CHAPTER – III

NATIONALISM AND RABINDRANATH TAGORE’S WORKS

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A. The Concept of Nationalism

Before discussing about nationalism, it is better to describe how the feeling of nationalism germinated among people. Then it would be easier to define nationalism because so many writers have given different connotation about nationalism from different angles. That is why the history of nationalism is long, involved and complicated.

Since time immemorial people have loved their own culture, tradition and country. For example, the Mahabharata, the great ancient Indian epic and each of the eighteen major purans says that Bharat Varsha was the best of all varshas in the world. The four yugas (division of cosmic time) prevailed only here. The people of this land were the most virtuous. It was a conception that salvation was possible only to those people who had good fortune to be born in this land. As a consequence people who were due for salvation were born in this land. “Similarly, the ancient Greek were proud of their own language and culture, and tried, in the brief intervals between wars, to express and continue this culture by sacrificing animals and offering wines to their common gods and goddess residing on Mount Olympus, consulting oracles and building temples for them, organizing common games and sports, and treating all non-Greeks as barbarians”. (Bandyopodhyay; 1990 : 1)

Moreover, in the midst of their common love for Greek culture and tradition, each Greek also had a soft corner for his city-state. For example “Odysseus pining away for his native Ithaca for nineteen long years in foreign land was the Homeric expression of their common sentiment.” (Ibid : 1) But such ancient pride for one’s own culture and tradition could not divide humanity as sharply as nationalism has done in modern times. At that time political boundaries were neither rigid nor stable. People could freely migrated from one land to other and were warmly welcomed by the local people in case they came in peace. There was no strict immigration laws, no passports and visas and no protective tariff walls. In short there was no nationalism.
The first full manifestation of modern nationalism occurred in seventeenth century England. That century for the first time saw England as the leading nation of the European community. She exercised this leadership in the very fields, which characterized the modern age. Inspired by new possibilities opening up, the English people their shoulders the mission of history. They, the common people of England, were the chosen people at a great turning point from which a new true Reformation was to start. For the first time the authoritarian tradition on which the church and the state had rested was challenged by the seventeen century English Revolutions in the name of the liberty of man.

Under puritan influence the three main ideas of Hebrew nationalism were revived - the chosen people, the covenant, and the Messianic expectancy. The English nation considered itself as the new Israel. Thus English nationalism arose out of a religious matrix and has preserved this original character throughout. It has never known as bitter conflict between nationalism and religion found elsewhere. At the same time English nationalism become identified with the concept of individual liberty. This new feeling for liberty found its greatest expression in the writing of John Milton. With him nationalism was not a struggle for collective independence from an "alien yoke" it was the affirmation of individual freedom from authority, self - assertion of personality in face of its own government or churches, "the deliverance of man from the yoke of slavery and superstition."

English influence upon France, strengthened by Voltaire's visit to England in 1726 to 1729 and his reports on English life and liberty, was significant not only for France. In the eighteenth century France has been for two hundred years the intellectual leader of Europe. French had become the universal language of the educated circles everywhere. The English ideas of personal liberty and national organization became known abroad through the intermediary of French thinkers and were absorbed and transformed into the general consciousness of eighteenth century Western mankind through the genius of French rational thought and the clarity of the French language. Thereby the national and historical liberties of Englishmen gained universal significance. They became a model for the awakening liberal thought of the age. They exercised little immediate influence on French before
happening French Revolution in 1789. But they played a vital role in order to germinate American nationalism in 1775.

Thus, "by the seventeenth century, especially in France and Germany, 'nation' was coming to stand for the political people of a society" (Minoghe, 1967 : 10) Joseph de Maistre will define the nation as 'the king and nobility'. The French nobility had long regarded themselves as racially and morally distinct from the rest of the French population. They alone were the nation. This exclusiveness meant that the term 'nation' signified a club, which everyone was anxious to join. To quote E.H. Carr, "The founder of modern nationalism as it began to take place in the nineteenth century was Rousseau, who, rejecting the embodiment to the nation in the personal sovereign or the ruling class, boldly identified "nation" and "people", and this identification because a fundamental principle both of the French and of the American revolution". (1945 : 7)

The word 'nation' is closely related to the concept of nationalism. So it is very necessary to know the exact idea of nation. 'Nation' has had a variety of adventures before arriving at its present eminence. It is perhaps the most successful member of a family of words which all refer to a collection of human beings and are to this limited extent synonymous. Other such words are race, class, people, community, tribe, state, clan and society. They have all at times been more or less equally available to describe something similar though each has at all times had additional connotation and association which limited this availability. 'Race' has been even more closely associated with 'nation'. "It began its career as a description of any group of people who claimed some kind of common descent." (Kahn 1961 : 12-13)

What one can say with confidence is that most nationalists have demanded that the nation should have some kind of pre-political unity. This unity might be that of religious belief, language, blood, or agreement on values and customs. Professor Kedourie said, "that no Jew, no Semite, could understand or handle the French language as well as Frenchman proper; no Jew, he remarked, could appreciate the beauties of Racine's line in Bernice: "Dons l' orient desert quell devint mon ennui". (Elie 1960 : 72) Nationalist doctrine usually argues that the state is based upon consent, but that the basis of the nation must be that it is a natural community. But
according to Minogue Kenneth "they have preferred to identify themselves by
religion, allegiance to a monarchs, city, locality, race or colour rather than by nation"
(1967 : 12)

Arnold Toynbee writes that it was in 1775 that "the principle of nationality first
asserted itself in the modern world as a dynamic political force" (1939 : 316) Hans
Kohn said, "Modern nationalism originated in the seventeenth and eighteenth
centuries in north-west Europe and its American settlements .......... It became a
general European movement in the nineteenth century" (Kahn 1961 : 12-13) Snyder
tells us that 'modern' nationalism may be dated from 1688 - 1770 and 1789.' (1964 :
29) Kedourie begins his account of nationalism that nationalism is a doctrine
invented in Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In his recent study of
fascism, Nolte tells us that 'the defeat at Adowa in 1896.......... kindled the
beginnings of nationalism (in Italy), even if at first this occured more in the minds of
individual men .......... Than in the visible form of publications or organizations."
(Ernst 1965 : 147) Meanwhile we find sir Steven Runciman talking of Bulgar
nationalism in the Middle ages (1946 : 98) and Tout in generalizing mood has
written. "The history of modern Europe is the history of the development of
nationalities. That history may be said in a sense to begin with the establishment of
the first of an unbroken dynasty of national kings over what was destined to become
one of the greatest of modern nations" (1924 : 23) R. I. Rotberg is hardly
exaggerating when he says that nationalism as a concept is 'a morass of
misapplication' and along with "nation" and "nationality" has been used to describe a
multitude of situations, human conditions and states of mind" (1966 : 33)

Writers with a penchant for shorthand have come up with some simple and
deft definitions of nationalism. The literature on nationalism is replete with such
shorthands which describe nationalism as "a state of mind," a form of consciousness
or" a set of ideas'. The impression that is conveyed here is that nationalism is a kind
of sentiment a particular mental state, or even a way of arousing popular excitement.
Minogue, for example, depicts nationalism as "a set of ideas.......... a form of self
expression by which a certain kind of political excitement can be communicated from
an elite to the masses". (Minogue 1967 : 153)
The realization that these shorthands are patently inadequate to describe with reasonable precision the phenomenon that they purport to depict, has prompted some scholars to attempt more elaborate constructs of nationalism. One such formulation comes from the pen of one of the best-known and respected practitioners, professor Hans Kohn. In his study 'The idea of Nationalism', generally acclaimed as his magnum opus, Kohn defines nationalism as "a state of mind, permeating the large majority of people and claiming to permeate all its members, it recognizes the nation-state as the ideal form of political organization and the nationality as the source of all creative cultural life and economic well-being. The supreme loyalty of man is therefore due to his nationality, as his own life is supposedly rooted in and made possible by its welfare". (1965: 16)

Before considering the utility of this definition, it is important to take into account certain elucidations that Hans Kohn has attached to his definition. In asserting that nationalism is "first and foremost a state of mind", Kohn explains that this sentiment grew out from some of the oldest and most primitive feelings of man", namely a love for his birthplace, a preference for his own language, customs and food and a deep attachment to his own religion and race. But Kohn said that none of these factors is essential to the existence or definition of nationality. Thus people of the united states do not claim common descent to form a nationality and the people of Switzerland speak three or four languages and yet form one well-defined nationality. Although objective factors are of great importance for the formation of nationalities, the most essential element is a living and active corporate will. "It is this will which we call nationalism, a state of mind inspiring the large majority of a people and claiming to inspire all its members. It asserts that the nation-state is the ideal and the only legitimate form of political organization and that the nationality is the source of all cultural creative energy and of economic well-being." (Ibid : 10)

In relating nationalism to a particular state of mind, Kohn also emphasizes the fact that this state of mind is more than a passive feeling or dormant consciousness. "Nationalism" says Kohn, "is an idea, an idée-force, which fills man's brain and heart with new thoughts and new sentiments and drives him to translate his consciousness into deeds of organized action" sentiment is thus linked to action and action may be manifested in various ways, whether it be in the form of association, organised
agitation or even group violence. The framework within which such actions take
place is the nation state, whether it be in defending an existing one or in helping the
birth of a new one. Kohn argues that a group action under the impulse of nationalism
seeks "to find its expression in what it regards as the highest form of organized
activity, a sovereign state. As long as a nationality is not able to attain this
consummation, it satisfies itself with some form of pre-state organization, which,
however, always tends at a given moment, the moment of liberation, to develop into
a sovereign state. Nationalism demands the nation-state; the creation of the nation-
state strengthens nationalism.

As the nation-state occupies a pivotal place in the emotions and activities of
nationalists, Hans Kohn attempts to explain how such an entity came into being in
Europe. In olden times, says Kohn, "the city or life or a multilingual state held
together by dynastic ties was accepted form of political organization and frequently
was regarded as the 'natural' or ideal form. However since the sixteenth century, he
says, the states in Europe, notably England and France, had under monarchical rule
begun to shed their Christian universalism, emancipated 'themselves from their
subordination to the church and had begun to consolidate their power over a large
and district territory. Kohn claims that the rising middle class in particular because
vocal in its criticism of the monarchial system and began to seek a new conception
to define the relationship between the state and the people. This conception,
according to Kohn, was built around "the three concepts of liberty, humanity and
patriotism" and they propagated the belief that the well being of an individual can
only be secured through sovereign patriotism" and being vested in the people or the
nation. In short, the promotion of people's welfare required the emancipation of the
state from the hands of the monarch and its identification with the nation.

To Hans Kohn, this identification of the state with the nation gave currency to
the belief the sovereignty rested with the people and not with the king or the
monarch. He claims that nationalism as an ideology involved the acceptance of the
nation of popular sovereignty. To use his words: "Nationalism is inconceivable
without the idea of popular sovereignty preceding without a complete revision of the
position of the ruler and the ruled, of classes and castes" Kohn asserts that
irrespective of the class that may actually spearhead the struggle for nationhood, there is the stated assumption that it acts on behalf of society as a whole.

It can hardly be contested that the rise of nationalism has introduced a novel concept of loyalty. Kohn is right when he says that an individual’s loyalty can centre around different groups, but what is significant is that the supreme loyalty is only assigned to one particular institution or collectively. For example, during the middle ages in Europe, it has been claimed that "the scale of allegiances of most men would have gone something like this: I am first of all a Christian, second a Burgundian and only third a Frenchman". (Strayer 1940: 61) There is no doubt that since the French Revolution it is the nation state that has claimed the supreme allegiance of all individuals and this is true not only of groups which led the struggle for nationhood but also of the people as a whole who were now seen as constituting nation. People took "nationalism not as a vehicle of individual liberty but as adoration of collective power." (1905: 29)

However, Kohn’s claim that nationalism is founded upon the principle of popular sovereignty and it permeates a majority of the people claiming to be a nation has been disputed by many scholars. Karl Marx, for example, portrayed nationalism as no more than a bourgeois enthusiasm and depicted the Government of the nation-state as "nothing more than a committee for the administration of the consolidated affairs of the bourgeois class as a whole". He also contended that slogans like liberty, equality and fraternity that were voiced by the French revolutionaries were no more than masks intended to mislead the masses. This view has been endorsed by many historians. Shafer, for instance, argues that during the French Revolution not all men were "immediately regarded as full citizens, as having equal shares in and responsibility for the nation." He goes on to say that the peasant and new industrial workers did not then become as patriotic as the bourgeoisie.

Smith conceives nationalism in terms not very different from that of Hans Kohn. According to him, nationalism is "an ideological movement, for the attainment and maintenance of self Government and independence on behalf of a group, some of whose members conceive it to constitute an actual or potential ‘nation’ like all others". He goes on to say that nationalism basically "fuses three ideals: collective
self-determination of the people, the expression of national character and individuality and finally the vertical division of the world into unique nations.” (Smith 1979 : 171)

In their study of nationalism, both Kohn and Smith have been guided by the assumption that the phenomenon that they are dealing with is universal in its occurrence and their proffered definitions must have general validity. However, other students of nationalism gave another definitions. For example, students of central European nationalism have to some extent emphasized the importance of such objective factors as language, race and culture in the in their definition. A classical exposition of such a viewpoint was given by Friedrich Meineke who claims that German nationalism had its roots in the ethnic and cultural heritage of the people. The state, says Meineke, "is not and does not become national through the will of the people or those who govern it but through the same means that language, customs and faith are national and become national through the quiet workings of national spirit". Meineke proceeds to argue that a "nation is not based on self-determination but on pre-determination" and that a "natural care based on blood relationship must be present in a nation.” (Berdahl 1972 : 65 – 66) J. H. Kautsky has rightly pointed out, it is "an ideology and a movement striving to unite all people who speak a single language and who share the various cultural characteristics transmitted by that language, in a single independent state and in loyalty to a single Government conducted in the people's language.

In Asia and Africa, on the other hand, nationalism was a product of a different situation. Kunjo Singh said that "nationalism was adopted as a weapon for winning freedom from European imperialism and colonial regime in India and other Asian and African countries". (Singh 2002 : 32) K. R. Minogue writes about Indian nationalism that "The concept of nationalism was alien to India before the nineteenth century just as it was alien to India before the nineteenth century just as it was alien to all other Asian and African countries". (1969 : ch.IV) Rabindranath Tagore also observes: "This idea dawned upon the Indian horizon in the nineteenth century as an impact of and as a reaction to the British colonial rule in India". (1950 : Ch.I) Nationalism in India as elsewhere was a modern phenomenon, predicated in the belief that India was a nation and that freedom from colonial rule was a birth place of its people and
that its conferment would allow the nation to occupy a status of equality with other members in the family of nations. Clearly, nationalism was not suit generis; it was a part of universal phenomenon that swept the world in recent times under different circumstances. In the case of India, her status as a British colony meant that nationalism must necessarily assume an anticolonial garb. The dissolution of British imperialism was a necessary condition in the creation of an Indian nation-state or states.

One final point of definitional significance relating to Indian nationalism needs some elucidation, namely the validity or otherwise of the claim to nationhood by the Muslim minority in the subcontinent. The fact that Muslims were widely dispersed all over the subcontinent and were living admits Hindus, Sikhs and other communities in close physical proximity, had raised doubts about whether a Muslim nation-state could be territorially demarcated which would be co-extensive with the Muslim nation. Equally, as Muslim nationalism implied the territorial division of the subcontinent, threatening in the process to disrupt the centralized colonial state, it was believed that such a division would shatter the very bonds of unity upon which the new nation state would depend for its survival. Although these objections are well founded, yet they in themselves do not invalidate Muslim claim for nationhood.

Besides the generally acknowledged fact that India’s Muslims possessed a distinct identity based upon Islamic values and this was evidenced in their studied refusal to identify with the Hindus in the congress, what it also crucial is that the Muslim constituted the majority of the population in the northwest and the northeast and as such were in a position to claim these areas as territory and homeland. It was the presence of these two factors, as S.R. Mehrotra rightly recognizes that made Pakistan a reality in 1947. To quote Mehrotra; "It Pakistan was born of he feeling entertained and sedulously propogated by certain Muslims intellectuals that their community formed a district cultural and political entity .......... It received its real strength and substance, however, from the fact there were certain regions in India, particularly in the northwest and northeast, where the Muslims formed a majority of the population and which they thought they must dominate. But for this accident of geography, the idea of Pakistan even if it were born – would never have materialized."(1970 : 201)
Thus, nationalism provides an escape from triviality. Implicitly or explicitl, men suffering a social upheaval put to themselves the question: What is happening to us? The nationalist answer is clear. Our nation is struggling to be born; it is fighting for independence against its enemies. This answer is never the whole truth and sometimes it has absolutely nothing to do with the truth at all. The nationalist struggle is a noble one which dignifies a man’s sufferings and gives him a hopeful direction. When the Greek National Assembly in 1822 declared ‘We, descendants of the wise and noble people of Hellas........ find it no longer possible to suffer without cowardice and self contempt the cruel yoke of the ottoman power which has weighed upon us for more than four centuries”, it expressed a sense of grandeur and a feeling of self satisfaction little different from Patrice Lumumba in 1960: “of this struggle, one of tears, fire and blood, we are proud to the very depths of our being, for it was a noble and just struggle, absolutely necessary in order to bring to an end the humiliating slavery which has been imposed upon us by force.” Thus we say that “nationalism is a state of mind in which the supreme loyalty of the individual is felt to be due the nation state”. (Kohn 1965: 29)

From the present discussion we find some basic features of nationalism – (1) the love of a common soil, race language or historical culture, (2) desire for the political independences, security and prestige of the nation, (3) a mystical devotion to a vague, sometimes even supernatural social organism which, known as the nation or volk, is more than the sum of its parts, (4) the dogma that individual lives exclusively for the nation with the corollary, that the nation is an end in itself or (5) the doctrine that nation is or should be dominant if not supreme among other nation and should take aggressive action to this end.

Of all the visions and faiths that compete for man’s loyalties in the modern world, the most widespread and persistent is the national ideal. Other faiths have achieved more spectacular temporary success or a more permanent footing in one country. Other visions have roused men to more terrible and heroic acts. But none has been so successful in penetrating to every part of the globe and in its ability to attract to its ideals men and women of every sort, in all walks of life and in every country. No other ideal has been able to reappear in so many different guises, or to suffer temporary eclipse only to re-emerge stronger and more permanently. No other
vision has set its stamp so thoroughly on the map of the world, and on our sense of identity. We are identified first and foremost with our nation. Our lives are regulated, for the most part, by the national state is which we are born. War and peace, trade and travel, education and welfare are determined for each one of us by the nation state in which we reside. "From childhood, we are inculcated with a love of country and taught the peculiar virtues of our nation" (Smith 1979: 1). Though in later life some may dissent from the patriotic ideal and a few turn traitor, the vast majority of citizens will retain a quiet loyalty to their nation which in a moment of crisis can swell into a fervent devotion and passionate obedience to the call of duty.

What is this national ideal that can command such loyalty in so many countries and how has it developed? It is not a natural phenomenon. "For it was not something original or natural to man, like his physique or family" (Ibid : 1) The first clear statement of this ideal occurs during the French Revolution. Then we realize that the only sovereign is the nation and man’s first loyalty is to the nation and that nation alone can make laws for its citizen. There too we hear for the first time the call to arms for the defence of the fatherland and the idea that a citizen of France has certain rights and duties towards his nation. Although the French Revolution was not the first to unfurl a flag or compose an anthem, it was the first moment that self Governing citizens did both for the national cause and not to celebrate a dynasty. And it was the first time that citizens sought to impose a single culture and language on all the regions of their country, to break down all the barriers between those regions, to become one nation devoted to a single ideal.

But what was this national ideal? Fundamentally, it was a belief that all those who shared a common history and culture should be autonomous, united and distinct in their recognized homelands. But, whereas the French, like the English could assume, to a large extent, a common history and culture, other subject population could not. The French did not have to emphasise their distinctiveness or identity. They could concentrate on achieving self Government and unity on overthrowing the absolutist ancient regime and on breaking down feudal barriers between the regions. But Germans and Italians and Greek who soon took up their national ideal in the wake of Napoleon’s conquests, could not assume such a deep sense of common history and culture or even that minimum of territorial unity that the French, with their
almost natural boundaries, possessed. From the very first, therefore, the national ideal began to expand its content to suit new interests and other needs.

At the root of the national ideal is a certain vision of the world and a certain type of culture. According to this vision, mankind is really and naturally divided into distinct communities of history and culture, called nations. Each nation is distinct and unique. Each has its peculiar contribution to make to the whole, the family of nation. Each nation defines the identity of its members because its specific culture moulds the individual. The key to that culture is history, the sense of special patterns of events peculiar to successive generation of a particular group. A historical culture is one that binds present and future generations like links in a chain to all those who preceded them and one that therefore has shaped the character and habits of nation at all times. A man identifies himself, according to the national ideal, through his relationship to his ancestors and forebears and to the events that shaped their character. The national ideal therefore embodies both a vision of a world divided into parallel and distinctive nations and also a culture of the role of the unique event that shapes the national character.

But the national ideal involves something more even than a special vision of the world or a particular culture of the historical event. It also entails a certain kind of solidarity and political programme. The national ideal lends inevitably to nationalism, a programme of action to achieve and sustain the national ideal. The solidarity that a nationalist desires is based on the possession of the land — not any land but the historic land; the land of past generations, the land that saw the flowering of nation's genius. The nationalist therefore wants to repossess the land to make it into a secure homeland for the nation and to build the nation on it. The solidarity he desires is therefore based on territory. Without territory, you cannot build the fraternity and solidarity that the national ideal requires. You cannot instill in people a sense of kinship and brotherhood without attaching them to a place that feel is theirs, a homeland that is theirs by the right of history. Nor can they realise their peculiar identity and culture in the future, unless they possess a recognized homeland.

But for this to be realized, the homeland must be free. It cannot be ruled by others of a different historical culture. The nationalist therefore is drawn into politics,
into the struggle for self Government and sovereignty in his homeland. Not all nationalists want complete sovereignty. Some may prefer the autonomy of home rule or federation with another state. But all want recognition of their right to the homeland and freedom from interference in their interval, especially cultural affairs. And since such recognition and freedom are often difficult to secure in a federation with a stronger state, nationalists usually prefer outright secession in order to setup a sovereign state of their own, for whose defence and administration they will be responsible. In that state, they will be free to create those institutions and arrangements that will best answer to the peculiar needs of their nation and its historical culture. Nationalism, therefore, involves four elements — a vision, a culture, a solidarity and a policy.

Though the present discussion illumines some basic ideas of nationalism, it becomes failure to grasp the overall concept of nationalism. "Unfortunately, nationalism cannot be defined adequately in simple terms, since it takes many forms and expressions. Its essential elements should be sought in psychology, history and the related disciplines, not in a dictionary." (Leo 1954 : 196) But some universal features is least objectionable. Nationalism, a product of political, economic, social and intellectual factors at a certain stage in history, is a condition of mind, feeling or sentiment of a group of people living in a well defined geographical area, speaking a common language, possessing a literature in which the aspirations of the nation have been expressed, attached to common traditions and common customs, venerating its own heroes and, in some cases, having a common religion. Nationalism has two major senses concrete (geographical, linguistic, political, social, economic and cultural) and ideal (psychological). Nationalism should be considered first and foremost a state of mind, an act of consciousness, a psychological fact. It is that socially approved symbol used by modern society is in its search for security.

B. The Concept of New Nationalism

"Nationalism is a state of mind in which the supreme loyalty of the individual is felt to be due the nation state" (Kohn 1965 : 9). Today this concept remains the
strongest of political emotion. Everywhere national consciousness has been molded into dogmatic philosophies and ideologies. The most important question of our time is a search for solutions to problems of conflicting nationalism as in contemporary international society nationalism is invariably regarded as a problem of the new, immature, poverty striker "Third worlds states of Asia, Africa and Latin America" (Sarbadhikari 1973 : 11).

Nationalism is repeatedly denounced as an anachronism in the contemporary world. It is an outmoded, deep-seated disease, which harms mankind. It is a mode of living, which assures security to the in-group, requiring little or no attention to others. The accusation is made that nationalism, by dividing humanity into squabbling state, places excessive and exclusive emphasis upon the value, of nation at the expense of moral and ethical values leading to an overestimation of one's own nation and the simultaneous denigration of others. Nationalism, it is said again and again, has turned into a kind of religious faith, easily perverted into oppression and aggrandizement. Nationalism breeds imperialism. As a result, "the gap between the developed and the undeveloped societies is increasing, and not solely because, relatively, the developed world is undergoing rapid change. In at least some parts of the undeveloped world, condition are deteriorating absolutely." (Hinsley 1973 : 158)

Nationalism is not a neat, fixed concept but a varying combination of beliefs and conditions. Only the prophetic scholars, such as Marx and Spangler who used the big hypothesis to probe the mysteries of history, could judge nationalism to be tidy and ordered, a clear cut phenomenon. They reduced its chaos to a single order of explanation, criticized it and confidently its future development. That they did not take into account or underestimated the role of chance, contingency and intricacy in man's development may be attributed to zeal in presenting a readymade solution for historical problems.

