also emanated from the fact that he was a socialist. His socialism although derived from Marxism or Communism, he never subscribed to its orthodoxy. His socialism by and large democratic in nature, it believed in nationalization of key industries, it stood for the dignity of individuals and also freedom; it believed in bringing in transformation at the grass root level through the mediation of the state structure etc. It is in this context Nehru emerges as social democrat-he combines both the spirits of democracy and socialism.

Nonetheless Nehru not only advocated but also defended secularism. He saw in secularism the defining point of Indian democracy. His notion of secularism centered on the principles that state has no religion, all religions are equal, and secularism should be the anchor of all social life and finally it should be the basis for Indian democracy. It is here he becomes a modern statesman.

However, Nehru cannot simply be reduced to Indian condition and context. He was an internationalist in the sense that he stood for world peace and harmony. He also became the champion of third world countries and the people. This is reflected in his advocacy of Non-

Alignment, "World Government," and *Pancha Sila*. The Non-Alignment gave third world countries a required voice, a platform and an ideology to remain neutral in the context of ideologically divided world. In fact Nehru was very optimistic that world government will usher in to overcome the world's sickness. In other words Nehru was a true internationalist, true humanist and a true "modern man"

18.12 Key words

Heir	:	Successor
Communism	:	A political theory favoring collectivism in a classless society
Statesman	:	A man who is a respected leader in national or international affairs
Non-Alignment	:	People (or countries) who are not aligned with other people (or countries) in a pact or treaty
Individualism	:	A belief in the importance of the individual and the virtue of self-reliance and personal independence
Modernity	:	The quality of being current or of the present
Indomitable	:	Impossible to subdue

18.13 Some useful Books

Arjun Dev,	Jawaharlal Nehru: Years Of Struggle: Selected Readings
Neeraj,	Nehru, and Democracy in India
Sarvapalli Gopal,	Jawaharlal Nehru: An Anthology
K.P.Karunakaran,	The Phenomenon of Nehru
Publication Division,	Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches Volume V, March 1967 –May 1964
M.J.Akbar,	**Nehru: The Making of India**
V.P.Verma,	Indian Political Thought