Nationalism reflects the chaos of history itself. As a historical phenomenon, it is always in flux, changing according to no preconceived pattern. It is multifaceted, disheveled, murky, irreducible to common denominators. It is part actuality, part myth, intermingling both truth and error. Functioning in a milieu of historical paradox, nationalism produces strange myths, which are accepted uncritically as normal, and
rational. It can never be reduced to a simplistic formula, for it has shades and nuances and it encourages improvisation.

Nationalism has become a catchword with many different meanings. It is capable of generating precisely opposite reactions. To Sun Yet Sen it appeared to be a precious possession, which enabled a state to aspire to progress but to Jawaharlal Nehru, it was "essentially an anti-feeling", feeding and fattening on hatred and anger. "It was by wanton exploitation of nature that material achievement has been made. It has destroyed the peace and harmony of a cosmic life." (Palit 2004: 15)

After World War, many under-developed countries were conscious about nationalism and it has a great influence upon those people. "Nationalism received a great impetus in the post-war epoch in the former colonies of Asia and Africa where removal of colonial rule followed the success of national independence." (Sathyamurthy 1983: 1) Nationalism may be a means by which politically divided nations achieve union in a single state by which there is integration and consolidation of a country's territory. For example Italy, Germany.

Nationalism may reflect the effort of multinational states to prevent a breakdown into component parts of varying nationalities because "autonomy and independence have also viewed in much more radical terms by national liberation Movements which shape their struggle in such a way as to combine the aim of eradicating colonialism and imperialism with the goal of restructuring the society and economy according to some model of socialist construction based on the concrete political experience of the people". (Ibid: 1). Nationalism may result from the desire of national minority people to break away from a larger entity and achieve autonomy. For example Poles, Ukrainians, Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, Balts Finns. Nationalism may be the road by which older established nations enhance their imperialist positions. For example great Britain, France, Portugal, Spain, Belgium, the Netherlands. Nationalism motivates "have not nations" to acquire great wealth, territory, people and power. Example Nazi Germany, Fascist, Italy, militarist Japan. Nationalism accompanies the attempts of more powerful nations(Unite States, Soviet Union) to obtain economic advantages vis-à-vis Undeveloped nations. Nationalism
promotes the creation of new nation-states in the former colonies in Africa, Asia and Middle East. It was transferred from a movement of opposition and defiance to a movement of nation building. For example Ghana, Negeria, Congo, India, Indonesia, Syria, Jordan.

In addition to the various facets of nationalism there is further difficulty in that it is clothed with paradox and contradiction. "The essence of all nationalism is the emotional identification of the individual with the nation or the national idea but the degree to which political consequences flow from this will depend upon a society's political culture and structure" (Hoene 1997: 94). Essentially a product of British individualism and French egalitarianism, nationalism in its early stages stressed the liberation formula. Refusing to recognize the claims of God and monarchy, it elevated the nation over the concepts of legitimacy and tradition. In the age of Metternich, reactionaries look a stand opposite to nationalism, defending instead the rights of kings and aristocracy. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, reactionaries were appropriating the fruits of nationalism for their own purposes. Liberal nationalism and to totalitarian nationalism headed for a collision in World War II.

Today in a shrunken, vulnerable world, boasting of its oversupply of atom bombs and guided missiles, nationalism would seen to be a dangerous luxury. But it still persists and its form is even accentuated. Barbara Ward compares this modern condition to an earlier phase of western history. The hill town of San Gimignano in Tuscany had a myriad of high towers, each attached to a family mansion and each used as a base for attack on nearby streets. Little town was hopelessly split into warring facilities for communication and transportation, is not much larger in effect than the city boundaries of old san Gimignano. "We, too, are building the equivalent of towers to our own houses from which to hurl atomic weapons at rivals across the frontiers which are little wider in time than a village street...... . This is our world, as confined and vulnerable as an Italian hill city, its sovereignties almost as laughable as the family feuds, its killing as fratricidal, its warfare as likely to destroy in one holocaust family and neighbor and town" (Ward 1954: 109).
Though we call nationalism as new nationalism in the contemporary world, it is not new as the basic features of nationalism remain the same. "There is no such thing as a new nationalism in the same sense that there is no ancient, medieval or modern history -- division made merely for the sake of convenience. Similarly the term is used to describe the industrial transformation which commenced in England and used coal as a source of power, while the "New Industrial Revolution" (1860 – 1900), centered in the United States and Germany and using oil and eventually electricity as source of power, was in many ways a contribution of the old but look on different characteristics" (Snyder 1968 : 5 ) New nationalism is also take this. Like history itself it is always subject to change.

The year 1945, the end of the World War II, is a convenient boundary mark in the study of nationalism. Two trends are noticeable – one the persistence of nationalism in its early form and the simultaneous emergence of variations retaining basic qualities of the old but adding new and vital characteristics. "The new nationalism was similar to previous forms in its accent upon a community of language, customs, and historic traditions but it differed in that it encompassed a relatively large group of persons professing different economic interests." (Leo 1954 : 113).

The nationalism that began in Western Europe represented a rejection by dissatisfied people of the traditional sociopolitical order. It repudiated the medieval policy of church and state, it opposed divine right of monarchy and it denounced the hierarchical structure of privileged classes. It reflected the desire of Europeans to be governed by peoples of their own kind, to attain economic betterment, to achieve social status among peers and to recognize a common cultural heritage.

This early modern nationalism was concerned with two major ideas - the primacy of the state and the principle of sovereignty. The English Glorious Revolution of 1688, the American Revolution of 1776 and the French Revolution of 1789 solidified the concept of modern state. The principle of sovereignty demanded that a nation organized as a state. The Glorious Revolution called for realization of the true and ancient rights of the people of this realm. The American Declaration of Independence pronounced the equality of all men, the inalienability of such human
rights as life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness and the duty of government to protect the rights of the sovereign people. The French Declaration of the Rights of man and the citizen (August 26, 1789) held that the source of all sovereignty is essentially in the nation; no body, no individual can exercise authority that does not proceed from it in plain terms. All these declarations were based on the principles that each national state should be distinct from all others and that its people are sovereign within it.

The pattern of early nineteenth-century nationalism was fixed to a large extent by French armies which, in response to attempts from abroad to stifle the revolutionary impetus inside France, burst beyond the borders and with missionary zeal offered the ideal of nationalism to all peoples. Napoleon was in part a prisoner of this new force and in parts its champion. Throughout Europe it became the fashion for even the smallest States to imitate the French model.

"Nationalism is a fusion of patriotism with a consciousness of nationality" (Hayes 1960: 2) Blended with patriotism, nationalism became the glorious banner under which men gave their lives to achieve or maintain nationhood. "Patriots and nationalists, since they live together in a society, by definition share a common culture to some extent, their bond is strengthened as the number of culture traits they share increases." (Doob 1964: 226). It was the generating power behind the revolt of South American people to free themselves from colonial Spain. It was the inspiration that brought unity to the fragmented Italics by Mazzini, Garibaldi, Cavour and to the scattered German principalities by Bismark. It was the motivation behind a host of drives for independence, including those of the Irish Sinn Feiners, Bohemain Czechs and young Turks. Nationalism was one of the more powerful forces, which led the people of Europe into the abyss of World War I. And in its perverted form, unleashed by Hitler and the Nazi terror, it became the curse of the century.

Nationalism emerged partly tamed from the blood bath of World War II. The threat of communist drove western countries into a new sense of interdependence. Actually, "nationalism clearly has a rational basis in the concern of individuals the way of life in which they grew up and feet at ease".( Brown 2000: 23) Some of the old national rivalries were softened by consultation and cooperation. The British, the
French and the Dutch, faced with declining imperialism, lost their overseas colonies and discovered to their surprise that they did not collapse in the process. But underneath the surface of the new pragmatism, nationalism retains its strength and vigour. "It is thus widely recognized that nationalism is powerful because it fulfils emotional functions for individuals. (Ibid: 23). It revealed the same variations as before, ranging from a benign cultural polish to an exaggerated tendency to stress national interests above all others. It continued to generate disputes about historical and natural frontiers. It showed itself in the concept of a so-called European Europe which was to be independent of United States power as well as that of the Soviet Union. At the same time nationalism called for a Europe of wholly sovereign States, Unlikely to speak with a common voice.

To this extended nationalism something new was added. The world in the middle of the twentieth century was far different from that of 1900. At the close of World War II came a violent awakening of the subject nations of Asia and Africa, a development that brought rapid alterations in the map of the world. Fifty-two nations established the United Nations, in another attempt to break down the barriers between peoples. Since then the fight for independence has more than doubled the membership of that organization. The new nations now account for more than a third of global territory and about one-half the human race. Each is moved to express its own identity. Each boasts of its own self-interest and its own power of decision. Each seeks roots in the past. Each elevates the flag above all, refusing to surrender its national sovereignty or to allow control of its destiny by outsiders. "Consequently nationalism, combining in its many forms with just about every other political value and appealing to just about every social group, has been the central political movement of modern times." (Guibenau, Hutchinson 2001 : 51).

Nationalism has always held basically the same attitude toward the state. Nations were constituted into sovereign states, they were isolated from each other, they refused to relinquish even apart of their sovereignty. "Nationalism is inherently a process in which groups of people work towards the creation of an independent state for themselves, a nation state or towards the enlargement of such a state. It is a concrete, observable, social or socio-political process but its cause or source or mainspring or motor, is an idea or ideology". (Blaut 1987 : 18) Those ideas carried
over from the old to the new nationalism despite the fact that the world was much too
diverse for the classifications of nationalist anthropology.

A puzzling element of the new nationalism is its persistency at a time when
both political and economic demands seem to run-in the opposite direction. In its
eyear stages, nationalism has geared to political individualism and an agricultural,
commercial economy. "Nationalism was associated with the mass mobilization of
precommercial, preindustrial peasant peoples." (Deutsch 1953:164) But with
modernization came rapid changes in transportation and communication, interlocking
relationship of industrial complexes and worldwide techniques of the money
economic. It would seem that nationalism would outlive its usefulness in this new
age, when industrial and business barriers break down. Instead, the new
nationalism, far from pointing the way to an international society, lags behind the
process of modernization and leaves a politico-economic gap which grows wider
instead of disappearing.

The problem, like all historical questions, has many facets. There are cultural
repercussions. Shakespeare, Goethe, Beethoven, Michelangelo—all accepted as
geniuses of humanity—still retain the status of national heroes in the lands of their
birth. Modernization has seen a healthy breakdown of cultural barriers between
peoples, yet and again the paradox, the educational process has continued to
emphasize national history, national traditions, national heroes, the flag and the glory
of the fatherland. On one hand, the peoples of the world have become more and
more alike in cultural expression, on the other; they are separated by the wedge of
an institutionalized cultural heritage.

The trend is twofold—modernization heads in the direction of internationalism
but it is held back by the centrifugal current of the new nationalism. The
modernization of society requires the mobilization into national life of all people
without regard for class, linguistic and religious distinctions. But instead of
suppressing nationalism and national differences, the new industrialization, in a kind
of inverse process, stimulates them. Both capital and labor are interested in the
status of world finance and industry, but both are much more deeply involved in the
condition of the national economy.
The process of modernization was examined brilliantly in depth by C.E. Black in his recent volume 'The Dynamics of modernization'. According to Black, there has been a critical increase in the speed and sweep of change because of the extensive proliferation of knowledge in recent centuries. He defines modernization as process by which historically evolved institutions are adapted to those changing function accompanying the scientific revolution. Countries become modern as they learn to innovate and adapt. Thus modernization must be served by different societies with different histories, instructions and traditions. "Contemporary sociological theories of nationalism start from the nation of modernization." (Smith 1971 : 41 )

Black sees four states of modernization – the challenge of modernity to a hitherto traditional socioeconomic transformation in a climate of rising national self preoccupation and sociopolitical integration of classes inside the nation-state followed by the gradual claim of its people for cultural and political integration beyond the borders.

All 130 contemporary sovereign states and the thirty or forty struggling to emerge must go through this development, each remaining at varying times in the early stages. Block divides these countries into seven basic pattern of development original modernizing countries in the west (England and France); their interest over sea (the United states, Canada, Australia and New Zealand); other nations in western and central Europe, the extension of these other European nations in western and central Europe; the extension of these other European nations into Latin America; such autonomous non-western countries as Russia, Japan, China and Turkey; weak countries with adaptable traditions (Algeria, India and Egypt) and poor, undeveloped peoples with little or no linguistic, territorial or national sense of unity (People of sub-Saharan Africa and the Pacific Islands).

The advanced countries are already in the critical fourth stage of their own modernization, while the undeveloped countries are still bogged down in the early stages. The latter nations still face the choice of liberal constitutionalism, national statism or Soviet communism in the process they are as prone to violence and domestic strife as the developed countries were in their earlier history.
Not the least interesting aspect of the modernization of profoundly diverse societies is the recurrent theme of nationalism. The nation-state remains both fulcrum and goal: increasing modernization stays with in the framework of nationalism, rather than the internationalism of the world society, as desirable as it might be. Both the advanced and the undeveloped people have accepted the concept of nation state. "One of the few non-contentious conclusions about nationalism is that it is a modern phenomenon." (Hechter 1954 : 53)

Nationalism from its beginning encompassed both large and small sovereign nations "since nationalism is such a powerful force in the modern world" (Ibid : 18) unfortunately, there are gaps in information on the difference between large and small nations and on the contrasts in their national experiences. There are unanswered questions on the distinction between old and new independent nations, between old monarchies and new republics, between unitary and federal states, between unilingual and multilingual nations; between nations of religious homogeneity and religious pluralism and between countries that enjoyed early industrial progress and others to which it come only recently.

The status of large or great is not necessarily identifiable by size alone. The small city-state of Athens dominated the ancient Greek world in the fourth century B.C. Britain, an Island with comparatively small population held world power for centuries. Tiny Switzerland land, locked in the heart of Western Europe, still retains an important position in world finance. But, large or small, both great powers and minor nations have always insisted upon rights of political unity, independent economic policy and cultural autonomy. Without an effective large-scale supranational organization, nations operated wholly on a power basis. The stronger nations dominated the weaker, where upon the latter sought security as satellites of powerful neighbor. In a sense this was a kind of modernized version of the lord-vassal relationship of medieval feudalism. And just as feudalism paradoxically maintained a kind of order in its day, so did the large and small nations function in the midst of international anarchy.
Under the old nationalism England, France, the United States, Germany and Russia furnished the models of nation building. All had similar motivations: as nations they were responsible only to themselves; they were to be free of encroachments; they expected concessions of sovereignty from small nations – concessions which they were not prepared to make themselves. In the final analysis they always relied upon their own strength or upon treaties.

The small nations, including Austria, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg, each contributed in its own way historical evidence on nation building. Their experiences in nationalism may or may not have been significantly different from those of the great powers. However, they had one characteristic in common with the larger nations – the desire to maintain absolute national sovereignty.

In the era of the new nationalism the problems of relationship between large and small nations have become more conspicuous. The new nations of Africa and Asia find the experiences of the great powers unrelated to their own problems because of differences in size of electorate, nature of the elites and natural resources. Comparatively weak, they call for national interdependence as favourable for their own existence. If there is any danger in nationalism, they says, it is certainly in the nationalism of the older great powers rather than in their own flowering sense of nationhood. Their representatives, banding together in the United Nations, attain an influence far beyond their importance, a situation which makes the great powers even more reluctant to relinquish even a part of their national sovereignty in favour of international Government.

To some, including Arnold Toynbee nationalism appears outmoded because we can no longer afford a world society in which tiny states may go to war with one another. Edward. Carr suggests that the ideology of the small nation as the ultimate politico economic unit seems to be losing ground. "In Europe some of the small units of the past may continue for a few generations longer to eke out a precarious independent existence; others may retain the shadow of independence when the reality has disappeared. But their military and economic insecurity has been
demonstrated beyond recall. They can survive only as an anomaly and an anachronism in a world that has moved on to other forms of organization" (1945:35)

How far the world "has moved on to other forms of organization" is still subject to debate. Anachronism or not, nationalism, be it the nationalism of the small or the large nation, retain a virulence which at the present moment gives little indication of disappearing from the world scene. One need only ask the citizen on any street anywhere whether his paramount loyalty is to his country or to the human race. We shall have to regard nationalism as very much alive and as a continuing threat to personal liberty and to the universality of culture.

"Nationalism is the most successful political ideology in human history" (Birch 1989 : 3) Nationalism, in both its old and new forms, is a historical phenomenon of the utmost complexity, suffused with paradox. At once moral and immoral, human and inhuman, noble and savage, it can be either blessing or curse. In itself nationalism, like capitalism, socialism and imperialism, has both positive and negative characteristics. "Nationalism as a sentiment or as a movement, can best be defined in terms of this principle. Nationalist sentiment is the feeling of anger aroused by the violation of the principle, or the feeling of satisfaction aroused by its fulfillment". (Gellner 1983 : 1) circumstances so powerfully influence the feeling and opinions of men that vices can pass into virtues and paradoxes into axioms.

Historical paradox is by no means new. It may be observed in the ecclesiastical history of the middle Ages. Medieval men were devoted to the church as the mother of mercy and the fountain of charity yet they cheerfully approved the infliction of the most terrible tortures upon those who dared to hold heretical opinions. The persecution of heretics was justified morally on the ground that the church was a law unto itself – the epitome of divine will-and that every ecclesiastical action, no matter how cruel and however repulsive to humanity is sanctified.

The rise of national states in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a reaction against the rule of the church. In some baffling way, national fervour took a rigid hold on the mind of modern man. The medieval man identified himself not as a French man, German or Italian but as a faithful son of the Roman Catholic Church.
He was loyal to the ecclesiastical state. Modern man, on the other hand, saw his security in the national state. Nationalism became in political life what faith had been in religion.

As nationalism developed it began to take on more and more contradictory aspects. Ambiguously, it becomes a force for both peace and war. The great masses looked upon the nation as an extension of the family and they felt safe in its embrace. Everywhere the common people, who formed the bulk of every nation, wanted to live out their lives in peace and order. They were neither warlike nor aggressive; they were not interested in conquest, aggrandizement, colonialism or imperialism. They wanted no slaves. They had little interest in or understanding of the diplomatic intrigues, which occupied the world’s statesman.

These pacific people were easily transformed into crusading belligerents. Once the drumfire of propaganda began the ordinary citizen was swept along into the path of national hatred. He was convinced that his own security and that of his family were threatened by the enemy — "the French — Corsican monster", "Perfidious Albion", "treachenous Italian", the unspeakable Turk", ‘the Russian hordes’, and "the Fascist beasts" Peace — loving people, trapped by suspicion and hatred and terrified by the threat of attack, prepared to fight, always in the name of defense. Those who wanted nothing more than to be let alone were transformed overnight into warmongers.

In this way peace-loving people turn to war as a solution for their problems. They no longer see the irony of their transformation. What formerly was a simple paradox is accepted as axiomatic.

*The history of nationalism is a confusing one, and when this is added to the conceptual morass surrounding modernization.* (Tiryakian and Rogowski 1985 : 57) Modern nationalism was an extension of the city-state idea on a greater scale. The same bonds of common language, religion, customs, and heroes, the same patriotism, the same xenophobia — all these were combined to form the stuff of nationalism. Cultural barriers were broken down, technological and scientific change brought the various parts of the world closer and closer together. But while cultural
diversities were disappearing, political nationalism become at the same time more and more intensified. The process continued into the middle of the twentieth century. The prophecy that the world would move toward political unification as cultural barriers were eliminated was not realized.

"Nationalism is an extremely complex and difficult phenomenon, discomfiting to those who believe that lectures should begin with a definition of the subject". (Kamenka 1973 : 3 ) Nationalism accurately reflects the times in which it exists. The older form of nationalism came of age of the turn of the nineteenth century. The era since 1945 has been the first in which the whole of mankind accepted nationalism as its dominant political credo.

The most critical problem at the opening at the twentieth century was the threat of war. There was little sense of moral power among nations, nor was there any effective international organization capable of resolving disputes between nations. "As the pulse of nationalism quickened across Europe between 1880 and 1920, interest in it spread globally. By the beginning of the twentieth century, nationalist aspirations had currency among people everywhere who found Europe's might by turn intimidating, horrifying and fascinating" (Wiebe 2002 : 127). The cumulative achievements of science have brought not only swift changes in living but also terrible and destructive weapons. The perfection of scientific techniques had been energetically pursued but it was a feverish activity, not a healthful one. The crucial problem was how to utilize such techniques. Man had learned to control everything except the savageries of his own nature and the confusions of his Government. The nations of the world competed with one another to make applied science as instrument of national policy.

In addition to the threat of war there were also such problems as class conflict, poverty and social injustice. There was great wealth but there was also a gap between its production and its distribution. Class warfare was intensified inside industrialized nations. These were the twin challenges of the new century-how to resolve animosities on both the international and the domestic scenes. The world of 1900 was supposed to be progressive and rich in accomplishment, but it was on the verge of tragedy.
This was the age of nationalism, the culmination of a century and a half of uneven development. Nationalism differed in each country according to special historic conditions and the social structure. Although the United States and Japan had entered the world scene as great powers, nationalism in the era of 1900 received its impetus in the capitals of Europe. From there it penetrated to lands where political ideals were less advanced than on the continent.

After 1945 nationalism changed along with the historical milieu. The world of Pitt and Palmerston, of Disraeli and Gladstone of Lloyd George, even of Churchill and Roosevelt, no longer existed. With an empire vanished, the days of British supremacy were over. The United States and the Soviet Union had become the world’s two lending powers. China emerged from centuries of lethargy and its new leaders pursued the course of a status conscious, aggressive nationalism. “It is commonly assumed that nations the modern sense are the product of the disruption of the international – or rather pre-international – order of mediaeval Christendom and that they represent the projection on a collective national plane of the Renaissance spirit of adventurous and self assertive individualism” (Carr 1945: 1). The world was no longer the same as it was at the turn of the century. The new age was one of industrial and technological expansion, of population explosion. It was an era of nuclear weapons which if used, could make a large part of the earth uninhabitable. It was the scene of a race to the moon.

In view of the internationalization of ideas and the great improvements in transportation and communication, nationalism might have been expected to become obsolescent along with the customs, tradition and revolutionary ideologies of the nineteenth-century. Such was not the case Nationalism spread all over the glove until the whole of mankind accepted its general political attitudes. The people of the new states saw in nationalism the best and most convenient means of ensuring their security. To them it approved to be an extension of family or tribal loyalty on a larger scale. In setting up the apparatus of state, they intimated the older countries. Consciously or unconsciously, they recapitulated the experiences of two centuries of European history as they sought bonds of language and traditions.
The design varied in different eras but fundamentally it was the same. Everywhere there was a deep regard for flag, anthem and fatherland and everywhere countries accepted the strictures of national sentiment. Everywhere there was an accentuation of what Henry Steele Commager calls “the critical stigmata of nationalism language, culture, traditions, heroes.”

The new nationalism displayed a characteristics tendency to become socialist. Not only the older governments but also those of the newly emergent nations were forced to admit their obligation to promote the welfare of the masses. Here again nationalism look on the overtones of historical experience.

Modern nationalism was initially a bourgeois phenomenon, created of, by, and primarily for the middle class, which was very much aware of its politic economic aims and strongly determined to achieve them. “They are creations of the elites, who draw upon, distort, and sometimes fabricate materials from the cultures of the groups they wish to represent in order to protect their well being or existence or to gain political and economic advantage for their groups as well as for themselves”. (Brass 1991 : 8 ) Upto this time the vast rural population of Europe had owed its loyalty to the church, the hereditary princes and the privileged nobility. The new bourgeoisie snatched power for itself and controlled the nation state in its own interest. This middle class was strong enough to maintain its power despite revolution any agitation directed against it in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 and the Paris Commune of 1871. The nineteenth century was pre-eminently the age of the bourgeoisies.

The new century become in the words of Franklin D. Roosevelt, ‘the century of common man, “Despite the inferior position it occupied at first, the populist movement for greater control by the masses gained strength over the century. What the workingman regarded as unattainable during the early decades of the nineteenth century became within reach by the end of the century. From 1900 on, the worker began to demand more rights. Although he had to fight to obtain them, he was moderately successful in achieving a new freedom. At one time he had been burdened by an accumulation of impediments, which he had to suffer without any other solution than resignation or adaptation. Now he was to find fewer social barriers
and limitations. 'Estates' and 'castes' were going out of style and the idea that ordinary men were equal before the law gathered strength.

This new status for the common man was realized in a variety of social patterns ranging all the way form the Scandinavian welfare state and the British Labor government to the communist society of soviet Russia. The new nations, too, combined their sense of nationalism with socialism. Nationalism grew among undeveloped people not only because it was an incitement to drive out colonial powers but also because centralized state machinery could satisfy mass demand for modern technology, heavy industry and the consequent rise in the standard of living. A small minority which had been educated in Europe usually seized control in these new nations but this did not mean that the masses were excluded altogether. Nationalism was on the march but it is not bourgeois nationalism. It was rather a populist form, under compulsion to increase and socialize national power.

This association of nationalism with socialism was one of the most significant trends of the twentieth century. Marxists, adhering to scientific determinism and the concept of inevitability, see the union of nationalism and socialism as the realization of predictions made a century ago by Karl Marx. According to this theory, evolved from Hegelian dialect, nationalism and socialism are two conflicting elements in recent historical development. From this point of view, nationalism is sentiment sponsored and controlled by bourgeois capitalists, while socialism is the province of the proletariat. The opposing trends unite in a synthesis called national socialism or fascism.

The theory is monistic and on the surface at least, impressive. But the formula is open to challenge. The blending of nationalism and socialisms was taken place in democratic countries as well as in Fascist or communist dictatorships. It has appeared in the newly emergent nations as well in the older, established countries. Every vital revolutionary movement of the twentieth century has been both national and social. This has been true whether the national leader was Sun Yet Sen in China, Mustafa Kamal in Turkey, Nasser in Egypt, or Nehru in India. All regarded socialism of varying degrees as in natural combination with nationalism. All set up the flag as a symbol of nationalism and at the same time pointed to the welfare of
masses as their socialist concern. All cannot be relegated to the category of national socialist fascists. It is more appropriate to say that the mixture of nationalism and socialism merely reflects the spirit of the day, an era in which the common man has reached political maturity.

In the new nationalism, even more than in the old, the charismatic leader plays an important role. The word 'charisma' came from Greek and it means gift and was initially meant as a 'gift of grace' or a divinely inspired call to leadership. Max Weber described charisma as "a certain quality of an individual personality by which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman or at least specifically exceptional power or qualities". (Weber 1947: 358) He can inspire and sustain personal loyalty apart from his office or status. He is supposed to possess supernatural or extraordinary powers given to few. He is larger than life in skill, ability and courage. He communicates his sense of mission to his followers. He does not live as other men, nor is he motivated by ordinary rules. A revolutionary in times of trouble he breaks precedents and creates new ones. Above all, he is said to be selected by fate for a role of leadership.

The mystic aura, which surrounds the sentiment of nationalism, is made to order for the charismatic leader. He is certain that he himself embodies the character of the nation. From their viewpoint the people see in the charismatic leader the total expression of their own traits and character. Always the power of the leader depends largely upon the image he is able to maintain in the perceptions of his people. He may be of any persuasion-dictator or democrat, theorist or activist. Many are military-minded men who appeal to national pride and xenophobic fears to extend their own power.

As the older nationalism blossomed in the 19th century, it presented a series of leaders all touched with charisma – Napoleon Bonaparte, Metternich, Louis Philippe, Bismarck, Napoleon III, Disraeli and Garibaldi. Each had extraordinary gifts of leadership, each used nationalism for his own purposes; each became the spear point for the own purposes; each became the spear point for the mission of his people. The pattern was repeated in the first half of the twentieth century with Gandhi and Nehru in India, Mussolini in Italy, Hitler in Germany, Stalin in Russia,
Churchill in England and Franklin D. Roosevelt in the United States. Each followed the star of his own destiny and each was a fervent nationalist.

Charismatic leaders flourished in the new states formerly under colonial rule. Their very attainment of independence generally signified that the old order had broken down and the supports that sustained it had disappeared or were rapidly being weakened. With the breakdown of the old traditional legal authority in a climate of uncertainty and unpredictability, there came a need for leadership that would bridge the discredited past and the mysterious future. Many were men of military mind – Mohammed Ayub Khan in Pakistan, Ne Win in Burma, Nguyen Cao Ky in South Vietnam. All claimed to epitomize the national will, all aroused awe and devotion in their followers, all spoke of the nation’s rightful place in world society, all were men gripped by a sense of mission.

A similar trend may be noted in the cases of Nasser in Egypt, Peron in Argentina and Castro in Cuba. Among the more interesting examples is General Charles de Gaulle, President of the Fifth French Republic. Advised by his ancestral memory that Europe ought naturally to fall under the leadership of France, he looked upon Paris as the center of the world. His formula was simple; de Gaulle Plus France equals Europe. He presented himself as an indispensable man. He was confident that the future of the French Republic would be assured only if the citizens gave him open and massive support. But he was equally certain that the Republic would collapse and that France would suffer disastrous confusion if her people turned from his leadership. It was a classic case of charismatic autointoxication.

A distinction between the old nationalism and the new may be found in their different attitudes toward individualism, popular sovereignty, and the state. The earlier form of nationalism arose within the framework of the age of Reason, with its accent on the natural rights of man, parliamentarism, liberalism and democracy. This was the era of flowering individualism. "Nationalism as an active force in history was confined in the eighteenth century to the shores of the North Atlantic. It expressed the spirit of the age in its emphasis upon the individual and his rights and in its participation in the humanitarian character of the Age of Enlightenment" (Kahn 1965: 17). The new and growing order of liberty and tolerance become firmly rooted
in the national life and character. The formative period of early modern nationalism took place in a milieu of discussion, compromise and reconciliation. In England, John Locke presented the theses that the liberty and the dignity of the individual were the basic elements of national life and that Government was based on the consent of the governed. These ideas were to be expressed in the American Deceleration of Independence. In France Jean-Jacques Rousseau advocated the idea of personal liberty, claiming that the ideal community was based on the virtue of its free citizens and their deep love for the fatherland. The street of Paris reverberated with the famous cry. "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity."

In its subsequent development, the mainstream of nationalism took two directions. One course retained the earlier accent on individualism. It held sovereignty to be centered in the people united by a general will. This view was bourgeois in origin, conterminous with the transition from rural to urban economy and reflected the impact of capitalism. This form of nationalism continued to be grounded on the rights of man.

The second stream of nineteenth century nationalism originated in the era of past Napoleonic disillusionment and continued through the Bismarkian period of "iron and blood" to the era of imperialism and to the world wars of the twentieth century. This kind of nationalism encouraged a romantic revival of the past, worship of national heroes, and a belief in military force. All these tenets ran counter to the virtuous ideals of individualism and liberty. As people implemented their national goals, less and less emphasis was placed on their own rights as individuals and on moral values, while more and more attention was directed to the state. This development culminated in the rise of dictatorship in Russia, Spain, Germany, Italy and smaller countries. The leader identified himself with the state and demanded sheeplike obedience from his followers.

The new nationalism revealed the influence of both these strains. The western democratic nations still retained the skeletal framework of individualism but even these countries tended towards limitation of personal freedom in favor of a more powerful state apparatus. Both form and spirit of the shift could be observed in the experience of the welfare state in England and in the Scandinavian countries, in the
authoritarian democracy of the Fifth Republic, in the preference of the people in the
democratic west Germany Republic for a powerful father figure and in the increasing
encroachment of federal power against the states in the united states. In each case
the democratic base was retained but with a considerably enhanced regard for the
role of state power as against the individual.

The trend was even more emphatic among the new nations of Africa and
Asia. Neither Africa of Asia ever produced its own Renaissance, Reformation or
Enlightenment and hence they have no sense of rebellion against past conditions.
The African or Asian, relying on ancient traditions, often subjected himself and his
destiny to an immense power for above his comprehension. People lived in villages
and belonged to tribes. They bowed before power as before a natural force, they
paid their taxes and held fast to the status quo by totem and taboo. In such societies,
western individualism had no meaning. The idea of the individual's holding sovereign
power was foreign to peoples molded by tradition, custom and propriety. It is
understandable, therefore, that in the newly emergent nations the leviathan of the
state become the repository of the national will. The tendency was to exalt the state,
produce a strong leader, and keep the individual in a secondary position. The older
form of European nationalism was both unifying in nature and disintegrative. As
national states solidified, they resisted the formation of subsocieties as detrimental.
The existing fragmentation was directed against such large European unifying
schemes as paw movements and the United States of Europe. After 1945 the new
nationalism in Europe retained a divisive character, manifested in such nationalistic
drives as that of French glory, the German call for reunification and Albanian
particularism. At the same time most European states continued to oppose further
interregional rivalries or additional fragmentation into linguistic or minority groupings.
These existed on a minor scale, such as the Flemish Walloon rivalry in Belgium,
Welsh nationalism in Britain and catalan and Basque calls for regional autonomy in
Spain. But by for the greater tendency was to retain the status quo by resisting
European integration on the one side and subsocietal fragmentation on the other.

Quite different was the experience of the new nations of Asia and Africa. The
new nationalism brought national unity as well as a kind of inverse nationalism,
expressed in societal and tribal fragmentation. The development of new states
followed a similar historical pattern. In each case national morale and energy surged to a high point in the struggle for independence. In working together to break the bonds of colonial control, both leaders and masses achieved a sense of national dignity. Local antagonisms were forgotten for the moment. The elixir of nationhood at first proved to be a strong solvent for animosities and rivalries.

The new nations were handicapped because they had inherited territories whose borders had been created artificially by the colonial powers as convenient and desirable. But these borders set lines of division among peoples who spoke the same language and often included minorities who themselves wanted independence. Thus the divisive force was built in. The colonial Governments had not been concerned with creating a sense of nationalism among the peoples they controlled. Quite to the contrary, they deliberately fostered fragmentation on the general principle of divide and rule. They encouraged limited education facilities but deliberately maintained political education at a low level and seldom granted local participation in important decisions.

Despite this unfavorable climate for national unity, the new nations were born in a fury of political activitism and dynamism. Afro-Asian nationalist leaders educated in Western universities were dashing and heroic in the days of struggle for liberation. But when the time came for the positive tasks of constructing the national state, they found task unexciting and boring. The revolutionary élan quickly subsided. In the words of Rupert Emerson — "The fine bright flame of revolution in evitable burns itself out before long, and the more humbrum task of peaceful reconstruction and advance, so slow to show results, may seem a shabby substitute for the stirring days of violent and heroic action". (Emeson 1956: 75)

Afro-Asian nationalist leaders believed the fallacy that independence would automatically bring unity, centralization and efficient Government. Their first concern after independence was national integration of the many social orders and minorities that had been inspired by the colonial regime. Here they faced at ask greater than they had expected. The Afro-Asian minority problems were fully as complicated as those in the Balkans. Nationalist zeal was replaced by ethnic, linguistic and regional groups sentiment. National unity quickly disappeared as subsocieties and subgroups
contended for advantageous positions in the new nations. Each competitive society regarded independence merely as a mandate for its right to dominate other groups. The variety of subsocieties was bewildering; vary ethnic groups, different economic strata, competing classes. Each group reasserted its traditional heritages and jockeyed for position of greater power. The spirit of national mobilization broke down in a welter of conflicting loyalties.

In Africa there were dozens of tribes cut by international boundaries. The example of the Congo demonstrates the pressure of interregional rivalries. Given its independence suddenly by Belgium in 1960, the Congo Republic almost immediately began to demonstrate as sub-groups clashed in a power struggle. Patrice Lumumba was murdered in 1961; Katanga seceded in 1962 - 1963 full-scale civil war in 1964 led to intercession by the United Nations. In 1960, Nigeria came to nationhood with high expectations as Africa's most powerful and democratic nation. But within a few years Nigeria had to face the possibility of being split into a series of de facto nations based on common tribe, common language, common religion and common culture. Traditionally form by tribal rivalries, Nigeria went through further violent tribal uprisings, and nation seemed dangerously close to disintegration.

Similar difficulties inhibited intraregional cooperation in Asia. Most of those states which had fallen to Europe conquest had had an imperialist period of their own and the old rivalries reappeared after the breakdown of western colonialism. The leaders of Southeast Asian independence were more at home in dealing with their former colonial masters than with each other. Unforgotten were the traditional rivalries between the Theravada Buddhist Burmese Thai, between the similarly Buddhist Thai and Cambodians; between the Cambodians and the Buddhist Vietnamese and between the Muslim people of the Malaysian – Indonesian archipelago. The rivalries were sometimes geographic as well as religious: those, for example, between the valley and hill people in Laos, Burma, Vietnam and Thailand. The new Governments were as little disposed to recognize such competitive groups, as were the old colonial masters.

Among the factors in the structure of nationalism are common language, race, religion and traditions. Each is important in its own way, although none is sufficient
standing alone or in combination with the others to explain the flourishing vigour of nationalism. Added to these factors is psychological motivation. Because nationalism is a sentiment, it has psychological overtones. "......... there are psychological functions. It is often argued that people require 'identities'. Nationalism can provide for such a need. (Hutchinson and Smith 2000: 332) The psychological drive plays a most significant role in the meaning and development of nationalism. Arnold Toynbee argued that nationalism is an anachronism because the paramount loyalty of the individual is to the human race but he overlooked the human impulse, which finds satisfaction in a nation of common institutions and creeds.

Psychological motivation, always at work in the older nationalism, carried over into the new nationalism in intensified form. It was especially strong among those Afro-Asian peoples who had undergone the ignominy of subservience to colonial powers. The colonial people had been the objects, not the wielders of power. Rigidly maintained in low status, they were suppressed, oppressed, insecure and frustrated. They lost so much face in the power struggle that they become convinced of their inferiority.

World War II was scarcely over when the great recessional of the colonial powers began, followed by the power drives of the subjugated people. Nationalist liberator heroes spoke the language of freedom and equality. For people who had known the despair of frustration, nationalism provided a feeling of compensation. They would identify themselves vicariously with the nation. Congolese no longer listened to orders from Belgian overlords; Indonesians stopped the custom of bowing low and touching their foreheads to the floor in the presence of Dutch masters, the Chinese knew that the days of the opium wars and the Boxer Rebellion were past. The inferiority complex began to dissolve in the solvent of a new national consciousness.

The process was by no means sudden and clear-cut. The non-western personality took on ambivalent characteristics. Most of the new nations stood with one foot in each world – the old and the new. The experience of Indian is an example. Nationalist leader Jawaharlal Nehru on the one hand urged rapid industrialization of his country and on the other bespoke his reverence for the
Gandhian ideal of small, self-sufficient communities still in the hand-spinning stage. But whether or not they adopted western ways, the newly independent people were intrigued by the sense of nationhood. Psychologically, they could walk with heads up instead of down. This in itself was an revolutionary development. The new nationalism was tinged with odium and ordour of amorality that had been developing since the inception of the nation-state. Behind it was a process of transformation from positive to negative force, from inspirational to ignoble quality, from blessing to curse.

Born in the Age of Reason, modern nationalism was tempered by rationalists who believed in the perfectibility of mankind. Condorcet theorized that the human race was advancing continuously towards perfection. He divided the history of mankind into nine epochs, from the opening era of hunters and fisherman, to the time of Descartes and French Revolution, including the discoveries of Locke, Newton, and Rousseau when reason, to leance and humanitarianism became the watchwords of man. Condorcet predicted confidently that in the tenth epoch – that of future – man would progress to the point when all inequalities of opportunity would disappear and individual human nature would reach perfection.

After its crusading Jacobian phase, nationalism took on characteristics of that moral tone advocated by the rationalists. It was suffused with individualism, tolerance, liberalism and democracy. This brighter side was reflected in Herder's cultural nationalism, which granted to every people the right to enjoy its special folkways and historical traditions. Herder's nationalism, essentially nonaggressive and humanitarian in nature, was built around the principle of the unity of mankind. It regarded the culture of each nationality as an organism and each branch of culture as an organic part of the larger organism. It called on each people to develop its own peculiar gifts and propensities and projected the idea that the perfection of the various nationalities was requisite to the perfection of mankind. For Herder the final justification of national existence lay in the contribution of the national group to humanity at large. This view was advocated by such apostles of liberal nationalism as Mazzini — each nationality has its special mission of humanity. The mission constitutes a nationality. Nationality is sacred.
During the course of the nineteenth century, liberal nationalism gradually deteriorated until it lost most, if not all, of its earlier moral character. Tolerance was often replaced by a hardening intolerance. Nationalism sometime became violent and exclusive, as people began to show an absolute faith in their superiority over other nationalities.

At present, the concept of nationalism that is called as new nationalism has undergone a drastic change. "With some indigestion people in recent times have subsisted largely on a diet of nationalism, whatever the dangers of its mixtures (shafer 1972 : 343) They have done so because nation and nationalism made up some of their basic needs and satisfied some of their deeply felt desires. To enlarge their interests, to gain prestige, profit and power not only for their citizens but also for the state itself, the large nation states now-expanded beyond their borders, competed for empire. This led to new conflicts, national conflicts stemming from national ambitions, which now become imperial. There had always been wars, between cities, feudal lords, monarchs. But now the affairs of the cities, the lords and the kings become the people's, that is, national, wars. War and threats of war perpetually threatened nations, their survival and their hope of an expanding future.

Thus new nationalism is not isolated from the concept of nationalism, rather they are closely related to each other. Today each nation is engaged in perpetual quarrel to gain and establish their power and position in the world, forgetting their innate good qualities. So the world is preparing for the third World War which will wipe out the human civilization from the globe. "The globe is now drawn in the vortex of disruption, distrust and untruth. Scientifically man is reaching Moon, Mars and Venus and spiritually he is not advanced." (Moorti 1961 : 26) At this crucial period we need new nationalism to save human civilization. Though we call it new nationalism, there is nothing new in it because the main features of nationalism in it remain the same. What is new thing edded to it is that new nationalism concentrates only one nation that is the nation of mankind. To save this nations (the nation of mankind) each nation, forgetting there geographical, cultural, traditional and language barrier, should plunge themselves for greater and noble purpose. So Their outlook shall never be confined in their narrow geographical boundary. Forgetting their selfish attitude to gain power and position in the world, each nation shall work for the nation
of mankind. It will do good no only for each nation but also absolute peace and bliss will prevail to this world. Then the imaginary heaven will come down to this earth. That is the aim of new nationalism. Thus the new nationalism admits that “the concept to global citizenship is not necessarily incompatible with nationalism.” (Carter 1997 : 1)

The nations and the national states from their beginning were never equal and always between them there were rivalry, envy, jealousy. That is way nationalism becomes a revolutionary philosophy in the modern civilization. “The most revolutionary idea in our generation is, I think, nationalism”. (Romulo 1964 : 9) Each nation state, small or large, determined to defend itself by increasing its armed forces, by persuading its people to be patriotic or forcing them acquire and therefore tacit approval. Ambition accentuated by fear made already large nations do the same and expand as well. Fear and ambition led to more fear and greater ambition, to greater national military preparation. Nationalism beget nationalism.

Men do not always put their security first but they do fear insecurity whether it be physical or mental. They do dread violence that might harm them and their families. They do fear foreigners with their strange ideas, outsiders who could conceivably conquer them, oppress them, impose upon them unwanted ways of life. They do dread loneliness when it brings uncertainty, a feeling of weakness and emotional discomfort.

In the sphere of new nationalism men are becoming too much self-centered, egocentric. Men has lost ideal of a true patriot. Men should love their own country but not to the exclusion of other countries. He is firmly attached to his country’s traditions and culture but not so firmly attached that he is blinded to the equal legitimacy of other cultures and traditions. He recognizes the relatively of all nation values and he has no inclination to claim absolute validity for the particular culture and tradition he happens to prefer. “The genuine patriot is evidently the humanitarian and the equalitarian” (Forbes 1965 : 57) Men must love his own country because they too are human. They demand only that their own personal convictions be respected and he is willing to respect those of others, provided they are not intolerant or expressed dogmatically. They identified with humanity as a
whole, not just with his own nation, and they have no desire that their nation should dominate the world. The ideal that naturally appeals to them is the ideal of a world in which power considerations are largely eliminated and in which no group can control the lives of any other group.

If we are able to retain the above-mentioned features in our mind, the earth will then turn into dreamland where prevails absolute bliss and peace "Imagine a world freed from the tyranny of guns" (Wiebe 2002:220) The apparent paradox that nationalism flourished in an era of internationalism compels us to reassess the chances of transcending or abolishing nationalism in future. Liberal cosmopolitans have dreamed of an interdependent world with a single broad civilization and unimpeded mobility across continents. "In our century this ideal was reinforced by aspirations for a world government, which first the league of Nations and then the United Nations, were supposed to embody". (Smith 1979 : 184)

Today nationalism becomes a living spirit that manipulates man. The influence of globalization has tremendous impact on nation and nationalism. "Globalization is dramatically transforming the context with which political action takes place and forces the nation-state to fundamentally recast its nature in order to react to unprecedented challenges concerning state power and world politics" (Guibena and Hutchinson 2001: 266) Among people everywhere there is awareness of the nuclear threat and among a considerable number of great fear. This common fear could unite enough men to make effective international action possible, for the alternative is elimination of the species in nuclear holocausts. Thus, nationalism is "modern emotional fusion of two every old phenomena-nationality and patriotism". (Hayes 1926 : 6)

It is now possible through schoolings, travel and the media to educate great number of people to know something not just about their nations but about the world. The people of the nations will gradually surmount their prejudices and their egoism. "When and if that time arrives, though people may still live and distinct families and cultural communities, just as they often do now within nations, they will have to give their supreme loyalty to the international community that represents the interests not of nation-states but of humanity". (Shafer 1972 : 375) If such kind of new
nationalism prevails in this earth, people of nation, forgetting the improvement of military power and position, will try to improve other under developed countries. Then the new nationalism becomes a holy philosophy that unities people, low or high and merges people into one universal state that is the state of mankind. Thus “they were strictly humanitarian. They were urged in truth, with motives so obviously humanitarian – with so kindly an eye to the well-being of the whole human race” (Hayes 1949 : 17)

C. Nationalism in the Works of Rabindranath Tagore

**GORA (1909)**

Gora is an immortal creation of Tagore where he expresses his political thought through superb language. Gora which is based on nationalism was written is 1909 at the context on great political turmoil. Gora was first serialized in the Bangla monthly *Probasi* from Bhadra 1314 of the Bengali Era (A.D. 1907) to Falgun 1316 B. E. (A.D. 1909). Many parts of the serialized text was left out by the author when it appeared as a book in the later year. Some of these deletion was restored when it was published from Visa-Bharati in 1928. Further restoration took place in the *Rabindra Rachanabali* (collected works of Rabindranath Tagore) during 1941 and since then it has been regarded as standard text of the novel.

The novel opens with a scenic background – “The cloud has dispersed on this shravan morning, leaving that Kolikata sky full of clear sunlight. There was no pause in the traffic on the roads; the hawkers cried their wares untiringly.” (Mukherjee 1997 : 1) After that, the novel introduces us Binoybhusan, a very liberal character who plays a leading role in the novel. He has an intimate friend named Gourmohan who is well known as Gora to his friends and relatives. Gora is too much orthodox and his sole intention is to retain the rules and regulations of Hindu society though at the very outset he is a member of Brohmo society. He wants his friend Binoy to follow such rules engrained in Hindu scripture and for this reason he forbids his friend to eat his house as lachamiya, a Christian maid servant has cooked the food. Anandamoyi, the mother of Gora, who is not his original mother, is an icon of
universal motherhood, who has a very reasonable attitude towards everything. Through this character Tagore outlets his humanistic and nationalistic outlook. She considers man as superb creation of God whose only identity is that he a man, he was not caste, no blind creed, that is why Anandamoyi insists Binoy to eat by urging the following words — As for your father, he has become such a frightful purist that he will eat only what he himself cooks. Binu is my reasonable son. He has none of your bigotry." (Ibid: 14)

The central theme of the novel has a political undercurrent. The novel presents the patriotic zeal of Gora and also extends all the important political questions, the conflict of the ideals and aspiration between the east and west. India was under British rule when Tagore wrote the novel “Gora.” The political context at that time was something different. Some political glow was found among those men who were educated and instead of defending their culture and tradition they criticized their own countrymen and thus lowering their dignity. Through the character of Gora Tagore wants to establish that whatever we have we should proud and protect it. "Whatever is ours, we shall uphold proudly and forcefully to protect our country and ourselves from all humiliation." (Ibid : 28)

The people of India at that time were living in a stupor and they had no education and culture. Tagore has depicted through the novel Gora that educated mass kept aloof from that morally and culturally blind community which was full of superstitions and false creed. Their sole aim was to polish their own community, but keeping aloof from the rest of his countrymen they were invoking their own down fail. It is the educated mass who alone can draw people from stupor and take into the realm of light, free form all types of bigotry to strengthen a nation like India. "It is not that common people have to improve themselves so that educated person improve. Rather the education obtained by the educated will be fulfilled when they are able to improve the common people." (Ibid:101) People having no education had no courage to protest against the wrong-doer. When an aged Muslim was fallen in the street by the push of a horse carriage he remained without protest, rather he became frightened and was collecting all his belongings fallen on the road. Through an aged Muslim Tagore wants to uphold that man should protest against evil, remaining silent and tolerant is not dharma. Otherwise tyrant will become more tyrannical. That is
why Gora says "........ being meek and tolerant is no dharma. It only encourages the wrong doer. Your prophet Muhammad knew this, therefore he did not go about in the guise of a meek person to preach his religion (Ibid ; 103)

To create a nation like India more powerful and more beautiful, the educated mass should feel for those downtrodden who are living in the midst of poverty, hungniness and constant danger. Such feeling does come not by reading books but by constant mixing with them. Some people like Panu Babu, one of the member of Brahmo Society, are reluctant to do so. They disown the hidden power of their countrymen and highlights the another culture of a nation, thus creating narrow nationalism. Thus, when Panu Babu says "To press home the point that no Bengali would be able to administer properly the district placed in his charge as magistrate or Judge, Haran enlarged upon the many flaws of Bengali character". (Ibid : 53) Gora, on the other hand, is a true follower of his countryman. He cannot put up with any criticism from those men who do not contact with their countryman and make comment by reading and memorizing some English books. Gora says that they should respect their own culture and tradition and then Judge it what is right and what is wrong. He says 'you call these customs evil only because the English books you have read and memorized call them so. You know nothing about these customs on your own." (Ibid : 54) In order to strengthen a nation Gora like true patriot is needed, when a country is at stake, so that centrifugal power may congregate at the centre.