18.14. Answer to check your progress exercise

Check your progress exercise - 1

1) See section 18.3

Check your progress exercise - 2

1) See section 18.4 and subsections 18.4.1

Check your progress exercise - 3

1) See section 18.5 and subsection 18.5.1

Check your progress exercise - 4

1) See section 18.6 and subsection 18.6.1

Check your progress exercise - 5

1) See section 18.7 and subsections 18.7.1

Check your progress exercise - 6

1) See section 18.8 and subsection 18.8.1

Check your progress exercise - 7

1) See section 18.9 and subsection 18.9.1

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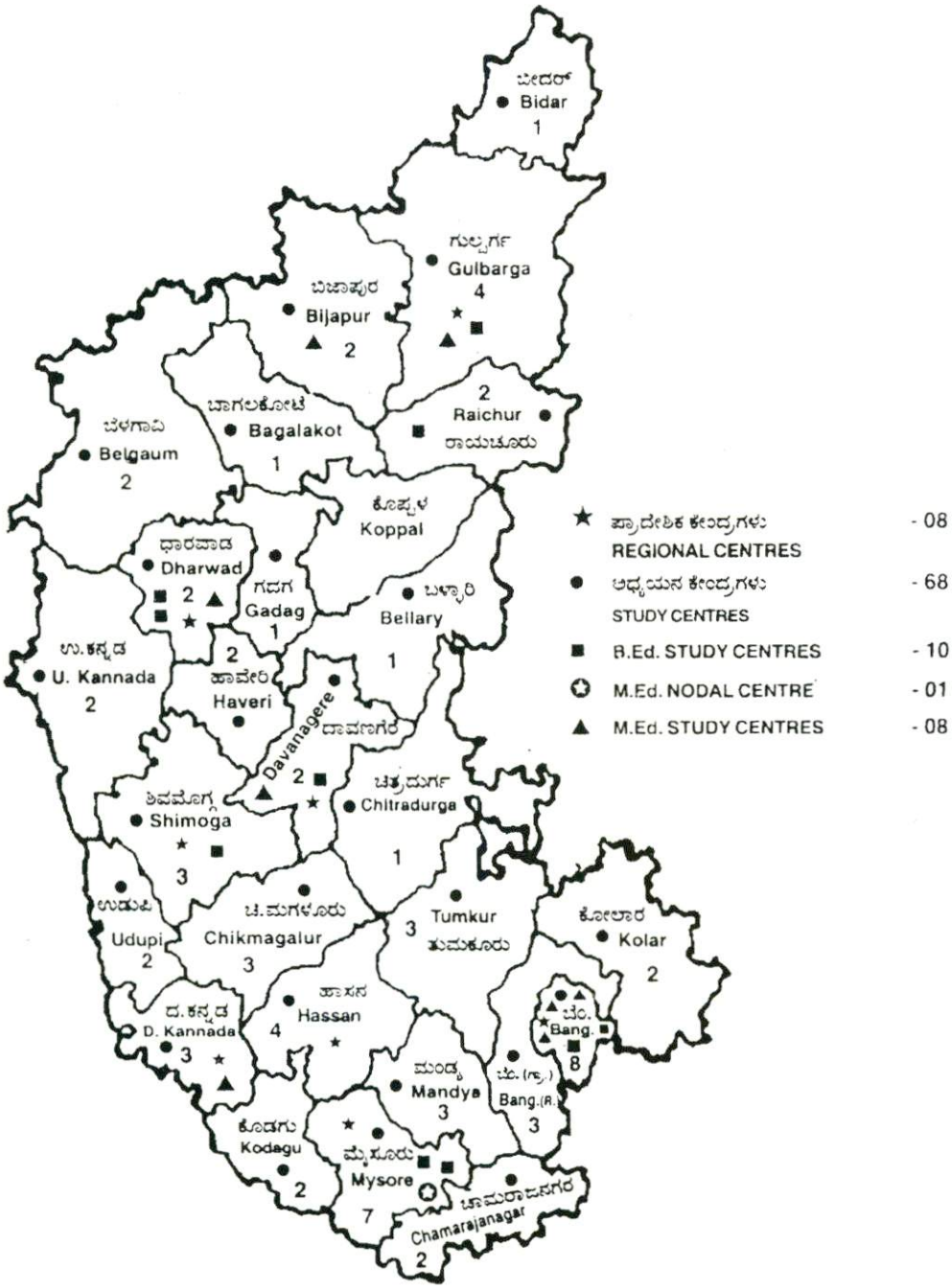
ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ರಾಜ್ಯ ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯದ ಪ್ರಾದೇಶಿಕ ಹಾಗೂ ಅಧ್ಯಯನ ಕೇಂದ್ರಗಳು
Regional and Study Centres of Karnataka State Open University



(ನಮೂದಿಸಿರುವ ಅಂಕಿ - ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಒಟ್ಟು ಅಧ್ಯಯನ ಕೇಂದ್ರಗಳ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯನ್ನು ಸೂಚಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.)
(The Number indicate the total number of study Centres existing in that districts.)

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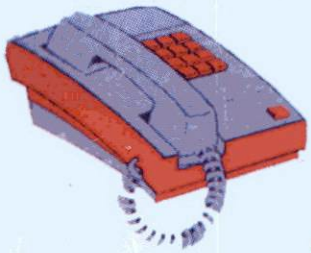
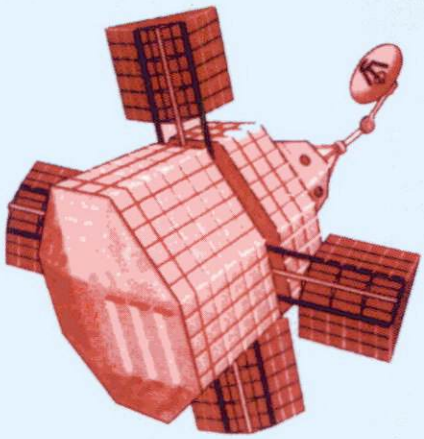
ಮುದ್ರಕರು : ವಿನಾಯಕ ಆಫ್‌ಸೆಟ್ ಪ್ರಿಂಟರ್ಸ್ , ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು-560 076. ಪ್ರತಿಗಳು : 3000






Multimedia learning material
Self-instructional print material
Academic and other support
Evaluation - methods and tools
Feedback : improvement, revision and launching of new programmes
Unsystematic Feedback
Systematic feedback
STUDENT
INSTRUCTIONAL SYSTEM