Binoy is an immortal certain of Tagore and through this character it is found that woman is essential to make a nation complete and powerful. Women are neglected in society and they have no right to take education and to be educated. They have to confine their domestic chores and cooking and in this way we not only disregard them as mere women but also we reduce and disregard our country. Binoy says "when we think of the country, we don't give women their rightful place in it" (Ibid : 106) Unless and until women are driven out of narrow ambit we can not visualize our country as a concrete nation and power which remain dormant so long.

Gora becomes conscious of the futility of the strict observance of orthodox customs by Hindus without feeling of compassion for others in the predominantly
Muslim village of Ghousepura whose natives had been fighting unitedly and daringly against the exploitation of foreign indigo planters, braving all tyranny and oppression by the police. The only Hindu resident of the village, a barber, had given shelter to a Muslim boy whose father had been impressed. Responding to Gora’s reproach for his un-Hindu conduct, the barber says, “There is very little difference, Sir, we take the name of Hari, they call to Allah, that’s all.” (Ibid : 171)

Through the novel ‘Gora’ “Tagore has tried to bring about the fusion of East and West” (Metha 1979 : 28) The novel, covering a wide canvas marks Tagore’s search for national identity” (Ghose 1994 : 72) It also shows his endeavors “at projecting an image of India which is, at once, historical and a historical.” (Raj 1983 : 40) In the first half of the nineteenth century, under the impact of Western thought and education some young men in Bengal joined the Christian missionaries in an outright condemnation and ridicule of Hinduism. Raja Ram Mohan established the Brahmo Samaj which shake off all meaningless superstitions and taboos and aimed at a synthesis of the best in all faiths. But the Brahmo Samaj achieved a rigid anti-Hindu bias. In this social context ‘Gora’ was written. Then orthodox Hindu started organizing themselves into such revivalist groups as Dharma Sabha, the Arya Samaj and the Ramakrishna mission. Gora dramatizes the built in conflict in the dialectal relationship between the reformist and the revivalist movements. However, Tagore steers clear of the extremism represented by the obscurantism of the Hindu and the sectarianism of the Brahmo.

Gora is the ironic presentation of Tagore. Ironically it means white which symbolizes purity and light but he is deemed as most impure. In his early years Gora symbolizes the fate of an individual or society that becomes a prey to obscurantism and fanaticism, obfuscating whatever chances there are of finding a true direction in life Gora realizes the ideal of liberal cosmopolitanism at the end of the novel. This is already exemplified in the roles of Poresh Babu and Anandamoyi.

Anandamoyi belongs to Hindu community though she is not an adherent follower of Hindu custom and tradition. She is completely free from bigotry and sectarianism. Her catholic outlook is reflected through her speech “I follow no restrictions on where I eat or who touches my food.” (Mukherjee 1997 : 267)
Anandamayi, the daughter of a learned Benares scholar, chooses to be an outcast in her own family for her love of Gora who, being childless thinks as a God’s gift to her. Without succumbing to the blandishment of Gora, she plays an active part for Binoy’s marriage to Lolita which is protested by the sectarian Brahmos rigidly. Her defence of marriage gives an indication of her enlightened mind.

Sucharita, Lolita and Binoy are created by Tagore to show the Hindu Brahmo conflict which is the secondary theme of the novel. Radharani whose Hindu name is changed to sucharita when she is adopted by Paresh Babu becomes engaged to the Brahmo zealot, Haran Babu. But she is alienated from Haran Babu owing to his excessive orthodoxy and feels inclined to Gora inspite of Gora’s rigid Hindu orthodoxy because she feel sympathy through his burning patriotism. The arrival of her Hindu aunt, Harimohini whom she has to take care of, creates more problems for her with Paresh Babu’s wife who cannot tolerate an idol-worshipper in her house. Though Sucharita loves her father very dearly and in him she finds mental solace when she is mental turmoil, she is compelled to leave him to defend Harimohini. But the deep spiritual non-sectarian outlook she has taken from him helps her to rise above narrow prejudices and take her side by Gora after his redumption from his xenophobic obscurantism.

Paresh Babu is one of the leading supporters of Brahmo society though not as orthodox as Horan Babu. He is an incarnation of a non-sectarian, all embracing religious outlook. That is why Gora wants to take mantra so that his soul can be liberated from narrow Hindu bigotry. He says “Teach me the mantra of that deity who belongs to all – Hindu, Musalman, Kristian, Brahmo – the doors of whose temple are never closed to any person of any caste or race.” (Ibid : 476)

Gora’s orthodoxy is removed through the character of Paresh Babu and his mother Anandamoyi. He now believes no caste, creed. All the castes of India are his caste and whatever everybody eats is his food. Gora now feels no hesitation to take water from Lachmiya and he says to his mother “Ma, you are my only mother. The mother for whom I have looked everywhere – all this time she was sitting in my hours you have no caste, yo do not discriminate against people, you do not hate you are the image of benediction.’ (Ibid : 477)
The deep antagonism between Hindu and Brahma sects has been represented by Gora on the one ride and Baroda Sundari and Haren Babu on the other. Each group opposes Binoy-Lolita marriage or insists on the marriage being performed according to their own ritual. But they are united in the holy married lock with the help of Anandamoyi and Poresh Babu. Later their union like that of Gora and Sucharita symbolises the path of unity between the two divergent faiths, Hindu and Brahma. But K. R. Srinivasa Iyenger says “Not withstanding the wide canvas and the multiplicity of character, incident and dialogue, the novel is a unity and this comes from Gora himself, who is both centre and circumference. The rest serve largely to explain him or are explained by his relation with them”. (1987 : 88)

Various factors are responsible for the popularity of the novel Gora. Firstly, it is “the only novel in Bengal which minors faithfully the social, political and cultured life of the entire educated Bengali middle class” (Ray 1961 : 172). Secondly, it does not suffer form the political excesses of Tagore’s other novels. Thirdly, the whole novel is filled with polemics which are not found in his other novels. As Krishna Kripalani feels, the presence of polemics in such a book is “Inevitable in view of its very theme, the author does not lose the thread of main narrative whose interest is sustained to the end. (1971 : 208) Fourthly, it is the only work of Tagore where the life of the city of Calcutta forms an integral part of the story. Fifthly, the novel reveals to us Tagore’s transition from nationalism to internationalism. Sixthly, nowhere else does Tagore use such a wide canvas, massive design number of episodes and big galaxy of life like characters. The most interesting factor is that for the first time in the novels of Tagore, a male character dominates the action, Nowhere else do we find a character like Gora “so masculine in the whole of Tagore’s writings” (Kabir 1968 : 45). In other novel does Tagore describe the Brahma – Hindu conflicts and their fanaticism No wonder then, Gora is given the highest place in literature not only for its intellectual content or debates or its historical association but for its “skilful disposition of events, its masterly delineation of character, the solid nature of its content and craft” (Ray 1961 : 172).
Nationalism (1917)

Tagore's concept of nationalism, nation and state is beautifully reflected in nationalism, which he has rendered black and white in 1917. In this book it has been divided three chapters -- (a) nationalism in Japan (b) nationalism in the west (c) nationalism in India. During his visit to the foreign country he was greatly shocked the naked display of evils in the Western materialistic society that stirred his sensitive genius. There he discovered that the freedom of spirit is set against the terrible and highly organised society that reduced man to robots.

In the first chapter that is "nationalism in Japan", Tagore has described how Japan has improved his status in the world. He has enhanced his wealth and position not by imitating the west but by its own hidden power, which remains dormant so long. "I, for myself, cannot believe that Japan has become what she is by imitating the west. We cannot imitate life, we cannot simulate for long, may, what is more, a mere imitation is a source of weakness." (2002 : 6) Though Japan has imported her food from the west but she has not taker her vital nature. She does not merge herself in the scientific paraphernalia she has acquired from the west. Japan has her own soul which must assert itself over all her requirement. She can never lose her faith in her own soul under any circumstances.

Though Japan strides along the stair of progress, it evokes slavery to man who becomes slave of machines and also loses his spiritual serenity. Such kind of slavery cannot be broken as it is unseen. "We have seen that inspite of its boasted love of freedom, it has produced worse forms of slavery than ever were current in earlier society -- slavery which are unbreakable." (Ibid : 9) Now Japan is gradually going towards the path of destruction and its only aim is to accumulate wealth for the prosperity of nation. But behind her prosperity Japan calls her own destruction. Japan has to apply her eastern mind, her spiritual strength and her love of simplicity in order to cut out a new path of progress.

There was a close relationship between India and Japan; their tie was heart to heart though there was great difference between two countries. "............. no
difference of language and customs hindered us in approaching each other heart to heart; no pride of race or insolent consciousness of superiority, physical or mental, marred our relation.” (Ibid : 12) But now the very political civilization Japan is, may be scientific, not human. It may seem powerful as it concentrates all its forces upon one purpose like a millionaire accuring money at the cost of his soul. “Tagore vehemently dwells upon exposing the futile nature of money that is supposed to be the only power in modern society. It is non-productive as it cannot infuse life in any object of nature.” (Agrawal 2003 :78) What Japan is doing today is to enshrine gigantic idol of greed in its temples, taking great pride in the costly ceremonial of its worship, calling this patriotism. But this process cannot go on so long as there is a moral law in this world, which has its application both to the individual and to organised bodies of man.

The nation which is based on spiritual ideal of man can stand though that nation may look very small and feeble. It is small seeds which contain life and will sprout and grow and spread its beneficent branches, producing flowers and fruits. The nation which is based on mere mechanism is not true nation at all. At true nation must feel for other and he must feel the world problem as his problem. When the people of a nation brings the sprit of civilization into harmony with the history of all nations, as ideal nationalism is formed. “Now the time has come when we must make the world problem our own problem.” (Tagore 2002:22)

Tagore has travelled so many countries and met different types of people. After his speculation, he realized that the presence of the human is distinctly present in Japan. In those countries Tagore sees the vain display in dress, in furniture. They startle people at the outset or push you back into the corner. But that noble feature that is lacking in those countries is humanity. Those nations may look strong and may achieve a great position in the world but their interior portion of nations is vacant. In Japan there is not the display of power of wealth that is predominating element. What is more surprising in this particular nation is that everywhere there is seen token of love and admiration. “You see everywhere emblems of love and admiration and not mostly of ambition and greed.” (Ibid ; 24)
In the second chapter that is "nationalism in the west" Tagore has rendered his feeling about western nationalism through superb language. Society is a spontaneous self-expression. It is now based on greed, jealousy and it also goads all its neighbouring societies with greed of material prosperity. As a result," the living bonds of society are breaking up and giving place to merely mechanical organization." (Ibid:61)

The people of the west are crazy for their material prosperity and when the organisation of politics and commerce whose other name is the nation becomes all-powerful at the cost of the harmony of the higher social life, it is an evil day for humanity. They are trying to dominate other nations and instead of making their own prosperity they are becoming their own danger as humanity, devine quality of mankind is lacking in them. "........... all the peoples of the earth should strain their physical, moral and intellectual resources to the utmost to defeat one another in the wrestling match of powerfullness." (Ibid:81) If the progress of power attains more and more rapidity of pace, the moral man remain behind because it has to deal with the whole reality, not merely with the law of things which is impersonal and therefore abstract.

Though the western civilizations based on science, Tagore is a great optimist who has a great faith on mankind. He like a prophet says that one-day must come when power feels ashamed to take its throne and is ready to make way for love. "And we can still cherish the hope that, when power becomes ashamed to occupy its throne and is ready to make way for love, when the morning comes for cleansing the blood-strained steps of the nation along the highroad of humanity, we shall be called upon to bring our own vessel of sacred water – the water of workship – to sweeten the history of man into purity and with its sprinkling make the trampled dust of the centuries blessed with fruitfulness". (Ibid : 103) Thus, "Tagore would fulfil what was lacking in the western intellectual atmosphere of the time was undoubtedly significant and this idea was largely shared by many of Tagore's western admirers during the early part of this century." (Chatterjee 1999 : 71)

In the third section that is 'nationalism in India' Tagore has expressed his feeling about Indian nationalism. India is a multi-coloured, multi-raced country but she
has tried to make an adjustment of races, to acknowledge the real differences between them where these exist, and yet seek for some basis of unity. This basis has come through Nanak, Kabir, Chaitanya and many others. Those who are gifted with the moral power of love and vision of spiritual unity and who have the least feeling of enmity against aliens and the sympathetic insight to place themselves in the position of others will be the fittest to take their permanent position and those who are constantly developing their instinct for fight and intolerance of aliens will be eliminated.

Indian people do not have any real idea about nationalism and they think that nation is better than reverence for God and humanity. Such kind of nationalism is a great menace to our civilization and Tagore says “I believe I have outgrown that teaching and it is my conviction that my countryman will truly gain their India by fighting against the education which teaches them that a country is greater than the ideals of humanity” (Ibid:116)

The nation is an organised power of a people. But his strenuous effort after strength and efficiency drain man’s energy from his higher nature where he is self-sacrificing and creative. Man’s power of sacrifice is diverted from his ultimate object, which is moral, to the maintenance of this organisation which is mechanical. Indian nationalism germinate with the Indian national Congress which was founded in 1885. They wanted larger representation in the Council House and more freedom in Municipal Government. But they had no constructive ideal. What India was most needed was constructive work that must come from within herself.

Indian food is creative as it builds their body but not wine which stimulates. There social ideals create the human world but when their mind is diverted from them to greed of power, then they live in a world of abnormality where their strength is not health and our liberty is not freedom. Therefore political freedom does not give them freedom when their mind is not free. An automobile does not create freedom of movement because it is a more machine. When one is free he can use his automobile for the purpose of his freedom. So India should be free from all types of superstitions in order to gain real freedom.
In the present day those people who have got their political freedom are not free, they are merely powerful. Their unbridled passion is creating huge organizations of slavery in the disguise of freedom. Those who have made the gain of money their highest end are unconsciously selling their life and soul to rich persons or to the combination that represents money. "In his message to the mankind on a personal plane, Tagore urged all to control greed and give up rat race." (Palit 2004 : 16) To live in peace and to keep eternal friendship among mankind man must have to think that there is one nation in this mundane world that is the nation of mankind. Thus, nationalism should be that sublime philosophy that binds mankind by the golden thread of love, sympathy and affection.

Malini (1917)

Of all the forms of government, the poet has spoken about monarchy most. This is due to the fact that in most of the countries of the East and the west monarchy prevailed in his time. That is why, monarch is reflected in many of his writings. An ideal monarchy is one that does not rule the state by power but by love and sympathy. No government can win the hearts of the ruled till a co-operative relation is established. A government ruled by bullets and bayonets will collapse in the long run. 'Malini', the daughter of kind is another superb certain of Tagore where we find a society which is based on superstition and fanatism that are the main obstacles of forming a good nation.

The play Malini is Tagore's first protest against religious bigotry and fanatism. The play reveals the eternal conflict between the blind orthodoxy and the spirit of humanism. The criticism is directed against the monopoly of Brahmans and he seems to favour the cause of Buddhism because it promotes the spirit of eternal compassion, love and truth that are the basis of Tagore's political philosophy. The central theme of the play is that religion being an expression of eternal truth, can not be the monopoly of any caste or community. It is a relisation of self and is capable of elevating man from the narrow consideration and instill a new spirit to work to redress the pain and suffering of humanity. Fanaticism is the reflection of ignorance that satisfies only man's perverted urges.
Malini, the heroine of the play, emerges as a representative of the light of new religion, against the conventional authority of the Brahmans. She renounces her royal living and feels an anguish in her heart to drive men out of the wilderness of conflicting religious ideology. Queen, her mother supports her still she fails to resist her fear of public revolt against Malini's craving for humanitarian religion. Defying public opposition she argues, "But I ask you, is religion a thing that one has to find by seeking? Is it not like sunlight, given to you for all days?" (Tagore; 1917 : 56 – 57)

On the other hand, the king, a foil to her, dares not compromise with the sentiments and whims of his subjects and does not recollect himself to introduce new reformatory creed of her daughter. He rather anticipates a rebellion and warns her against the possible revolt; "My foolish child, if you must bring your new creed into this land of the old, let it not come like a sudden flood threatening those who dwell on the bank keep your faith to your own self. Rake not up public hatred and mockery against it". (Ibid : 57 – 58) The queen is firmly convinced that religion is not a monopoly of Brahmans and the contents of old religious books are not the last word of religion. Tagore seems to establish that religion is dynamic, not rigid. Queen asserts – "Are all truth confined only in their musty old books? Let them fling away their worm-eaten creeds and come and take their lessons from this child". (Ibid : 59) The awakening stirred by Malini no doubt shakes the ancestral authority of Brahmans, consequently the Brahmans organizes a united opposition against her and clamour for her banishment. Malini remains undisturbed because she seems to have a realization that her sacrifice would bring peace to those who are in wilderness of confusion and conflict. "I feel I know the path, and the boat will thrill with life at my touch, and speed on" (Ibid : 61) king stands in the play for the fear that is responsible for the flourish of fanatism. He beleaguered by Brahmans, allows the banishment of his daughter. The decision brings a dramatic crisis, Malini is ready to surrender but the queen, with her uncompromising will comes in direct confrontation with her husband. The vindication comes from her that the banishment of a daughter cannot restore the spirit of religion.
The contradictory ideology represented by the queen and the king in the succeeding scenes centralizes in the characters of Kemankar and Supriya. At the every outset both appear as the faithful champions of convictional morality and stand in opposition of Malini. Kemankar stands for bitter fanaticism and accepts no compromising suggestion, while supriya is the very echo of dynamic religion, which for the sake of upliftment of humanity bypasses all other considerations. All his faith and confidence crumbles down at the suggestion of the banishment of Malini. Defying all loyalties, he interrogates, "Religion? I am stupid. I do not understand you. Tell me, Sir, is it your religion that claims the banishment of an innocent girl? (Ibid : 63) The confession comes from him that codes adopted by a definite group of people for a definite end, can not determine the spirit of religion, "you think that, by the force of numbers, you will determine truth, and down reason by your united shouts?" (Ibid : 64) Under the sweep of passion he defies not only their fury couched in their selfish interests but also condemns the scriptures that provide shelter to carry on the evil design in society. He says, "The insolence is not mine but theirs who shape their scripture to fit their own narrow hearts." (Ibid : 64)

The theme gets complicated with the untimely conversation of Supriya. He is expelled by them from the Brahmin community. The desolation does not lead him to disappointment, rather it brings him that it is all political manipulation. Tagore presents that religion being a faith needs no political support. Supriya does not yield and vehemently condemns all those who violate the chastity of divine dignity. "Brahmins, it was a mistake on your part to elect me as one of your league, I am neither your shadow, nor an echo of your texts. I never admit that truth sides with the shrillest voice, and I am ashamed to own as mine a creed that depends on force for its existence". (Ibid : 65)

Malini, basically represents the fundamental ideal of love and truth and therefore, there is no logic behind her banishment. Supriya feels that religion that aims only at the emotional glorification cannot attain the heights of universality.

Supriya finds the culmination of all his desires in Malini's infinite spiritual powers, love and compassion. Before her simple but mighty existence the contents of religious books and the values of dogmas seems insignificant. The conversation of
all under the sweep of her immense power is to suggest the potentiality of love that directly corresponds with the living echoes of human heart. She is received by them as the 'divine soul of this world'? Without least reservation Supriaya makes a proclamation against the fanaticism of Kemankar — "your hope of heaven is false, Kemankar. Vainly have I wandered in the wilderness of doctrines, - I never found peace. The God who belongs to the multitude and the God of the books are not my own God. These never answered my questions and never consoled me. But, at last, I have found the divine breathing alive in the living world of Man." (Ibid : 73 – 74)

The sudden conversation of supriya and his followers upsets the apple cart of Kemankar. His obdurate fanaticism does not let him compromise either with Maline or with Supriya. To protect his faith he determines to fight against the new awakening. Kamankar's decision to have military assistance to defend his faith in itself suggests the weakness and hypocrisy of it.

In the first Act, Tagore by setting the Queen and Supriya against the ideology of the king and Kemankar, successfully, puts forward all arguments against the spirit of fanaticism. In the second act Tagore dwells upon the exposition of fatal consequences involved in it. Kemankar reveals his plan of invasion to Supriya and Supriya forgetting his friedly loyalties conveys his plan to the king. Kemankar gets arrested. The last scene of the play where Supriya and Kemankar are pitched against each other on opposite poles is the most suggestive scene. Supriya seems to be ashamed of his act of betraying Kemankar. However, he is still not ready to be a partaker of his bigotry that aims at the dehumanization of humanity itself. He still insists on the belief that living light of religion exists only in the echoes of suffering humanity rather than in the dumb books. He confesses, "Your sacred books were dumb to me. I have read, by the help of the light of those eyes, the ancient book of creation, and I have known that true faith is there, where there is man, where there is love. It comes from the mother in her devotion, and it goes back to her from her child. It descends in the gift of a giver and it appears in the heart of him who takes it. I accepted that bond of this faith which reveals the infinite in man, when I set my eyes upon that face full of light and love and peace of hidden wisdom". (Ibid : 97 – 98)
Tagore in his contemptuous criticism of religious bigotry, obviously defends the cause of secularism to settle down the religious controversy. Religion is a matter of faith and each individual may have his distinct faith and consequently there may be variety but struggle for supremacy among various faith is the root of conflict. Supriya asks, "Cannot faiths hold their separate lights in peace for the separate worlds of minds that need them"? (Ibid : 99) However, Kemankar compromises neither with the appeal of Malini nor with the arguments of Supriya. Under the pressure of unbridled passion, he kills Supriya. The death of Supriya, explicitly exposes the futility and extreme frenzy involved in fanaticism.

The Home and the World (1919)

The Home and the World is the translation of Ghare-Baire, one of Tagore's major novels. It was serialized in subujpatra in 1915 – 16. The three points of the love trangle are Bimala, the wife of Nikhilesh, Nikhilesh, Bimala's husband and Sandip the lover. The prose is replete with barbed irony and needle sharp epigram. In Bengal, the novel stirred up a lot of controversy. Tagore was assailed for being both immoral and unpatriotic. But many including W.B. yeats deeply praised this novel which was rendered in English by surendranath Tagore.

Tagore's novel The home and the world has two theme, the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal and the extramarital love affair between Bimala and Sandip behind their political purspective. Through this novel Tagore depict that some politicians, by their high sounding words on patriotism, mislead the people to satisfy their greed and lust. Through this "Rabindranath threw a veritable bombshell on the conservative society" (Majumdar 1968 : 246) and it created such a shattering impact that for “three long years after its publication the critics continued to tear the novel to pieces" (Kripalani 1962 : 252). On the basis of the first theme the novel may be viewed in the nationalist perspective.

The novel which depicts the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal along with the portrayal of an impressionable, young housewife's traumatic passage into the world
outside the home and back carries the soul of nationalism and humanism. Set against the stormy days of the revolutionary background of 1905 Bengal chocked with the war cry of "Swadeshi" and Bandemataram the novel contains three principal characters Nikhil, his wife Bimala and Sandip, his friend Bimala who is a very simple women and who live a secured life in the company of her husband for whom she feels proud owing to her husband’s spotless character can not resist the call of the outside world and she is tormented between the pull of the ‘home’ and the pull of the world. Bimala says “My sight and my mind, my hopes and my desires, become red with the passion of this new age. Though, upto this time the walls of the home – which was the ultimate world to my mind – remained unbroken, yet I stood looking over into the distance, and I heard a voice from a far horizon, whose meaning was not perfectly clear to me, but whose call went straight to my heart”. (Tarore 2002 : 12)

Tagore narrates the piercing story of a woman who undergoes a terrible mental tension and turmoil by taking part in the swadeshi Movement and is torn asunder by the conflicting loyalties to the house and the outside world. Through the characters – Nikhil and Sandip Tagore represents the conflict between idealism and realism, or truth and illusion. Infact this novel is strongly ideological because of the implication of the critical debate between Gandhism and terrorism in politics.

Through this noval Tagore expresses the conflict between nationalism and universal manhood vividly and gives the most profound expression to his faith in the perfect independence and freedom for an individual irrespective of any particular nationality. Sandip represents the quarrelsome nationalism and narrow minded patriotism during Swadeshi Movement. Sandip is an arrogant patriot who exhibits the people recklessly to burn British goods and resort to violence when oppsed.

The novel shows problem of profound significance, the meaning of true patriotism the correlation of ends and means in any struggle for human emancipation, the pulls and counterpulls of home and the world in women’s consciousness and the perils inherent in their attempts at apprehending the truth of their very being. In his examination of these issues Tagore persuasively argues in favour of the essential human values of love, loyalty and truth in both the private and
the public spheres of contemporary Indian life. It is through a reconciliation of home with the world with their symbolic connotations that one could hope for self-fulfillment. Love and loyalty that prevails the home are not incongruous with love and loyalty to the country. There is no need to break the one in order to build the other. The novel's distinction lies in identifying the outer world of political strife and the internal world of domestic tension with the quest for a creative equilibrium between the two.

The novel's dominant theme is the triangular relationship involving Nikhil, Bimala and Sandip. The Swadeshi movement activates and complicates this relationship focusing the tension and conflict between the home and the world. At that time the partriut protest against the partition of Bengal (1905), the Swadeshi movement was started with the promotion of indigenous goods and by composing a number of national songs, leading procession and raising funds for establishing national schools. But he keeps himself aloof when the swadeshi Movement assumed the form of a more political turmoil. From the serene surrounding of santiniketan, he watched with anguish the havoc being wrought by intemperatve nationalism which happened in the name of boycott of foreign goods and the alienating of Muslim by introducing Hindu religion motifs in the struggle.

Tagore is hurt by such movement as according him, Swadeshi Movement appeared to him to have degenerated into negative campaign of hatred, exclusiveness. In one of his letters to C.F. Andrew he says "the anarchy of emptiness never tempts me, even when it is resorted to as temporary measure" (Tagore 1958 : 72) So 'The Home and the world' may be considered as Tagore's assessment of the Movement in fictional form. Samit Sarkar writes " .......... the complexities of the Swadeshi Age – its grandeur and its pettiness, its triumphs and problems and tragedies – have indeed been immortalized in the writings of the greatest literary figure of the times" (Sankar 1973 : 91)

Nikhil and Sandip are two poles of nationalism. One's approach is rationalistic and constructive with emphasis on self-reliance and righteous mean and the letter's that of emotional extremism, crude nationalism, and brute force. Tagore's own vision of struggle for freedom is nicely reflected in Nikhil's concept of freedom, self
Government and constructive leadership. Sandip tried to improve his country by
different kinds of innovative method though for these he had to incur heavy loss.
Bimala reminiscences. "There are plenty of date trees in our district. He tried to
invent an apparatus for extracting the juice and boiling it into sugar and treacle. I
heard that it was a great; only it extracted more money than juice. After a while he
came to the conclusion that our attempt at reviving our industries were not
succeeding for want of bank of our own. He was, at the time, trying to teach me
political economy. This alone would not have done much harm, but he also took it
into his head to teach his countryman ideas of thrift, so as to pave the way for a
bank; and then he actually started a small bank" (Tagore 2002 : 12) Once Tagore
went to Russia where he became surprise to see drastic change of agricultural field
which Russia was able to accomplish though at that time Russia was under
dictatorial rule. Tagore also tried to improve agricultural field of India, thus
strengthening our nation. Hence such kind of innovative methods are reflected
through the character of Nikhil.

Before the advent of Swadeshi Movement, Nikhil who is true patriot to the
core, has inspired his countrymen to produce indigenous products in his estates,
though all his attempts ended in smoke. When the boycott of foreign goods had
become a fashionable slogan, Nikhil did not advocate it as it brings men mere
destruction, not creativity. Bimala recounts "Very well, do not wear them for the rest
of your life, then. But why this bonfire business? Would you thwart me in my
resolve? What I want to say is this; why not try to build up something? You should
not waste even a tenth part of your energies in this destructive excitement". (Ibid : 13)

Sandip stands as a foil to Nikhil. He is keen to gain personal power. He is a
replica of demagogue who is a hypocritical and unscrupulous. He with his
enchanting personality, brilliant dialogue and rhetoric is able to sweep every one
except Nikhil. He calls Bimala as 'queen of hive', thus changing her outlook and
keeping her aloof from her husband. He says to Nikhil about his wife Bimala in the
following manner. "She was sitting there so demurely in her demurely in her golden
bordered sari. Her eyes were gazing enquiringly into space, like stars which had lost
their way, just as if she had been for ages standing on the edge of some darkness,
looking out for something unknown. But when I saw her, I felt a quiver run through
me. It seemed to me that the gold border of her sari was her own inner fire flaming
out and twining round her. This is the flame we want, visible fire! Look here, Queen
Bee, you really must do us the favour of dressing once more as a living flame" (Ibid : 40) Above speech spoken by Sandip is nothing but bunkum.

Sandip is not only inculcating the Swadeshi spirit among the people but also
inflaming them with the cult of Bande Mataram and the concept of freedom by force.
It is Nikhil who realizes his real motif behind his shouting about patriotism. He says "I
have been noticing for sometime that there is a gross cupidity about Sandip. His
fleshly feeling make him harbour delusions about his religion and impel him into a
tyannical attitude in his patriotism. His intellect is keen but his nature is coarse and
so he glorifies his selfish lusts under high sounding names". (Ibid : 31)

Nikhil, the mouthpiece of Rabindranath Tagore, is well-educated and cultured
man who is reading for his M.A. degree and has to stay in Calcutta to attend the
college. His out look about life is very simple and bold and he considers that man
and wife are equal in the sphere of love because of their equal claim on each other.
He want to educate his wife and hence Miss Gilby is employed ot teach her. Thus his
aim is to drive her out from the narrow domestic world and to introduce her to
modern ways of life. He says "I would have you come into the heart of the outer
world and meet reality. Merely going on with your household duties, living all your life
in the world of household conventions and the drudgery of household tasks – you
were not made for that! If we meet and recognise each other, in the real world, then
only will our love be true" (Ibid : 8)

But she is not interested to come out of home as she is quite happy with her
world. She considers it as her own world her temple. She recounts, "I cannot speak
speak for others, but I had so much in this cage of mine that there was not room for it
in the universe, - at least that is what I then felt". (Ibid : 9) The influence of Swadeshi
Movement which touches the innermost recesses of every home in Bengal breaks
down the barrier between the home and the world for Bimala. She says "I imagine,
the new epoch came in like a flood breaching down the dykes and sweeping all our
prudence and fear before it. We had no time even to think about, or understand, what had happened or what was about to happen." (Ibid : 11 – 12)

Bimala who actively support this swadeshi movement shows her interest to perform some personal sacrifice. She wants to get rid of her English teacher Miss Gillby and also burn her foreign clothes. But her husband argues that it is a kind of madness to destroy foreign goods. Their energies are being used in a destructive excitement and there is nothing goodness in it. It only brings more destruction, not set up any constructive work. Nikhil says "why burn them? You need not wear them as you please". He also argues to his wife that "why not try to build up something? You should not waste ever a tenth part of your energies in this destructive excitement. Such excitement will give us the energy to build." (Ibid : 13)

Bimala is not happy because though her husband supports this movement he does not accept the spirit of Bande Mataram whole heartedly. The word Bande Mataram means worship of a country but instead of applying their energy in a creativity they worship their country blindly. As a result, it becomes a more outcry without serving a country. Such excitement does not appeal to Nikhil.

At this critical moment in the story, Tagore tactfully shows Sandip whose bombasting words enchants Bimala. In a meeting where Sandip delivers his speech, Bimala becomes spellbound sitting behind the screen. Later she has to face with the world. Actually, through the character of Sandip Tagore wants to show that during Swadeshi Movement some patriots mislead the public for their personal benefits. They are bobadils who use high flown banguage that effect the minds of many people like Bimala and drive them out from home to the outside world. The following speech will show that what type of patriot Sandip is. "I am covetous. I would have good things for any country. If I am obliged, I would snatch them and filch them. I have anger, I would be angry for my country's sake. If necessary, I would smite and slay to avenge her insults? (Ibid : 25)

Though Sandip captures the mind of Bimala who is perturbed and pained by her growing infatuation with Sandip, Nikhil does not interfere but eagerly waits for her to realise the truth of circumstance, thus risque herself from her ruin. But she cannot
realise her husband’s untold love. The very wave that Sandip creates in the heart of Bimala by his charming personality and high sounding words washes out their love and at that time Sandip becomes an object of her worship and through the eyes of him she visualize the whole vision of Bharatbarsha. Nikhil can easily expose his hypocrirical nature but resist him from doing so for following reasons. “It will, however, be difficult to explain to Bimala today that Sandip’s love of country is but a different phase of his covetous self-love. Bimala’s hero worship of Sandip makes me hesitate all the more to talk to her about him, lest some touch of jealousy may lead me unwittingly into exaggeration.” (Ibid : 31) If she can not free herself from her illusion he would rather bow out of her life than exercise the traditional authority of a husband over a wife to claim her back.

Sandip has forgotten his patriotism that caused him to come to Bimala. Their conversation makes personal and he totally captivates her and she feels hypnotised by him, cannot free herself from his spell. She confesses in the following manner, “For aught I know, this frenzy of mine might have come to a gradual, natural end. But Sandip Babu would not have it so, he would insist on revealing himself. The tone of his voice became an intimate as a touch, every look flung itself on its knees in beggary. And, through it all, there burned a passion which in its violence made as though it would tear me up by the roots and drag me along by the hair.” (Ibid : 43)

Her husband’s refusal to banish foreign goods from the markets in his estates provokes Sandip and fellowmen to resort to violence. According to him it is the people who themselves can choose between indigenous and foreign goods. He argues that to tyrannise for the country is to tyrannise over the country. Sandip pushes Bimala to steal money from her husband she becomes so blind at that time that she totally forgets what is right and what is wrong. She looses complete control over her. She recounts, “there was a drawer inside the sofa. On opening this I found the money, not in currency notes, but in gold rolled up in paper. I had no time to count out what I wanted. There were twenty rolls, all of which I took and tied up in a corner of my sari.” (Ibid : 150)
Bimala is pure gold by heart. Her conscience is always pricking her and she feels ashamed to make a direct contact with her husband. Her daily routine has been changed, when Nikhil takes his meal at day time, Bimala is always present by the side of him but today sudden fear always creeps in her mind. She says, “when my husband now a days comes in for his meal I feel I can not sit before him, and yet it is such a shame not to be near him that I feel I cannot do that either.” (Ibid : 157)

Sandip betrays his covetousness and jealousy when Bimala gives her jewels to Amulya to be sold to replace the stolen amount. She now discovers his true colour under his mask and all his eloquence is more bluster and bunkum. She is repentant and laments, “I threw myself prone on the ground and sobbed aloud. It was for mercy that I prayed -- some little mercy from somewhere, some shelter, some sin of forgiveness, some hope that might bring about the end. “Lord,” I vowed to myself, “I will be here, waiting and waiting, touching neither food nor drink, so long as your blessing does not reach me.” (Ibid : 197) Ultimately, Bimala is restored to Nikhil and receives his blessing.

However, Bimala’s reunion with Nikhil does not last long. Sandip attempts to render nation – worship into Kali Puja and his enforcing of Muslim to take to swadeshi creates a communal riot. Nikhil rushes out in defence of the women of neighbouring zamindar’s house and is seriously hurt. The novel ends with Bimala’s disconsolate gazing as Nikhil is brought with serious head injuries followed by a litter of Amulya Babu who is done for with a bullet in his heart.

Various critics have explained “The Home and the world as “a defence of certain principles but also in a way, the author’s defence of his own role” (Naravanes 1977 : 119) that is in the Swadeshi Movement, “a devastating exposure of those black - hearted patriots who shut the door on truth and humanity and right and for their own utterly selfish ends inflamed immature minds to frenzy in the name of patriotism,” (Khanolkar 1963 : 190) “the best picture of Bengal’s time of political awakening”, (Thomson 1948 : 246) “an allegorical tale with Bimala representing India, Nikhil all that is good and vital in the Indian tradition and Sandip personifying the aggressive, western type nationalism”, (Bhaskar 1961 : 100) and “a psychological study of relationship between a husband and his wife.” (Chakraborty 1971 : 207)
With some truth in all these observations, the novel can also be interpreted “as primarily a delineation of the delusions and discoveries of self of principal characters – Bimala’s delusions of grandeur, about herself and about Sandip, Nikhil’s delusions of Bimala and Sandip’s delusion of Bimala and himself which are powerfully dramatized in their interaction to the objective reality – the Swadeshi Movement against alien rule. (Raj 1983 : 62) The interplay of delusions and discoveries gains in psychological intensity by Tagore’s adept use of multiple points of view technique which makes for a clearer enunciation of the motives and states of mind of the principal character. The device of presenting separate segments of the story through different characters helps Tagore to highlight the internal conflicts and convulsions, leading to the discovery of self in the principal character of Bimala. At long last we can say that through the characters of Sandip, Bimala and Nikhil Tagore expresses his political idea and as a great political novel, ‘The Home and the world’ traces an indelible impression on readers’ mind.

*Four Chapters (1950)*

Four chapters is an another superb creation by R. N. Tagore. Its theme is unique and unparallel. It is Tagore’s last novel which was written in 1934, the background of the story is “vividly coloured by the passions aroused by the political struggle and turmoil in modern Bengal” (Tagore, 1961) Sisir Kumar Ghose, a great scholar on Tagore’s writing, says that “it deals with the extremist or underground activities which had never appealed to Tagore” (Ghose 1994 : 79) Humayan Kabir rightfully says that “Four chapters deals with the revolutionary movement which sought to achieve Indian independence through individual acts of terror” (Kabir 1968 : 55) In the same vein K. R. S. Iyengar also comments that “in Four chapters the indictment of political fanaticism is as pointed and incisive as the glorification of human love is almost apocalyptic.” (1987 : 93-94) Here Tagore made clear his view on political terrorism and fanaticism.

Through the lips of Atindra, the hero of the play *Four chapters* Tagore expresses his own idea about nationalism and patriotism. He tells the heroine Ela,
"The patriotism of those who have no faith in that which is above patriotism is like a crocodile's back used as a ferry to cross the river, Meanness, unfaithfulness, mutual mistnist, secret machination, plotting for leadership – sooner or later these drag them into the mud at the bottom. That, the life of the country can be saved by killing its soul, is the monstrously false doctrine that nationalists all over the world are bellowing forth stridently." (Tagore 2005 : 223)

The novel starts with a declaration of high political resolve but very soon hopeless love becomes its dominant theme. In fact in his novel Tagore deals with the theme of tragic dialectic between political agitation and human value. So at the deeper level, the theme of the story is the love of Ela and Atindra. Here Tagore's primary concern is not with the political issues but with their impact on individual lives which acquire a psychological intensification on account of their being presented against the stormy background of revolutionary struggles. Any critical evaluation of the novel based on its historical framework alone would be inadequate. The nature and course of love between Ela and Atin, the major characters, needs to be interpreted, however, in terms of not only their individual characters but also their interaction of self and circumstances. Tagore stresses the importance of exterior circumstances in moulding and testing a character and it is this interaction that is the seminal point of the story. Besides many consider the book is an indictment against revolutionary violence.

Tagore was against the terrorist path for the attainment of the freedom of India. This was not ideal path, according to Tagore. Leonard A. Gordon says, "in the spring of 1908, after several murders and revolutionary 'actions' has taken place, Tagore felt called upon to make his position known. He wrote two essays on the situation at the time entitled path O Prakreya (The way and the Means) and Samasya (The problem) ...... He characterized the revolutionary acts in the same way that he described many other political activities in the swadeshi period; they were all attempts at short cuts. Just because, I am in a hurry wrote Tagore, the road does not shorten. In a variety of expression that an artist has at his command, Tagore described the revolutionaries and all exclusively political nationalists as sudden sparks, storms, people who wanted to fly instead of walk and people taking a drink who might fall into fortunate situation of making the alcohol an end in itself.
Their action, those sudden spurts of energy, were not equal to the tasks confronting India. They were no substitute for the creative process and sustained arduous work that was needed. Tagore's point was not that their action was an evil to be condemned without reflection but it was not the best way to achieve the goals on which all might agree." (Gordon 1974 : 157 – 58)

Tagore's warning about the self-defeating nature of political terrorism, though unheeded at the time, came true later on. In this regard, Sasadhar Sinha remarks "the period of terrorism was an arid episode in Indian politics and its impact on Bengal in particular proved to be disastrous .......... Hundreds of impressionable young Bengalis – men and women – were drawn into the terrorist movement, which meant that scores of families were totally ruined, many young men paying the penalty with their lives. Others wasted their youth in penal servitude or long period of detention ...... Their sacrifices were destined to come to nothing. They had realized their mistake but often alas, too late." (Sinha 1962 : 114 – 15)

Tagore was deeply moved by the futile martyrdom of young, idealistic patriots at the alter of terrorism. He was convinced that the destructive potentialities of the cult of violence were greater than any political gains accruing from it. He dramatizes the tragic impact of terrorism on human lives through the roles of Ela and Atin, particularly when there is an inbuilt flaw in revolutionary leadership as exemplified by Indranath.

Though the novel is surrounded by political terrorism it cannot be called a political novel as the central attraction of this novel is the love between Atin and Ela and the complication coming out of the conflict between love of man and woman and that of man and cause. Indeed the main characters come to assume different postures of love in the course of the novel's action. Indranath exemplifies self-come of a most ignoble kind as it is his personal frustration rather than love of country that impels him to take to the terrorist path. He uses terrorism as an instrument of personal power to avenge his humiliation at the hands of the British Government which has hindered his ambitions of scientific fame by depriving him of a career in research. While in Europe, he became a political suspect and on coming back home he found that every door to advancement was closed to him. He gets the post of a
teacher and is sent to a college without a laboratory through the special recommendation of famous English scientist. Seeing no hope of recognition and honour in his career, he resigns and starts an institution for teaching French and German, which serves as a front for his revolutionary activity. "Indranath has spent many years in Europe, and had made a name for himself in scientific circles. He was qualified to hold the highest positions. But while in Europe he had happened on a few rare occasions to meet an Indian political suspect on which ground he found, when he came back home that every door to advancement was closed against him. At last, through the special recommendation of a distinguished English scientist, he secured the post of a teacher but under a far less competent superior. Incompetency and intense envy go hand in hand so that all kinds of obstacles were placed in the way of his attempts to continue his scientific research, until, finally, he was transferred to a college in which there was no laboratory." (Tagore 2005 : 184)

In fact, Indranath has the necessary charisma and intellect coupled with ruthlessness to become commander of the movement. Appreciating his quality Tagore writes, "some believed that his intelligence was unusual, others that his power was supernatural; so that some had limitless veneration for him, others an unaccountable dread, students all over the country looked on him as an uncrowned king." (Ibid : 187 – 88)

But what is not supporting in him is that he insists in exposing the lives of innocent young men and women to danger to gain personal ends even when he knows very well that his enterprise is subjected to failure. Supporting his own role he says "I've long given up thinking in terms of victory and defeat. As a leader in a grand enterprise I am here because it becomes me; either victory or defeat will be equally great .......... on a historical view, the epic may seem to end in a vast burial ground of defeat. Still it would be an epic. For the curtailed manhood of this slave – ridden country, is n't it the greatest of opportunities to be able to die the death of a hero?" (Ibid : 196)

Tagore portrays the ramifications of the revolutionary organisation of Indranath with convincing accuracy to the situation in Bengal in the opening years of this century. Indranath's relations with his followers overstep the claims of politics
and in fact intrude into their emotional and personal lives. In the novel, he is often referred to as the "Master" who holds complete sway over his followers and demands implicit obedience form them. He is described the terrorist leaders, known in Bengal as 'dadas'.

Now the love affair between Ela – Atin is not sound to the gaze of the Master, who has warned her against any emotional entanglements at the time of initiating Ela into the movement. He says her necessary instruction – "The only promise I ask of you is never to become entangled in any relationship. You are not for society, but for your country alone!" (Ibid : 190)

His close surveillance of them reveals that both are disenchanted with the movement and also that nothing but death would keep them apart. He also knows that they are about to be betrayed by Batu, one of the terrorists who is jealous of Atin. Indranath exhibits his evil genius in directing Atin to liquidate Ela before she falls into the hands of the police. There is no indication in the novel, concerned as it is solely with the love of Ela and Atin, about the final outcome of the movement directed by Indranath but what Tagore seems to suggest is that out of a creed which is infected at the source itself nothing good can come at all.

In the beginning of the novel Ela has been drawn into the movement by her idealism and love for the country. She is put in charge of a high school for girls established by Indranath but her main function is to act as a magnet to attract impressionable young men into the movement. Responding to her complain for not giving her any revolutionary work the Master replies, "it's not work I want of you. Of course, it is hardly possible for you yourself to know of the glory that lights up the hearts of the boys at the touch of your fingers when you anoint their foreheads with the red sandal paste of initiation. How can the dry rewards I have to offer evoke the same quality of work? Where sex works I put woman on a pedestal." (Ibid : 190 – 91)

The truth of the Master's words is revealed by the entry of Atin, a gifted young man into the party. He takes its vows not for its sake but for Ela. He is not like the other hare – brained youth in the terrorist fold and is able to see through its façade the reality of patriotic work.
Though Ela gradually falls in love with Atin her pledge to the Master obstructs her form accepting his love. She candidly confesses to Atin, “I had already sworn to devote myself to my country, not to keep any thing for myself alone. My betrothal was to my country”. (Ibid : 202) But protesting her remark Atin says, “The pledge of yours was a crime and every day you keep it, you commit a fresh outrage against your own nature. To crush under the heels of your party a feeling which is of the purest, which comes by command of the creator himself, is a sin for which you’ll have to take punishment”. (Ibid : 202)

Atin’s such revelations of the nature of terrorist activities have shaken Ela’s implicit faith in Indranath and so she feels free to accept his love in the following manner. “I offer you my hand in marriage, Ontu as the princesses of old used to do. Take me. There’s no time to lose. Let us pledge our troth by exchange of vows. Then take me as helpmate along your path.” (Ibid : 224) However same para, Atin – Ela attachment cannot escape from the attention of Indranath who puts up with it as they do not willing to crown it with marriage.

As regards to Atin, Indranath is certain that his sense of honour and self respect will keep him on till the end, despite his doubts about the movement. But Indranath’s conjecture is wrong. He underestimates the degree of disillusionment in the two lovers as regards to the “meanness, unfaithfulness, mutual mistrust, secret machination, plotting for leadership” which made a place for themselves among the revolutionaries. Atin particularly questions the very philosophy of terrorism. He explains to Ela the situation before them “one who openly fights a more powerful foe, even if his be a hopeless struggle, is in the same class as his opponent; his honour remains unsullied........... It was for us before we were knocked out before we met our death to prove ourselves the greater, as men – why – else this play of pitting ourselves against immeasurably superior forces? ............ One thing had become clear to me. To oppose overwhelming strength by brute force can but brutalise in the end one’s very soul” (Ibid : 222 – 23)

Sharing Atin’s disillusionment Ela confesses “I must confess, Ontu, that lately the terrible tragedy of it has been revealed to me also. I had entered the lists at the call of glory, but the shame of it is enveloping me more and more. Tell me, What we
can do now?” (Ibid : 223) To it Atin says “Every man and woman is called upon to fight the great fight in the field of righteousness, where to die is to earn the heightest heaven. But for us, the way to that battlefield is closed. We must now reap to the end the fruits of our past karma, our past deeds.” (Ibid : 223)

Both Atin and Ela are too deeply involved in the movement to escape and Atin does not wish dishearten his comrades who are as much in danger as he is. So Atin significantly says, “There’s no way out now. The arrow can miss the mark but it cannot return to the quiver” (Ibid : 224)

Disillusionment and sense of awareness come to Atin very early but he is loyal to the cause. Indranath says to Ela about Atin’s loyalty. Atin Acknowledges and obeys indranath’s commands implicitly even when he is ordered to cut off his relation with Ela, for whose sake he had thrown himself into the vertex of terrorism when Ela unexpectedly turns up at his secret hideout and remonstrates against his obedience to the Master’s mandate not to meet her, justifying himself Atin says, “Tremendous longing crushed me in its coils day and night but I won’t give in. They had put me down as sentimental; they were so certain that in the day of trial I’d be found to be made of clay! It was beyond them to understand that in my sentiments lay my strength.” (Ibid : 216)

The frequent meeting between Ela and Atin provides them an opportunity to enliven their promises of love but provoke Indranath’s ire. Earlier when Atin visits Ela’s house, a message is sent to him through a note written on a red paper to leave the house immediately without a word to her and he at once does so as he could not disobey the command of the Master. Again, when Ela come to his hideout, he is warned of danger and rushes out, ignoring her please not to leave her behind. After Atin leaves, Indranath unexpectedly arrives and orders her to go back at once to her room, threatening that had it been wise to kill her, he would have done so then and there itself. These two events make him feel that their love has become a threat to the movement and he resolves to liquidate Ela and entrusts the task to Atin himself who is all for her. Taking this message Atin goes to Ela’s place. The message is “The word has gone forth from your own hand – your beloved, patriotic brothers
whom you've anointed with sandal paste on each Brother's Day — that you're not fit to live any longer". (Ibid: 236)

Then Atin informs Ela how he had been brought down to the last rung of degradation by being made an accessory in the murder of an old helpless widow for her money and how Batu had ensured that he would be arrested any moment. Ela kisses him and entreats him thus, "Kill me Ontu, kill me with your own hands. I could n't wish for a happier end .... Don't have any qualms. Am I not yours, wholly yours, even in death? Take me. Don't let their unclean hands touch my body, for this body belongs to you" (Ibid: 237)

The novel ends on a moving note along with a thin sound of whistle indicating that the police have raided the hideout of the terrorists. Atin took hold of her arms and drew her down with him to her bedroom. "Get into bed at once", he repeated, "and go off to sleep". "I can n't sleep won't come" I've brought medicine that 'll put you to sleep". "What's the use of that, ontu? Let the last bit of my consciousness be for you. Is it chloroform that you leave? Throw it away. I'm not a coward. Let me die awake, in your arms. Let our last kiss the etenal, ontu, my ontu". From afar came the thin sound of whistle". (Ibid: 237 – 38) Thus, through the sacrifice of Atin and Ela at the altar of the Juggernaut of terrorism, Tagore vindicates the superior principle of human love which conquers the meanness, cruelty and horror of a blind and inhuman machine which seeks to crush whatever is fine and noble in human life.

As the title suggests, the novel contains four chapters, each chapter devoted to a particular phase of Atin-Ela relationship. The first chapter opens with a tea-shop rendezvous of revolutionaries, portrays the apprehensions of Ela about Atin and traces the background of Indranath, using flashback technique. In the second chapter locating in Ela's rooms, the novelist interrupts the course of action to interpolate an account of the first meeting of Atin and Ela four years earlier. The third chapter shows the secret hide-out of Atin, we are given the points of view of Atin and Ela about their terrorist activities and their growing disenchantment with them. In the final chapter takes place in Ela's room, there is again the use of flashback to recollect the initiation of Atin into the movement three years earlier through a symbolic birthday party. Extensive use of dialogue to reveal character and device of
flashback to portray dove-tailing of present and past incidents makes the novel famous. Humayan Kabir feels that the novel, inspite of its lyrical quality and brilliance of language, "leaves us with a sense of incompleteness and dissatisfaction." (Kabir 1968 :56)

Inspite of various criticism, Four chapters can be viewed in the nationalist perspective as the three principal chapters are developed along with the growth of terrorist movement for the country's freedom that runs parallel to the growth of Atin-Ela romantic love that ends in smoke in the form of sacrifice.

**Letters from Russia (1960)**

It is a translation of 'Russian Chithi' and Sasadhar Sinha has translated it which contains six chapters – among students of the pioneer commune, discussions with pioneers, a Russian artist presenting Tagore a painting at the exhibition of the poet's drawings, among peasants at the central peasants' house, Moscow, reception at the pioneer commune, Tagore arriving at the exhibition of his paintings at Moscow. warmly sympathetic and therefore critical, these rapid transcripts of poet's reflections are not only a record of an exciting phrase of world history but are of perennial significance as they communicate with the urgent problems of national reconstruction in India and in the East and thus provide a standard of comparative evaluation as well as perspective for the future. These letters, warm with a sense of adventure and high expectation, will be a link between continents of mind since they provide a basis of companionship and understanding in an age of conflict and the additional material regarding poet's tour in Soviet Russia which is incorporated in this book.

Letters from Russia bears Tagore's concept of nationalism which is unique for their innovative thought. Rabindranath Tagore had invitation to go the Soviet Union in 1962 but it was not before September 1930 that he could reach Moscow. There he was amazed by their tremendous progress, particularly the equality of opportunities accorded to all persons in their new merch. "I have already said how impressed I
have been by my first acquaintance with Soviet rule. The reason for this are worth examining*. (Tagore 1960 : 97)

Tagore was not enamoured of dictatorial regime yet paradoxically enough he did not criticise the communist regime of the USSR in the light with which he criticized Fascism and Nazism. On the contrary he was in full appreciation of the works and progress done by the communist regime for the overall prosperity of the country. Tagore did not make any distinction between the communist dictatorship in the USSR and Nazism and Fascism. Under the communist regime, USSR marched forward towards peace, prosperity and progress while the imperialistic exuberance of the Facist and Nazi dictatorship let the country towards destruction and ruin. Under the above circumstances, the poet, though a critic of dictatorship, commended the communist regime under Lenin and Stalin.

When Tagore visited Russia, Lenin died and Stalin occupied the power of the state. In 1972 he started the first five year plan that signified the gradual and successful termination of the new Economic policy initiated by Lenin, Russia marched forward towards the gole of socialism. But Statin not only converted the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the party but also killed opposition inside the party itself making it an instrument of a totalitarian regime. In this respect, he resembled Mussoline and Hitler. He acted like the Russian Tsar in forcibly getting rid of his opponents. But Stalin was the architect of modern Russia. From 1924 until 1953 he was the predominant voice in Russian affairs. He modernized Russia in the agricultural, industrial and military field making her a great power in world affairs and Russia’s rival of U.S.A. And the poet philosopher visited Russia when the country was heading towards a tremendous achievements in all sphere of national life and naturally Russia received commendation from the poet.

The following observations will make it clear how the poet was impressed by having a first hand knowledge of the country. But none the less the defects of the regime did not escape his criticism. But moot point is that the poet extended full-throated appreciation of the regime inspite of his wonder and admiration of the vast experiment Russia had conducted since the Revolution. He was charmed to see the result so gratifying and so quickly. A champion of humanity, an ardent advocate of
individual liberty and a votary of creative ideals Tagore found in Russia under the communist regime his dreams of an ideal society translated into reality. Tagore expresses himself in the following manner: "In Russia at last! Whichever way I look, I am filled. It is radically different. From top to bottom they are rousing every body up without distinction". (Ibid : 5)

Owing to British Government’s repression on Indians and upsurge of communism in India, the poet refrained from making any comment on the regime for he had not the first hand knowledge of the regime. But after coming to Russia and seeing in person the dramatic and marvelous changes brought about by the regime, Tagore was overwhelmed with joy and wonder. By witnessing the changes in the life of the people and country Tagore spoke highly of the success of the regime and himself being one of the millions of exploited and oppressed Indians raised the question, "consider how foodless India’s fulfillment should lie in eternally nourishing England. It is not wrong to keep a nation for ever in slavery in order that England may become great and do great things for mankind. What does it matter if this nations eats little, wear little, but even so, those others sometimes out of sheer pity help us in slightly improving our condition. But a hundred years have gone by and we have neither education nor health, nor wealth". (Ibid : 2-3) On the other hand, under the aegis of the communist dictatorship, Tagore saw that the Soviet Union settled the basic problems of food, clothing and shelter, health and education within a short period after revolution. "A radical solution of this problem is being sought in Russia. It is not time yet to consider the final fruit of this attempt but for the present whatever catches my eye strikes me with amazement. The royal road to the solution of all our problems is education ............ It is astonishing to watch the extraordinary vigour with which education spreads throughout Russian society". (Ibid :3) Like Helvetius, he also regarded education as the most potent technique for the remaking of society.

It should be noted here that in his visit to the European and American countries Tagore witnessed the capitalistic civilization of the west and he condemned the evils of such civilization which is based on wealth, property, luxury and power. All these evils are conspicuous by their absence in the U.S.S.R. "What has pleased me most here is the complete disappearance of the vulgar conceit of wealth. For this reason alone the self-respect of the people has been restored; peasants and
workers have all shaken off the load of disrespect and raised their head. How wonderfully easy has become man's relation with his follows. (Ibid : 9). The restoration of the Self-respect of the people, complete removal of the load of disrespect of the peasants and workers to help raise their heads and fellow-feeling, all these pleased the poet most.

In his visit to Russia, the poet saw Russia not from a tourist's point of view but like an expert he analysed the development of the U.S.S.R. in the field of agriculture, industry, economy, co-operation, education, culture and health. He not only made critical analysis of the Soviet progress but also compared it with India. That Tagore always sought for India's welfare is expressed everywhere in the book under reference. The genius of Rabindranath as a political philosopher is not so much vividly expressed in his other writings as in his "Letters from Russia".

The question now poses a serious attention to the students of political and Tagore's political literature as to what were the factors, which helped the poet to appreciate the dictatorship of the Soviet Union inspite of his aversion of that form of Government. If one analyses the features and fields of Soviet Union's progress after overshoot of the Tsarist regime and Tagore's comments thereof, one will get the positive reply to the question.

Tagore was influenced by the Universal appeal of the Bolshevik Revolution. Like the French Revolution of 1789, the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 pronounced internationalism and message to the world. It lit a new light in the world blackened by war, exploitation, plunder, oppression, tyranny and persecution. He witnessed the absence of national chauvinism and extreme type of nationalism in the Soviet Union unlike other countries of the west. The poet who fought against national chauvinism naturally appreciated the part played by the communist regime in eradicating it. He wrote, "once upon a time the French Revolution was caused by the pressure of this inequality. The oppressed realized that the humiliation and misery of inequality were universal. Thus it was during that the message of liberty, equality and fraternity was carried across the frontiers of France. But it did not endure. Here also the revolutionary appeal is universal. In the world of today, the people of this country at any rate are thinking of the interests of the whole of humanity, transcending all
national interests. Whether this will be permanent, no one can tell. But the national problem of to-day is part of the world problem; this truth is implicit in the modern age; one must accept it". (Ibid : 12)

That Tagore appreciated the role of the communist dictatorship is revealed in the light of a Korean Youth's reply to Tagore's query and Tagore's reaction thereby. The Korean youth in reply to Tagore's query as to what was his grievances replied. "The grip of capitalistic domination is upon us. We are the means of profit". (Ibid : 12) Tagore also said, "Begides what the Korean youth had said to me was ringing in my eaves. The thought in my mind was to day at the very threshold of the rich invincible western civilization, Russia has raised the seat of power for the dispossessed, completely ignoring the angry scrawl of the west. Who will go and see this, if I do not? If their aim is to overthrow the power of the powerful and the wealth of the wealthy, why should I fear, why should I be angry? How much is our power, how much our wealth, we belong to the band of the hungry and helpless of the world" (Ibid:14)

Tagore was deeply moved by Russia's proposal for disarmament and enduring peace in the world. This was particularly striking to him in the context of the Fascist and Nazi dictatorship. Mussolini and Hitler after assuming supreme power created condition of war and put the whole nation in the heels of warlike preparations. Instead of enduring peace, they had passion for power and war. But the communist dictatorship took completely a different path.

In the initial stage of the proletarian dictatorship there was constant conspiracy both of home and abroad for overthrowing the regime openly backed by the imperialistic and the capitalists powers – England and America. Conditions were made to prevail to discredit the regime. As such at the initial stage of the proletariat regime inspite of manifold problems and economic crisis, had to maintain an army. Which according to Tagore, was the most unproductive part of the political machine. 

"Remember that the revolution which brought the Tsarist rule to an end took place in 1917, that is, only thirteen year ago. Meanwhile they have had to fight against violent opposition both at home and abroad. They are alone, having to shoulder the burden of a ramshackle political system. The accumulated refuse of former misrule obstructs
their path. The storm of civil war which they had to cross to reach the shores of the new age was funned into fury by the secret and open help of England and America". (Ibid:24-25) The nation which required armament essentially to maintain integrity and solidarity of the state from internal disturbances and violence and external aggression started the whole world by her disarmament proposal. Here the Soviet dictatorship is basically different from Nazism and Fascism, which always kept the nation under the impact of war- like preparations. Instead of peace they wanted war, instead of disarmament they sought for armament. Naturally, the poet was appreciative on the Soviet Union's proposal for disarmament. "I remember how the Soviets by their disarmament proposals startled the nation who professed love of peace. Because the Soviets do not aim at increasing power that is exclusively national—their task is to fulfil an ideal by building up as efficiently and widely as possible the education and health, the means and substance of the livelihood of the masses—their utmost need is undisturbed peace" (I bid ; 25)

Tagore was in full appreciation of the Soviet programme of Five year's plan for economic reconstruction and self-sufficiency. In the initial stage of the rule the sources at the disposal of the regime were very limited. Not having enough industries worth to mention, they had to live through their period of probation of selling food. Meanwhile a devastating famine swept the country killing innumerable men, women and children. They got only few years to engage themselves in the task of ushering in the new age and made tremendous progress by executing the five years plans. The poet philosopher was more interested in self-reliance, self-help than bagging. He considered that our goal could be achieved by our own initiative, by constructive programme and not merely by political agitation. A country can achieve the ultimate goal by self—development of the people. The constructive programme of economic reconstruction undertaken by the regime there in the post—revolution period naturally echoed Tagore's message and mission. He witnessed in person his message and mission being translated into practice not by his own countrymen but by Soviet countrymen. The Soviet planners and experts were advancing scientifically in executing country's programme of economic reconstruction. When Tagore visited Russia in 1930 that was the second year of the first five-year plan. Seeing the remarkable success achieved by the dictatorist regime there he could not but comment. "The dumb have found their voice, the ignorant
have cast the veil from their minds, the helpless have become conscious of their own power and those who were in the depths of degradation have come out of Society’s “black hole” to claim equality with everybody else. This is Soviet Russia’s achievement in less than eight years time”. (Ibid : 40)

In their bid to give fullness to man’s mind, body and creative energy the Soviet Government concentrated their activities in three fields, namely education, agriculture and machinery. Education for mental and intellectual developments, agriculture for sustenance and machinery for material progress. Commenting on the Soviet in these fields Tagore says “They are busy there with three things. Education, agriculture and machinery. Along these three roads, the whole nation pursues the task of giving fulness of the mind, body and creative energy”. (Ibid : 40) Making a comparative study of the Indian and Soviet economy, Tagore remarked that Soviet Union like India was primarily an agricultural country. “But our agriculture is ignorant on the one hand and helpless on the other, deprived of both education and power”. (Ibid : 40) The creative energy of the Soviet people turned Ahalya (non-ploughable) into a green fertile land. But owing to ignorance and lack of creative energy India remained there where she was hundreds of years ago. Tagore said “The plough weapon is the symbol of man’s machine power. Machinery has given strength to agriculture. But today Balarama is nowhere to be seen in our agricultural fields : …………… Russia’s agriculture has called him; there is no time the piece of land have become whole, the touch of his new plough has brought back to life the land that had like Ahalya turned to stone”. (Ibid:41) The use of machine as a means of ploughing and also cooperative farming helped increased production in the Soviet Union. The weak, hungry, helpless and peasants of the country the Krishna’s creature became the follower of Balaram. Tagore’s belief was that it was the machines which moulded the whole set of agricultural methods in the U.S.S.R.

Comparing the agricultural backwardness of India with the Soviet progress in the field, Tagore commented that it was not education which brought that progress but progress was due to transformation for the mind which made them man and helped them improve agriculture. These features are conspicuous by absence in India, India lagged for behind in the field of agriculture where as due importance is given to scientific and technological research for the improvement of agriculture in
the U.S.S.R. He writes "They do not run offices with fat salaried civil servants ants: able administrators and skilful scientists are all engaged in this task. The improvement that has taken place in agricultural research in Russia in the last ten years has become famous in scientific circles throughout the world". (Ibid : 38 – 39)

Whereas, in the U.S.S.R. under the Five years plans programme the Soviet Union achieved tremendous success, the plans failed in India due to bureaucratic mentality of the civil servants, their complex of superiority, knowledge and skill. The Government of India has failed to spread efficient method of agricultural education among the masses unlike the Soviet Government. There, the efficient methods of agricultural education have been spread even among the semi savage races, which the Government of India failed to do. By more inventing slogan like Grow More Food, Kitchen Garden and Garibi Hatao, political gains may be achieved in election but in no way problems of food and poverty can be solved till the Government takes up constructive measure and translate it into practise. Begging or agitation or shifting the responsibility on other for failures is criticized by the poet. There are always many a gap between the cup and the lip in the Government polities and their implementation in India.

Proper education is necessary in order to elevate a nation, otherwise it will merge into darkness of superstition, fanatism and corruption. What impressed the poet most under the dictatorship of the proletariat is the system of education. Tagore, a champion of education of the masses, had little faith in political agitation and movement as means to achieve one's goal. He believed that till the masses are educated properly, liberty will be meaningless. In the absence of proper education, political power may shift from one centre to other but the type of exploitation will remain more or less the same. The intelligentsia of the state will exploit the ignorant and the illiterate. Therefore, liberty becomes real, democracy becomes true and stable when the masses are properly educated. Above all education keeps open the avenues of progress and development. Making a comparative analysis Tagore writes, "Here education is living I have always insisted that education must be reconciled with life. Separated from it, it belongs to the larder but does not become food for the digestive organs". (Ibid : 41 – 42)
To Tagore, the ideals to education are attuned to the development of mind and the training of the citizens. Plato also believed that education would turn the mind's eyes towards light and would enable a person to discharge his duties of his station in the light of knowledge and not by the rule of thumb. Education implants intelligence in him. The aim of education is not to put into mind knowledge that was not there before but to turn the eye of the soul forwards the light so that it can see for itself. Education reforms wrong ways of living by altering the whole outlook on life, it touches evils at its very roots.

To Tagore, the true ideal of education is not merely bookish knowledge, nor the aim of education is to pass examination but to acquire knowledge. To him, that system of education is true which makes a man in the true sense of the term. The true aim of education is to lead man from darkness to light. The height education is that which does not merely give us information but also harmonies. True knowledge is real and permanent. It acquaints man with the essence of everything. Knowledge does not mean abstract knowledge of a proposition, nor does it mean mere accumulation of information about many things.

The Soviet system of education which aimed at all round development of man is highly appreciated by the poet. He noticed there that they have made education full of life as the curriculum of education is not outside the orbit of practical world. "There I found education has become vital, because the boundary of the school does not divide it from daily life. They do not teach in order to prepare pupils for examinations or to produce scholars, but to make all-round men. We have schools in our country but the mind is greater than education, vigour greater than information; under the weight of the printed word, no energy is left in us to make use of our minds". (Ibid : 42) In his dream child 'Visva - Bharati' the poet aimed at the adoption of the system of education which would help man build a true man in himself, to have faith in self-reliance and character.

But the picture of Indian educational system was totally different. Here students were busy to pass the river of examination and to gain degree without having true knowledge. According to Tagore, "But I have seen that here education is meant to build up men's character quite unlike the passing of the M.A. examination
by cramming lecture note!" (Ibid : 17) He was also against the tendency to show off the external of an education system in a society with weak economic foundation and restricted educational opportunities. He was against pomp and glamour in educational institutions, which do not necessarily mean high standard of education. He wanted to train up human being for freedom of justice and this, he believed, could be achieved not under external show of richness but under the poor atmosphere.

While comparing Indian education system with Russia, Tagore said, few year ago Russia was as poor as India. It has changed his own predicament within a brief span of time and become prosperous nation. So Tagore said "A few years ago the condition of the masses : things have rapidly changed in this short period, whereas we are up to the neck in the mud of stagnation". (Ibid : 4) It speaks of the Government's sincere effort to provide the people education. But whereas with the same economic background Russia marched forward in the field of education in a short period, India under the British rule remained almost there where she was a century ago.

Tagore then analyzed why India which had prosperous cultural background was in distress. He got his answer, at that time India was under British rule. They were more interested in swelling its own coffer with the resources appropriated from India than to educate people whose resources were being appropriated. The British people became richer day to day but the people of India were kept poor, illiterate, uneducated for the selfish interest and greed of the ruler. And to hide their misappropriation and folly, they put all blames on our social and economic customs, instead of their mal-administration, the aim of which being extraction and exploitation. Tagore wanted that the British Government ought to have come to Russia before condemning India's social and economic customs as a hindrance to spreading education in the masses and to see for itself as to how they have reoriented the system of education and spread in the masses after a few years of the revolution. It was the Britishers who were fully responsible for the retard of the growth of education in India and not our customs. They wanted to hide the truth in a superficial way.
Inspite of his appreciation of the Soviet system of educational, he did not hesitate to criticize the Soviet system of education. He said, "I do not say that all is perfect here: there are grave defects. For this reason, they will have trouble some day. Briefly, the defect is that they have turned their system of education into a mould but humanity cast in a mould cannot endure. If the theory of education does not correspond with the law of the living mind, either the mould will burst into pieces or man's mind will be paralysed to death or man will be turned into a mechanical doll". (Ibid: 4)

Tagore was deeply influenced by the art, fine art and culture of the Soviet Union. Tagore, a lover of art and culture did not consider the cultivation of these as hindrance to national agitation and manliness. On the contrary, he considered them supplementary and complimentary to each other. This is one of the important features of Tagore's life and philosophy. During non-co operation movement, ridden with strife, he did not hesitate to arrange dance dramas and music festivals. And for this he had to encounter biting and searching criticism. On the other hand, during and after the revolution in U.S.S.R., all attempts were made to preserve the art and fine arts of the country. "Even through this period of lawlessness and violence, strict orders had come from the revolutionary leaders not to destroy and object of art. Half starved and cold, the students and professors went about rescuing all that was worth preserving from the forsaken palaces of the rich and collecting them in the University museums" (Ibid: 66 – 67) The poet witnessed there in society, politics, arts their approach displayed ceaseless courage of new tradition. Therefore, politics and art are not antagonistic to each other, they are complementary to each other, it is the way of life.

The poet was impressed by Soviet Russia's attempt at the abolition of religious and social superstitions. Tagore fought assiduously throughout his life against priest craft, religious and social superstitions. But these are so deeply rooted in the life of man that his whole attempt and effort proved futile. Naturally, when he saw how the dictatorial regime could achieve success in these spheres, he was deeply impressed. The poet remarked that even ten years ago, the Soviet peasantry had identical features of the Indian counterpart, weak, hungry and helpless. In distress they begged blessings and mercy of God. They were under the complete
control of the king and landlords and priests for this life and other life respectively. But like 'Aladin's lamp' the Soviet regime brought drastic changes in the state of life and state of mind of the people in the sphere of social and religious superstitions. For this regime had to encounter perpetual vehement criticisms of a preacher of atheism. It was criticized that under the atheist regime tortured and tyrannised the religious minded people of the U.S.S.R. and confiscated the property of all religious institutions. The criticism generated from the capitalist and imperialist camps. Tagore instead of criticizing the Soviet dictatorship, appreciated the Soviet's attempts at the abolition of religious and social superstitions. Tagore while appreciating the Soviet attempt writes, "The Soviet revolutionaries have uprooted the old religious organisation and political system, both of which for centuries had subdued their minds and sapped their vitality. Because even a king, however much he may limit the freedom of his subjects from without, cannot be greater enemy than the religion which kills man's freedom of mind by taking advantage of his ignorance". (Ibid : 60)

Tagore was in full appreciation of the Soviet regime's solution of the problem of communalism for good. The post was perturbed by communal riots in Indian between the two main communities, the Hindu and the Muslims. He made serious efforts to put a stop to such riot and so he preached and practiced for the total extinction of the communal riots. The reports of the atrocities at Dacca and the failure of the Government to cool down the some had been agitating the mind of the people. He vehemently criticized the Government for its deliberate aloofness for lingering its race by divide and rule. But the total extinction of communal problems in the Soviet Union pleased the poet to a great extent and the regime's effort receive cheering applaud from the poet.

Communal strife is not only India's problems. It is a world wide problem from time immemorial. Commenting on that he writes "but once upon a time even in Europe different communities were engaged in murderous strifes which have now turned to desolating wars between different European countries. They have taken the colossal form of international communal riots, displaying the primitive mind of suicidal stupidity before which our petty barbarism must bow its head in awe, for our unintelligent short sightedness is based only upon a travesty of education which belongs to five percent of the population"! (Ibid : 16) The resultant barbarism of
communalism in Europe is greater than that of Hindu – Muslim strife. Even then no attempt was made to keep extinguished the flames of communalism in India.

The Soviet Russia's extension of medical facilities and health organisation received appreciation from the poet. When the people of India were groping in contagious diseases and when no positive attempt was made by the Government either to cure or prevent diseases like Malaria and Tuberculosis, the Soviet system of health and medical programme naturally drew Tagore's attention. He was keen to know as to how they could extend facility to all in such a vast scale. The secret behind the Soviet system's achievement in the field of health and sanitation was clear to him by the spot study of the regime. "From the very beginning, the Soviets have made attempts to build sanatoria in many places, for and wide, for the rest and cure of fatigued and diseased workers. They have put the big places of the old days to this use. Their aim is to make them places of rest and cure on the one hand and of education on the other." (Ibid : 73 – 74) Comparing the conditions of the workers and peasants in India and Russia he writes "....... ten year ago workers in Russia were in the some condition as ours; that they should have education, rest and cure troubled nobody; the advantages they enjoy today are beyond the dreams of our middle class and are by no means within easy reach of the rich. Besides, for the people of a civil service – run country, it is difficult even to conceive into how many channels the current of education can at one and the same time flow through the land", (Ibid : 74 – 75) Not only in the field of education but also in the field of health and medical sphere, the Soviets have extended the field of research. They have pursued the scientific research in the field of health organisation with a view to extending care and treatment to one and all. Whereas in India Government depends on the civil servants to chalk out plans and programmes, the Soviet regime have relied on the services of the scientists for the same. The scheme of Soviet health and medical researches has evoked praise not only from the poet of an exploited country but also from the savants of Europe and America.

In India, for all miseries the Government always blamed the people for their customs and practices or simply evaded the responsibility by characterizing it being difficult for the Government to take up the Herculean task. The poet then questions himself to the Governments as to how many sanatoria were established for those
suffering from tuberculosis and are on the threshold of death? Whenever, the people are in distress and sought remedial measures, the Government has had the same answer 'difficult materialize'. The British Government was more concerned with the interests of the government, the Soviet Government by contrast is more interested in those concerning people's welfare. In spite of the vastness of the country, people of diverse races with ignorance and insanitary habits, almost like India, nothing could prevent the state from the spread of health, medical and educational facilities. To what extent medical facilities have been extended in the Soviet Union is revealed in the following lines of Tagore. "Those who earn their living by manual labour may stay in Soviet Homes of Rest free of charge; to these there are attached sanatoria where one receives not only medical treatment but proper diet and nursing as well. All these provision are for the publics in which are included many non-European races, who by European standards are called uncivilised". (Ibid : 76) Under British rule, neither the British Government universalized education nor took the initiative in the field of medical and health organisation as it ought to have been done for a country of poor masses.

Tagore was deeply impressed by the regime's great moral and spiritual uplift. Before his visit to the country, the poet was critical of the material prosperity achieved by the countries of the west by the cultivation of science. A state, however, economically advanced it may be, to whatever extent it can fulfil material needs of the people, cannot achieve real progress till it cultivates the moral and spiritual principles of life. Greed and lust for material prosperity will ultimately lead the state towards ruin as it did in the dictatorial regime of Fascism and Nazism. Tagore quotes a saying from the Upanisad: 'ma gridhah – do not covet' which mean every thing is pervaded by one truth, pursuit of gridhah or greed impedes its realization. By contrast, in all other European countries, the poet maintained, pursuit of individual gain and enjoyment of value of life were held over national interest. The pursuit of greed leads to inequality of enjoyment which in turn leads to competition. The Soviet regime could bring unity by non-recognition of pursuit of wealth for individual interest, for this could not bring unity of mind. Here everything had been subordinated to one single effort common task, common mind and common property. Paying a tribute to the efforts of the people under the regime, Tagore describes, 'I have seen in Russia the attempt to do away with the contrast between the village and the town. If this
attempt succeeds the unnatural expansion of the towns will be checked. The country’s vitality and intellect will spread and be active throughout the nation”. (Ibid : 123)

The solution of language problem in the U.S.S.R. also received Tagore’s appreciation. The Soviet Union is a multi-national state. Diverse nationalities with diverse languages and cultures live in U.S.S.R. Toleration and adjustment become an inevitable and indispensable of such a state. The problem of language is most striking than problem of culture. Therefore, its solution is to be sought in a way which would bring unity in diversity. The Soviet regime has achieved success in this field also. According to Tagore, “Another of the most important tasks in the sphere of culture is undoubtedly the stabilisation of local administrative institutions and transfer of all local Government and administrative work in the federative and autonomous republics to a language which is familiar to the toiling masses”. (Ibid : 77)

Comparing the Soviet system of administrative language with that of India Tagore opines, “Had the administrative language of our country been the language of people themselves, training in administration would have been easy for them. But since it is English, clear ideas about administrative principles remain beyond their comprehension. Work continues through intermediaries : direct relation there is none” (Ibid : 77) The Soviet Union has achieved success in this field only within ten years, the British Government could not and did not do it characterizing it being difficult.

To sum up, on his visit to Russia he was impressed, primarily with the educational work of the Soviet Government and not with the political system of the country which indeed is complete negation of the poet’s principles. He could not help contrasting with pain the condition of the poor helpless, ignorant masses of India with that of Russia where he saw a living confirmation of his lifelong conviction that education, proper education could change the Indian picture completely.
The King and the Queen (1917)

The political thought of Tagore is well perceived in his drama The King and the Queen though the political thought of Tagore is little known, less understood in our country. The chief reason is that Tagore is not a political thinker. As a poet of patriotism, a prophet of nationalism and a lover of humanity, he is widely known. But his political thought has not attracted due attention because he could not and did not found any particular political school or a political party for seizure of power or for the pooling of national energies in furtherance of an agitational programme. Tagore moved on and on, he had never stopped in the interests of a particular cult, nor did he propose to set up a school of his own in vindication of his doctrines. He propounded his philosophy of practical humanism based on the rock of interdependence of the world, he set up life-giving ideals before his countrymen; he propagated nationalism in the context of internationalism. But his dynamic philosophy did not allow him to know rest and to found political parties on the basis of accepted canons of state craft and diplomacy. Tagore left his impress in the field of thought; he did not seek to prescribe shortcuts to the success of political manoeuvrse.

Tagore's novel bears the original idea on political issues but his political vision is blended with his spiritual and poetic vision. His plays affirm that as a politician he advocates the cause of liberation. Liberation calls for the lest political hold for the unity and integrity of the nation. Moreover, his profound humanism moulded his economic and political ideals. Exactly as in the criticism of religious inhibitions, here also he glorifies man, so much so that he feels the economic exploitation and political organization cannot overshadow the interest of man. He was convinced that political doctrines and economic policies must be built by the people in the interest of the people.

Tagore criticized the growing mania of depolitism both in political and economic sphere. The territorial expansion and division is not a sign of political strength rather a way to disaster and disintegration of human society. Regarding this attitude of Tagore Hiranmay Banerjee says, "Tagore was one of the earliest among
our national leaders to declare that our political subjection was merely an outward expression of the inner reality." (1971 : 93) Tagore was against the ideals of narrow nationalism and aggressive patriotism. His cosmopolitan vision led him to be critical of the ideal of narrow nationalism and he propounded the cause of the development of personality as a whole. He seems to recommend the cause of healthy politics based on the positive programme of national reconstruction and favours the cause of non-violence and non-interference as a part of foreign policy. He asserts "The complete man must have been sacrificed to the patriotic man and even merely to the moral man." (Tagore 1981 : 73)

Tagore was an advocate of monarchial regime if it is based on mutual co-operation, sympathy and love between the ruler and the ruled. Chronologically, the play The King and the Queen is the first representative dramatic representation of Tagore’s political thoughts. The play in spite of having multidimensional conflict seems to be a dramatization of the idea that the decision of the king determines the political and economic future of the nation. The king being the repository of the public interest is supposed to sacrifice his personal interests and happiness for the sake of his subjects. The king’s failure to manage his home affairs works as a prologue to the deterioration of the country. Tagore, here undertakes to develop the theme against the background of love affairs. Vikram for the sake of Sumitra is ready to hazard all his power, position, prestige and peace. While Sumitra, though she loves Vikram is sensitive enough to realise the distinction between personal love and state obligations. Vikram renounces the state and all the responsibilities associated with it for her. He motivates her to leave the house and its service and under the sweep of romantic passion he broods over the leisure that he passed with Sumitra. He is reminded of the eager embrace of her love and of those fine mornings when she used to go with ‘unwilling step and ‘heavy with languor’ Neglecting his obligations as a king, he is degenerated to the level of a passionate lover. The rational counsels of Sumitra makes no impression upon him. He says – “The king and the Queen? Mere names. We are more than that; we are lovers”. (Tagore 1917 : 193) To put his mind on the right track Sumitra requests him to come out of the illusive curtain of passion. An attendant appears at this stage to discuss some ‘grave matter’ of the state but Vikram carelessly says – “The state and its matter can wait. But sweet leisure’s comes rarely”. It is frail, like a flower. Respite from duty is a part of duty". (Ibid : 195)
His Brahmin friend Devdatta brings to his knowledge the miserable condition of the citizens who were clamouring outside the garden 'ragged and hungry. However Vikram, unmindful of their anguish is busy only in gratifying his passion. He intends to reduce his pain in the arms of Sumitra while people are struggling between life and death. Devdatta presents a very ironical and terrible picture to expose the suffering of the people. "It is their ill fate. The king's poor subjects have been practicing long to live upon half a meal a day, but they have not yet become experts in complete starvation. It is amazing". (Ibid : 197)

Sumitra having identified herself with her subject is baffled to see that 'inspite of the land with smiling corn' people are dying of hunger. Devdatta informs her about the encroachment of the land by foreign rulers who make the poor people work to the break neck degree but they share negligible profits with them. This criticism of Devdatta is to show Tagore's contempt for the Zamindari system which becomes the centre of the power in agrarian Economy. As an evidence he exposes Sheila, one of the rulers who extracts excessive profits with the least care of the poor and sufferers. When Sumitra finds things unbearable she is determined to drive all the foreign rulers out to save her own subjects. The Queen does not care for her own relatives who are responsible for the misery in the state. However, through her Tagore seems to establish that for a king to ensure the peace and prosperity to his citizens should be the end of all his efforts. Sumitra without least hesitation admits, "They are robbers who, under the cover of your throne, seek for their victims". (Ibid : 201)

Tagore has created Sumitra as a foil to Vikrom. She is all the time impatient to wage a war against them but he fails to realise the gravity to the situation. Even he accuse Devdatta of diverting the attention of Sumitra. But, subsequently, it is only the exposure of the pathetic condition of his own family where his wife and children have nothing to eat, that bring as diversion in the conscience of Vikram. Still he does not assess the situation in the correct perspective while handling the situation, he is still overswayed by passions as it was in the case of Sumitra. Unmindful of the consequences, he orders to banish all foreign rules because he wants to keep himself aloof from the 'cry of oppressed'. Tagore was of the conviction that a king's decision on vital national issues had far reaching consequence involving the welfare of the whole state. Hence such a hasty decision weakens the foundation of the state.
Vikram is so indifferent to the state affairs that he is even ignorant of the fact that his army general is a foreigner. When Vikram finds the entire situation beyond his control he is a passionate haste orders Devatta to "sequander away all his treasure".

Sumitra’s handling of the entire affair against the lethargy of Vikram is to suggest the need of practical vision in politics. Sumitra orders to summon all foreign rulers but her order are defied by them. Their refusal indicates that the king is a dummy, a more show piece. Devdatta reveals — "The king has become a piece of wild rumour, which they can believe, or not as they like". (Ibid : 206) The defiant attitude of the rulers further intensifies Sumitra's rage and she becomes more adamant to carry out her designs. Sumitra defying all restrictions, decides to seek the assistance of her brother Kumersen, the kind of Kashmir. As her last effort before departure, she tries to make Vikram realise that as a king he is supposed to pay greater attention to the state and the people than to his amorous pursuit in her company. Tagore is of the contention that being a king Vikram represents the state; hence he must sacrifice his individual pleasure for the sake of the state. For a king the call of duty is greater than the call of passion. Tagore speaks through Sumitra — "Hate me, king, heat me, Forget me. I shall bear it bravely — but do not wreck your manhood against a women’s charms". (Ibid ; 208 – 209) But Vikram is still under the impression that the woman in her craze would yield before the grandeur of his personality.

Tagore proceeds with the preconception that in a state of political and economic crisis the king must have practical understanding of things. Vikram takes her counsel as a sheer formality but Sumitra has a clarity of vision when she says. "The miserable dogs, grown fat upon the king’s table — sweepings, dare dream of braking against their master? King is it time for debating in the council chamber? Is not the course clear before you? Go with your soldiers and crush these miscreants". (Ibid : 211) Vikram seems to have only a romantic view of the things. It is explicit from the fact the Queen is anxious to restore the happiness of the people driving away the foreigners while the king provides shelter to them. The entire manipulation extends the impression that the Queen may be justified in her aim but the idea of seeking the help of a ‘foreign ruler’ is an evidence of the political disintegration of the state. Tagore holds the view that the home affairs can well be settled only through
mutual co-operation and negotiations. The interference of foreigners simply leads the nation towards disintegration. The Queen is going to commit the same mistake which Vikram had done Sumitra leaves and Vikram's thwarted passion take a pervaded course.

In order to restore his honour he decides to wage a war against Sumitra and Kumersen. Vikram, neglects the state earlier for the sake of love and bring suffering to his people and now for personal revenge he hazards the fate of his subjects. While Vikram is in Kashmir his army general warns him against the fatal consequences involved in war. Tagore is convinced that when one's own state is in a state of political and economic crisis, one should not entangle one self in war. The General requests him not to waste his strength and time' and not be in Kashmir when his presence is urgently needed in the capital. Moreover his enemies would surrender hence war carries no significance for him. However Vikram holds only a romantic view of war that overshadow its fatal consequences. He admits that war for him is like a 'picture to a painter' and he has to add 'bold lines' and strong colours and perfect it every day. Sumitra comes to negotiate with him but he rejects all possibilities of a compromise. His army general conveys the sentiments of Sumitra but his ego lets him not yield. War for him is now prestige issue. Shanker, the envoy of Queen clarifies that such a war is only the result of the clash of egos. It is a personal problem and at a time when the state is in the grip of domestic problem of chill poverty, it is not worthwhile to put the fate of entire state at ransom. He argues, "I ask you is it king-like, or man like, to magnify a domestic quarrel into a war, carrying it from country to country?" (Ibid : 232)

Tagore through the greed of Chandersen, seems to prove that for vested interests leaders can go to any extend. While Vikram is in his camp, there appears Chandersen along with Ravati, his wife. They were to capture the throne and in order to satisfy their hunger for revenge they intended to employ Vikram as a tool. They motivate Vikram to take severe action against Kumersen who is himself in the forest. Ravati suggests to burn the standing crops of the villagers and drive them with hunger. This episode is very significant because by contrast it brings a straight change in the attitude of Vikram. In the greed and hatred of Ravati, he gets a glimpse of his own malicious derives. He gets terrified at the futility of his endeavors.
A short soliloquy occurring immediately after this episode provides an insight into his conscience. He confesses, "The greed and hatred in a woman's heart. Did I catch a glimpse of my own face in her face I wander? Are there line like those on my forehead, the burnt tracks made by a hidden fire? Have my lips grown as this and curved at both ends as hers, like some murderer's knife"? (Ibid : 237 – 38)

The meeting of Amaru, the chieftain of Trichur Hill with king Vikram is too very significant. Amaru has his daughter Illa with him, whom he offers to be the wife of Vikram. Her appearance adds an emotional dimension to the crisis of the king. In her beauty and love Vikram shakes off all revenge and contempt. War becomes a dream and in her company he finds the culmination of all his derives. He welcomes her as the 'best arrow of Kashmir' to 'pierce the heart of war God'. However, Illa does not reciprocates his sentiments and reveals that she loves only Kumersen. In order to protect Kumersen she challenges Vikram's love as well as his power as the king. She asserts that real love consists in sacrifice and greatness consists in doing great deeds'. It brings Vikram to a state of dilemma and gives new interpretation of love. He determines to retrace his stop but only after paying his last dues to Illa by restoring due place and honour to Kumersen.

The end of the play is terrible and depressing. Tagore has conceived the image of such terrible end only, perhaps, to project the consequence of carelessness in matters that involve the future of entire state. Vikram anxiously waits to welcome Kumersen with 'solemn rituals' and orders his soldiers to make preparations for a wedding festival'. Sumitra appears with a covered tray in the hand. Underneath, there is the head of Kumersen. Without the least wait for king's confession she too kills herself. The action in the play is powerful and political obsessions have been subordinated to the force of multidimensional conflict. The manipulation of Amru and Chandersen is only to assert the danger of such cankers who lead the nation only to destruction. Undoubtedly, in Vikram’s weakens by antithesis Tagore has been successful in projecting the idea of kingship.
Red Oleanders (1925)

After a considerable pre-occupation with the issue of political despotism and national integration, Tagore's mind got obsessed with the idea of growing materialism. In 1926 he pours out of tremendous growth of industrial economy in the play The Red Oleander. Man is running after it and if the situation is going so, the nations will be engaged in tremendous fight that will break the backbone of nation. What Tagore predicted about growing materialism and nation became true in the long run because the second World War happened owing to the nations to capture market for the purpose of selling their goods. Material prosperity can prosper a nation but it can never bring mental solace among men. This idea is will reflected in The Red Oleander.

The biographical studies reveal that during Tagore's visit to foreign countries the naked display to foreign countries, the naked display of evils in the Western materialistic society exercised considerable influence on his sensitive genius. There he discovered that the freedom of spirit is set against the terrible and highly organised mechanical society that has reduced man to robots. Elharmist who accompanied him presents an account of his spiritual crisis at the time of the creation of the plays and Tagore himself calls it a 'Vision'. The contradiction between the eastern culture and Western thought is the motif behind the creation of The Red Oleander Krishna Kripalani remarks "The age-old struggle between the individual and the state, between free intelligence and old calculating intellect which has assumed sinister proportions with the development of the "scientific technique" is the theme of this play." (Kripalani 1971 : 181)

These observations and the study of the play show that the central theme of the play is that the spiritual, aesthetic and humanitarian of man are in clash with the growing materialism but the power of love and beauty that transcends the power of money is the only possible salvation for the suffering humanity. Tagore calls the play, the drama in one act. Literally there is one act but it is not a one Act play. The meeting of Nandini with different characters unfolding the various dimensions of the ideal work like the short scenes of the play. The curtain rises on a window covered
by a network of intricate pattern in front of the palace of 'Yaksha Town', an imaginary industrial town. Nandini emerges as an image of love and joy in the dismal atmosphere of Yaksha town. She comes with a vision that her union with Ranjan would ensure joy, freedom and peace for the inhabitants of the town. Nandini, in the first scene, meets Kishore, a digger boy. He being disgusted with the dirt and squalor of the Yaksha Town welcomes Nandini and fearlessly defies the authority of the Governor. He has a vision that his homage to Nandini would be his triumph. He becomes so emotional that he takes a fancy to sacrifice his life for her sake, - 'I dream of dying one day for your sake, Nandini' (Tagore 1925 : 2) The frustration of the diggers in Yaksha Town, reflects in the frustration of Kishore.

In the second scene Nandini meets the professor who, inspite of all his knowledge, gets the fascination of her power of love and the charms of beauty. He, too, welcomes her as a harbinger of hope and joy in the dreadful climate of Yaksha Town. The meeting of Nandini with the professor is to recreate her intellectual insight into the destructive nature of materialistic town. With surprise she condemns the life pattern in Yaksha Town, where whole city thrusting its head underground and is groping in the dark. She forcefully upholds the power of love and beauty while the professor tries to convince her of the power of money. He reveals that their king is a person who always keeps himself behind the 'net-work structure', with its inhabitants busy working in the underground tunnels digging for gold. It is remarkable that though he asserts the power of his king but simultaneously, he admits of the infinite power of love represented by Nandini and inhuman power of the king. He asserts; "as the ghost of our dead wealth is fearfully potent so is our ghostly royalty, made hazy by this net, with its inhuman power to frighten people." (Ibid ; 4)

Nandini defies the power of the king and decides to make her way through the network. She is sure that her love and beauty along with the joyous spirit of Ranjan will break the network and stir a new life current among the frustrated diggers. On the other hand the professor makes it that the glamour of gold has taken away people's sensibility of love and beauty, hence, the significance of her presence cannot appreciate in the dull and monotonous atmosphere of the town. The professor asserts that Divine laughter' is the sunlight that melts ice but not stones' and also presents a very dreadful picture of the inner world of Yaksha Town. An
industrial town makes workers renounce their family and dries the genial currents of their humanity and even their fair sensibility. There beauty of the various objects of nature that reflects divinity itself is dead for them. They cannot correspond with "the naked loveliness of nature and people in their drunken fury' don't hesitate to tear the earth veil to pieces." (Ibid : 8)

In the third scene she comes in company of Gokul, a digger who identifies himself with the life conditions of Yakaha Town. He gets suspicious about Nandini's existence there and interprets the 'tassel of Red oleanders' in her hand like 'ominous torch' with a red flame. Through him Tagore provides an insight into the nature of materialistic man.

These three meetings expose three different attitudes and prepare a background for the encounter of Nandini with the king and king like the king of Dark chambers is created by Tagore as a symbol, an emblem of pride, arrogance and terror, a perfect foil to Nandini. However, if the king of Dark chamber is an spiritual power, here the king is created as the manifestation of materialistic power. He refuses to spare any time for Nandini and refuses to accept her gift, the garland of kunda flowers'. He admits, "I am like a mountain peak, my bareness is my adornment" (Ibid:11) She appeals to his aesthetic sensibility by conveying him the grow of ripening corn that cannot be compared with the 'luster of gold'. The value of gold is confined only to materialistic world, hence it is transitory and non-productive. She also warns him against the disaster in his inhuman effort to ravish the beauty of nature. It is against the spirit of humanity because industry yields money only at the cost of the slavish labour of the poor workers by depriving them of the association of nature that is infinite and eternal. Tagore was of the conviction that nature is a source of all inspiration and solace of all pains. Nandini criticizes his despotic authority.

This very first meeting with Nandini brings remarkable improvement in the attitude of the king. The spell of her beauty and the power of her love makes him restless. He welcomes her as the 'mystery of beauty' and pines for her company Tagore again and again has to assert the power of love. Just as in the play with the appearance of Malini, multitudes along with Supriya gets converted the king, too,
finds himself converted. Nandini stresses that so long he is behind the network, he
cannot realise the mystery of dancing rhythm or of her union with Ranjan. The king is
arrogant, no doubt, but has awareness of the difference between his power of gold
and the power of joy represented in Ranjan. He admits his essential limitation and
helplessness. The power of money cannot enable him to communicate with the
divine beauty of nature. With anguish he admits, "underground there are blocks of
stone, iron, gold, there you have the image of strength. On the surface grows the
grass, the flower of blossoms there you have the play of magic. I can extract gold
from the fear some depth of secrecy but to wrest that magic from the near at hand I
fail." (Ibid : 16)

Tagore vehemently dwells upon exposing the futile nature of money that is
supposed to be the only power in modern society. It is non-productive, as it cannot
infuse life in any object of nature. Further, the king is sorry, as the power of money
cannot yield the essential joy. In life, unconsciously, he identifies himself with the
ideology of Nandini, hence admits "No increase of gold can create a particle of a
touchstone, no increase of power can ever came unto youth. I can only guard by
force.............My time is spent in knotting the binding rope, but alas, everything else
can be kept tied, except joy" (Ibid : 16)

The revelation of king’s anguish gives a new direction to the theme. It is an
externalization of the hidden futility in the scheme of things. The king who is a terror
to inhabitants of the town emerges as miserable figures ‘ parched’, ‘ bane’ and
‘Weary’. Money can only increase the thirst but cannot quench it because it lights up.
It can cover up fertile field one after another only to enlarge itself but it can not annex
the life of the frailest of the grasses. The king’s agony is the agony at the heart of all
human civilizations, all human aspirations of human life at all levels. The king is
moved, transition occurs, however, he is not yet ready to break the network because
he feels that “hour has not yet come” (Ibid : 18) At the end of this meeting Nandini
challenges his powers by informing him about the arrival of Ranjan whom he cannot
prevent.

The fifth score consists of the meeting of Phagulal a gravedigger, his wife
Chandra and their friend Bisu. If the king’s meeting with Nandini is to reveal the inner
conscience of the king, the meeting of these three reflects the inner life patterns as well as the attitude of the workers there. Phagulal in the turmoil of his life as a mechanic forgets all his pleasures get addicted to wine. In the suffocating atmosphere of the town he feels himself like a 'cage bird' hankering in vain for her liberation. He becomes nostalgic about his village but all the roads are closed. Bisu too like Kishore is antagonistic to the life pattern of the Yaksha Town. He represents the frustration of the workers that subsequently leads to repercussions. Deprived of the fresh air of the fields and bright sunlight they have to survive in the dark smoke coming out of the industrial town. He also admits that once after being entrapped by the dream of gold man cannot retreat, it closes not only the way but also "frozen the will". The worst is that there is no end to this struggle. Money is a passion the blaze of which intensifies man and more and for ever and ever. "There is always an end to the things of need, no doubt, so we stop when we've had enough to eat. But we don't need drunkenness, therefore there's no end to it. These muggers are the drink the solid drink of our Gold king" (Ibid : 28)

Tagore in Red Oleanders conceives the idea of assigning code numbers to the workers working in the Yaksha town. Workers in Yaksha town are supposed to have no independent individual identity and their code numbers are their only credentials. The idea of assigning code numbers enhances the poignancy of the situation and marks the complete annihilation of human sensibility. "We are not man to them but number's (Ibid : 35) says Bisu. Chandra expresses her desire to go to the village unaware of the fact that from Yaksha Town, roads lead to the market, to the cremation ground, to the scaffold but no road leads to their home. It marks a transition in the life pattern there. In Chandra's longing the Governor anticipates the revolution and therefore he ironically manipulates the situation with the help of Gosain. He asks Gosain to cool down their weak minds with some texts of peace and adds the need is urgent. "This manipulation instead of pacifying their passions gives more irritation to Bisu. Gosain calls them the incarnation of tortoise' but Bisu clarifies that when the tortoise gave place to Boar in place of hard sheevel there would come out 'aggressive teeth', so that all suffering patience was transformed into defiant obstinacy. (Ibid : 34)
Afterwards there occurs a short meeting between Nandini and Bisu. It is significant both dramatically and thematically. It reduces the tension accumulated in the earlier scenes and further, Bisu for the first time, get from Nandini insight into the real character and personality of the king. Nandini reveals that their acquaintance with the king is confined only ‘outside the screen’ but she has peeped into his inner self. The frustration of king is greater even then the frustration of the workers. He too desperately wants to live like others. Bisu is ready to compromise; rather he challenges the power of the Governor. He reveals his intention of tearing the network in which they have been kept. Busu’s frustration embodies the workers unrest resulted out of economic and political exploitation.

The second meeting of Nandini with the king is to expose the arrogance and vain pride of him. In the first meeting no doubt king reveals his inner conscience and admits the power of love and beauty. But at this juncture the king tries to impose upon Nandini, his exceptional personality and tremendous destructive force that he might generate to crush down her magic. However, the only anxiety with Nandini is to welcome Ranjan as a substitute for the king but king is to kill Nandini to present the approach of Ranjan. The declaration of the king echoes the inhuman mode of life in industrial society. He says, I must either gather or scatter. I can fail no pity for what I do not get. Breaking is a fierce kind of getting. (Ibid : 52)

In the succeeding scenes the reference of Anup and Upamanyu is again presented only to expose the soulless character of an industrial town. Money sucks the vitality of man to create artificial energy for the world. Anup and Upamanyu were the strongest boatsman of Nandini’s town but here they have been ‘chewed and dried and thrown away’. Nandini realizes the practice of fiendishness rampant in Yaksha Town. Looking at them she almost weeps when she says — “Professor, the steel is all eaten away only the dark rust remains.” (Ibid : 64) The professor like a perfect realist tries to make her realise that money brings artificial power and in the process it extracts the vitality of life. The appearance of Gajju, the wrestler with broken limbs further intensifies the anguish of Nandini. Gujju condemns that the administration of Yaksha Town seems to posses the magic art of sucking away not only strength but also hope. His suffering transforms into revenge. Unmindful of the consequences, desperately he prays to God to provide him an opportunity to fasten
his teeth in Governor's throat. All these there are created as specimens of exploitation and victimization in materialistic society.

Nandini is the very echo of Tagore, hence she craves for the aesthetic and humanitarian values. She tries to philosophies the situation. But the professor gets irritated and finds her love and beauty superficial and fruitless when man dies to maintain his own existence. Professor's irritation reflects that unconsciously Tagore too favoured the cause of the revolutionary change to restore peace in society. He asserts, "…………… the wild cry to red oleanders? It is sweet, no doubt, yet what is true is true. If it gives you pleasure to say that one must die to live, well …………. but those who say that others must die that they themselves may live, it's only they who are actually alive. You may cry out that this shows a lack of humanity but you forget in your indignation that this is what humanity itself happens to be. The tiger does no feed on the tiger, its only man who fattens on his fellowman." (Ibid: 81)

Scenes IV to XI show the dehumanization of humanity in the mechanical society. The awareness given by Nandini leads the Governor to adopt repressive measures to obliterate her influence. Bisu gets arrested. He bears atrocities but warns Nandini not to yield before them. In the scene twelfth the rebellion becomes explicit. Bisu's arrest no doubt shakes the confidence of all workers but the oppression and suppression give rise to a form of collective rebellion handed by Phagulal. The treatment shows that though Tagore craves for love and non-violence but seems to suggest that if violence is needed to restore peace and justice, it is recommendable. The third time when Nandini comes in the contact of the king, all her fear vanishes and her sentiments too like those of the diggers turn into revolutionary passion. Hence she approaches the king with frenzy to crumble down the entire establishment. She gives an open challenge "Open the door. The time has come." (Ibid: 94) and she is ready to face all the fatal consequences. It is her final attempt to establish her power of beauty over the power of money. They king inspite of all his potentiality is convinced of Nandini's victory, hence he avoids confrontation with her. His nervousness is evident when she says, "I am tied very tied I go to the Flag – worship to revive my drooping spirit. Don't unnerve me" (Ibid: 94) The persistent challenge of Nandini made the king open the door but the revelation of the
king is both a triumph and a defeat for Nandini. After the breaking of network she looks at a dead body on the floor and it was of none other than her own Ranjan.

The death of Ranjan is unfortunate and it hurts the sense of poetic justice. His death was not the death of an individual, rather the death of 'youth and joy', the hope of survival against the dark shadows of death and despair. Like many other deaths in other plays, it is Ranjan's death here that works as an instrument of transition and realization. The pride arrogance and illusion of the king shatters after the death of Ranjan. The conversation of the king was the aim of Nandini's union with Ranjan. Nandini fails to get Ranjan but achieve her mission and hence it comes as a victory to her. She pays her last tribute, "Your victory has begun form today and I am its bearer" (Ibid : 96 – 97). She invites the king for the final combat but he surrenders and seeks a shelter in her lap – 'make me your comrade today' (Ibid :98) and tears off the flag staff and baner, the holiest symbol of their existence. Nandini seeks a consolation in Ranjan's death and asserts - "I will wait to his coming and he did come. I will wait to prepare for his coming again and he shall come again." (Ibid : 100) The king even determines to die for a greater come and admit in her company – "I have found there meaning of death" (Ibid : 101)

Thus through this writing Tagore wants to prove that where spiritual freedom is lacking no freedom can give man mental salve and peace. To improve a nation spiritual emancipation is needed and this will make a nation prosperous and enlightening.

**The Waterfall (1922)**

Tagore’s bitter contempt for political oppression find its fullest expression in the play _Muktadhara_. It bears deep stamp of his ideas of political and economic exploitation. In this play Tagore attempted to expose the concept of political oppression by controlling economic resources as it was done by British rulers in India. Biographical studies evinces that ever since the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy Tagore suffered extreme emotional and spiritual crisis and he pours it in the play _Muktadhara_ which is called _The waterfall_ also when the play was rendered into
English. It is said; "in the midst of these excitement Tagore continued to brood on political sence in the country until the subconscious churning of the mind found its expression in the symbolism of a play which he wrote in the early part of January 1922" (Kripalani 1980 : 310)

Tagore, here, in order to establish his view point, blended his mystical ideology with the idea of political oppression. At the very outset, the play seems to be a criticism of growing power of science that is devouring the essential humanity of man. However the analysis of the paly beneath the surface evinces that it, instead of being a criticism of science and technology is a criticism of the growing mania of despotism and man's craze to overpower nature that is infinite and eternal. Muktadhara is a consistent symbol in the play, symbolizing the free current of water that is a life giving force. Nature provides the free flow of things and any attempt to check it, works as a prelude to death and disaster. Moreover human intelligence cannot overpower the eternal freedom of spirit. The attempts at the violation of human dignity lead to the annihilation of humanity itself. That is why when the people of Uttrakut was enjoying a festival for the establishment of an embarkment to hinder the spontaneous flow of water, Viswajit expresses his wonder, "Festival? For what? For shutting up the water that has ever poured forth from the cup of the God of Gods, so that all who thirst may drink? Why did you do it?" (Tagore 1996 : 172)

The scene is laid in the mountainous land of Uttakut, 'the peak of north; The mountain springs of muktadhara rushing down the slopes of Uttrakut irrigate the plains of Shivotari. The people of shivotari are held in subjection of the king of Uttrakut. In order to enforce his power over his subjects more effectively, the king of Uttrakut desires to control the source of their economic well-being. The royal Engineer Bhibuti creates a dam to prevent the waters of Muktadhara from reaching the plains below. The people of Uttrakut are busy in preparation for the celebration of the victory of Bhibuti in the temple of Bhairava. The group of citizens passing through the sate present diverse viewpoint about the construction of the dam. A group of pilgrims and citizens expresses a feeling of awe and terror at the creation of dam. One of the pilgrim calls, "What a monster! It looks like a dragon's skull with its fleshless jaws hanging down! The constant sight of it would make the life within you withered and dead" (Ibid : 168) Further there appears an old woman who is in search of her son
who went to worship Bhairva but has not yet returned. Simultaneously messenger informs that thousand of the innocent creatures have been pressed in service for the creation of dam. Contrary to it, Bibhuti is exalted at the idea of his success and does not care for the consequences. He defies both the power of God and the influence of nature. In all arrogance he asserts his position even about Gods. He says, “God has given them water, but he has given me the power to bind that water”. (Ibid : 167) Tagore seems to hold the view that water in an agricultural country like India, determines the nature of rural economy and the idea of damming the water is a way of depriving the human being of essential life conditions. Moreover, man has no business to exercise his hold over the forces of nature. But Bibhuti has not considered at all whether some farmer’s paltry maize crop would die or the son of the a mother would be missing. One of the messengers tries to make him realise the sufferings of the people of Shiv Tari but he defies the call of humanity too. Against the power of machine, the streets of their tears cuts no ice with him. He ignores the ‘signs and tears’ of all these mother whose sons have been sacrificed in the construction of the dam. The messenger warns him that the powers of God of destruction can not always be measured by human eyes but he pays no heed to his words too.

Tagore, as an antithesis, creates another group of citizens who highly appreciate the invention of Bihibuti. They call Bihibuti a lord and hail his machine as a symbol of their power and pride. They bring garlands and decides to carry him in a procession to celebrate his victory. “Hallo, Gobru! Why’d you stand there, basket in hand, with your mouth wide open? Is this the first time you’ve seen Bibhuti? Bring out the garlands. Let’s garland him” (Ibid : 168) Similarly this achievement brings great happiness and satisfaction to the king Ranjit. He takes it as an opportunity to enslave the inhabitants of shivtavi. “You ever failed thoroughly to subdue our subjects in Shiuatarai. And now, Bibhuti has made it possible at last by controlling the waterfall, Muktaghara.” (Ibid : 169) He has no intention to promote the healthy relations with the people and hence, feels that only by enforcing their powers, they can keep them under their control. He seems to have no faith in the ideals of nonviolence and non-interference. He feels that foreigners can be controlled only by creating a terror in their hearts. He says that Vairagi Dhananjai pokes the people of Shiu-tarai against him and in order to punish him he expresses “that Vairagi
Dhananjai of Shiu-tarai, whose business it is to incite our subjects against us, must have had a hand in this business. We must throttle this me with his own rosary" (Ibid : 171) His uncle Visvijit comes to divert his attention. He appeals that God pours out his water freely for all for every thirsty soul and therefore, man should not block its stream. But Ranjit frankly admits that he has done so to subdue his enemies, as a foil Abhijit having an inborn affinity with Muktadhara has a sympathy with the people of Shivtari. He was picked up below the falls of Muktadhara and therefore, he is more devoted to it. As a contrast to Bhibuti's achievement, he opens Nandi bypass road and this act of him was treated as a part of treachery whereas to open Nandi bypass road was an act of kindness and not of conspiracy.

Tagore in the midst of political crisis, presents a short episode where a school master appears before the king with a train of well-tutored boys. His appearance is to ridicule the idea of narrow nationalism. Just for the sake of an increment in his salary he tutors them to repeat before the king the glory of Ultrakut. Tagore was of the convection that education is the foundation of national building, hence such an attitude is to spoil the spirit of the nation.

It is followed by the appearance of a group of citizens who provide significant insight into the real position of Bhibuti. It is revealed that Bhibuti is enjoying his fake name and fame after colouring his hands with the blood of a poor man who actually invented the idea of the machine. In the mean time Batuk appears clamoring for his two grandsons who have been sacrificed in the construction of dam. He takes the dam as a demon of thirst and condemns – "The Demon whose dry tongue grows and grows, like a flame of fire fed by the oil." (Ibid : 177)

It is almost at the end of first act that Tagore introduces Abhijit who reveals his spiritual crisis in the company of his friend, Sanjay. His presence is to add spiritual dimension to the idea of political exploitation. He feels suffocation in the confined atmosphere of Ultrakut and craves for a free life "overlapping the palace walls". In Ultrakut he feel himself to be in a prison and identifies himself with the springs of Muktadhara. A vision comes to him that in damming the current of Muktadhara his own spirit has been imprisoned. He confesses; "Everyman has the mystery of his inner life somewhere written in the outer world. The secret of my own life has its
symbol in that waterfall of Muktadhara. When I saw its movements shackled I received a shock at the very root of my being; I discovered that this throne of Uarakut is an embarkment built up across my own life's current." (Ibid : 179)

He craves for love, peace and co-operation. The Royal Guard warns him against the acts like opening the roads. But he fearlessly admits that he has to open the road by which food may freely come and go.

In the second Act Tagore systematically exposes the life style and attitudes of the inhabitants of Shirtari. Here Tagore creates the character of Viragi to reveal his idea of non-violence and co-operation. Against the oppression and suppression of Utrakut he emerges to convey the massage of hope, peace, co-operative existence coupled with the idea of resistance against corruption and injustice. He even does not appreciates the cowardice of Shvitarians who are terrified by the Utrakut people. He motivates them to fight against injustice with the weapon of truth and non-violence.

He inculcates in their minds the feeling of hope and spiritual courage to restore due rights for themselves. Dhananjay determines to join the king's court and to represent the cause of the people. He challenges all their powers because "fear fastens its fangs only in those who hate. Through him again Tagore tries to establish the rights and duties, powers and limitations of a king. His convictions at this juncture seems to echo his frustration against the injustice done by British rulers. He says that a king is respectable only when he dedicates himself to the welfare of his subjects. As soon as he becomes indifferent to the pains and suffering of his subjects he ceases to be a king in spirit and loses the faith of the people. Tagore is convinced that in a democratic society the king has no right to survive as a king if he loses the confidence of his people. He says, "a part of our excess food belongs to you but not the food which belongs to our hunger."(Ibid : 190) A king is not to rule but to safeguard the interests of his people.

The meeting of Dhananjay and Ranjit marks the crucial turning point in the play. The contradiction in their attitude represents the conflict between the imperialistic hunger that admits of no contradiction for the happiness of suffering
humanity and the power of love and truth. Ranjit insists upon the payment of taxes. He imposes the taxes to establish his authority and not for the betterment of society. Tagore is convinced that taxation is only a medium of better organisation of economic stability of society, hence it should not be adopted as the right of the politicians. Dhananjay fearlessly throws a challenge and says, “I must not give you what is not yours” (Ibid : 190) He even says that people pay tax only out of fear; such exploitation can not continue for ever. Tagore seems to be contemptuous of such taxation policy that further affects the condition of poor workers. Dhananjay raises his voice against the atrocities of the rulers and instigates the people not to bear oppression. For doing so the king arrests his and intends to bind him in chains but he asserts that his spirit is beyond the powers of chains.

Tagore like his other plays, presents the climax of political frenzy in the form of the death of Abhijit. People of Uttrakut demands his banishment for his opening the Nandi pass road. It is only the minister who realizes that Abhijit has gone away to set right the injustice done by those people, hence he defends him. Abhijit gradually gets more and more obsessed with the idea of the freedom of Muktandhara. He defies all restrictions-imposed upon him. He takes it as a self imposed duty to pay his dues to Muktadhara with which he feels a bond of maternal affection. As the night grows dark, the dam becomes more terrible and its dark shadows full upon the land of Uttakut. Abijit remains a mystery. Some suspect he has gone to shivtari and others feel that he has gone to Mohangrah. In the meantime, Bibhuti gets the information of Nandi pass road and in it, he anticipates the destruction of well constructed dam. Soon it was followed by the sound of rushing water. Bibhuti is terrified a suspected disaster and Ranjit too, forgetting all his arrogance, prays for the life of Abhijit. Sanjay in all pride proclaims that the waters of Muktadhara have born him away' and says, 'somehow he had come to know about a weakness in the structure and at that point he gave his blow to the monster Machine. The monster returned that blow against him. Then Muktadhara like a mother, took up his stricken body into her arms and carried him away.” (Ibid : 207).

This liberation of the currents of Muktadhara is to set up the fact that if man's ingenuity evolves the measures of oppression the same ingenuity can work more effectively to set it right. It was only Tagore's extraordinary imagination that made
him successful in blending diverse attitudes, the idea of liberation, his concept of
foreign policy, his cult of democracy, contempt for narrow nationalism and his wide
spread sense of humanity. Symbolism of the play instead of being a burden, provides a gravity and dignity to the expression.

_The Co-operative Principle (1919)_

Tagore’s concept of nationalism is nicely reflected in his beautiful essay ‘The
co-operative principle’ which is unique and unparalleled in the field of political
science. In every country poor class has a great majority than well-to-do who
manipulates them for their personal benefit. But it is irony of fate that they think that
their suffering is pre-destined and they cast all balance on fate when they put up with
the torments of hunger. Such concept makes their suffering permanent. “To think
there is no escape from preordained misery is to make the misery perpetual.”
(Tagore 1963 : 9)

A man is complete when he mixes with other men and shares his pangs and
pain with other, then he realizes his true identity. A nation can never be well-
established and prosperous in the field of science, education, culture until and unless
it unbossoms candidly to other nations. Man feels weak when he is alone, this
feeling of loneliness haunts him like a ghost. There is the fear of poverty that can be
won if man stands and acts in a group. It is only by combining that man can achieve
knowledge, faith, power and wealth which are essential to life. Sandy soil is
unproductive since it does not hold together and water escapes through the
interstices. The soil can be fertile by the addition of loam, humus and leaf-mould
which close the gaps. The same idea can be applied to human beings whose
strength is futile where the chasm between them is wide.

To improve a nation man should emphasis on agriculture. But in India plot is
divided into many section, thus modern instrument cannot be employed in their field.
If they forget all barrier of mind and plot and work co-operatively their land must be a
kingdom of grain. It is not only the physical strength but the use of tools has helped
the men to increate their production within a short time. “The plough, the loom, the
bullock cart, the horse drawn vehicle and the oil press have all reduced time and increased output.” (Ibid : 12)

What is not possible for a single individual is possible when he unites in a group. “A farmer can hardly do good business with a small daily surplus of a seer of milk, but if a hundred men collect all their spare milk, they can produce and sell ghee after they have bought a butter-churning machine.” (Ibid : 13) Some educated people in India are very eager to serve the country. It is something like nursing the sick, feeding the hungry and giving alms to the poor. They have to know why they are hungry, what is the reason behind their sickness and poverty. They have to discover the root reasons, otherwise all their attempts to improve the condition of their fellow men remain unfulfilled. In order to know their real problems they have to mix with them and thereby they must find the thread that helps the educated mass to set up a bond between them and the poor people. Without it, their help is like “to put out fire by blowing on it, when it has enveloped the whole village. Our ills cannot be cured by treatment of the symptoms. The causes have to be removed.” (Ibid : 14)

Man is a social animal who cannot be complete in himself until and unless he mixes with others. He is gregarious by nature from time immemorial. A nation’s welfare and prosperity depend on man’s effort to live and work with others. When a person whose greed is overpowering him day by day magnifies his own interest and minimizes the interest of others, he will be indifferent to others, feel no hesitation to harm others and cause them pain and suffering. Thus the passions that enables us forget others prove inimical not only to others but to ourselves, as they obstruct us from fulfilling ourselves in kinship with our fellowmen. “When many live as one, each one benefits by the combined strength of the many.” (Ibid : 15)

The welfare of the individual and the community is gained only when there is an opportunity in a community for each number to work for the good of all. Where ignorance and injustice prevent him from working for the common good, the result is misery and misfortune. The work for common good is hindered by the desire for making money almost in every society. Whenever a man resolves to excel others in wealth or power he does harm to himself since “no one is complete in himself” (Ibid : 16) All the conflicts and treachery between man and man centres round his lust for
wealth and power. The rich has been requested to give away their riches in order to bring back a perennial peace among mankind and money should be used as an instrument of human welfare and it would be an evil if it is not used for such purpose.

The village and city are the two hearts of a same body. The harmonious development of a body is disturbed when one organ is overlooked. Actually the villages are the soul of a nation and all the activities of city life would remain standstill without villages. But the common flow of their life is every moment hindered and choked up by their master class. For this reason the poet says 'so long as this vital problem remained unsolved, all our efforts for political advance would lack their foundation and our real welfare remain postponed' (Ibid : 21) The root cause of their suffering is poverty and ignorance. But man's sense of righteousness can establish real and deep relationship between man and man.

At the very outset men had to live in the forest and satisfied his hunger and thirst by individual but with the invention of agriculture he had learnt in a flock and helped each other, thus creating a civilization. But in the scientific world the total panorama has been changed, man is struggling for survival and trodding other, he wants to outstrip others. Darwin discovered and announced a basic pattern of unity in the origin of species. Whether in the field of knowledge or imagination or work, the realization of truth always leads to a synthesis and this synthesis leads to a wealth of creation.

All over the world man's economic and political life is shamelessly spoiled with hypocrisy, falsehood and murderous cruelty. Falling from truth, man is accumulating his vast resource of intellect, wealth and power for universal suicide. He is willing to co-operate socially but not economically. "The production of wealth, its distribution and enjoyment are supposed to be entirely personal matters." (Ibid : 24) He is not at all willing to control his egoism, his self-indulgence. In this context his attitude is that of an isolated individual and for this reason his sense of moral responsibility is weak.

The intensity of exploitation comes out of inequality. In India man and women are not equal in their social status, here a tradition is that a girl must get married where a boy need not. That is why "in our country the bride goom's people demand
an unreasonable dowry simply because of the existing inequality of the marriage conditions." (Ibid : 25) In the present age of science has opened many of the closed chambers in the powerhouse of nature and since then the difference between those who have become possessed of these powers and those who have not inordinately increase.

Formerly, the production of wealth was limited and naturally profits of goods was checked. Today man has been so much overpowered by the desire for money that other forms of social well-being have disappeared. This desire has brought about such a tremendous discord that social life has become diseased and human nature overwhelmed. Money has ceased to be an instrument in the hands of man but has become a demoniac power before which the larger claims of humanity have become insignificant. Between money accumulated by the help of machinery and the natural powers of an ordinary man must accept defeat at every step. Harmony is the backbone of a society and it is distorted by violent passion and anti-social disorder prevails. The few destroy the sustenance of the many, seeking to use them as tools for their self — aggrandizement. Thus society, crushed under the burden of the misery of the masses, becomes either moribund or prepares itself for a revolution for saving itself. So "the only is in voluntary union of these disparate force in order to ensure the flow of profit through all. The remedy is not in killing in the capitalists, but in giving all equal opportunities of becoming capitalists. Man can rise out of the misery and conflict of inequality if the truth of unity is also allowed to prevail in the religion of economics." (Ibid : 26 – 27)

Today machine has been given much emphasis than human values and most of the power concentrated to all who control the machine. Therefore, "in a certain phrase of civilization the city gains greatly in importance over the village" (Ibid : 30) Cities are the main competitive field and the urge for mutual help is not suitably encouraged. The might of a country lies in the cities though the villages are the centre of new life where man forgets competition, jealousy and eternal peace prevails there. Cities are the centre for the development of financial, political and democratic power where passion for self-aggrandizement swallows man's peace and leaves him utter dissatisfaction and frustration.
Individualism and competition are needed for the generation of power but the real menace comes when it exceeds its proper limits. Modern civilization has gone beyond the limits. Money is now the source of all power and is prized above all else. Today state policy does not depend on the expansion of sovereignty. What is more attractive and appealing to a nation is the expansion of trade and commerce. Money has now become a god to man who is always running after him forgetting his real identity. This false god drives out the essential goodness in man who forgets how to live. He is living physically but dead spiritually. "The false god destroys the goodness in man. Never before was man such a great enemy of man; for, nothing can be more cruel, more iniquitous, than this gold hunger. The all-powerful hunger is a product of modern civilization, and measure for satisfying it surpass all other endeavours" (Ibid : 32)

Out of greed comes out sin that leads us to destruction. Hence it is an anti-social impulse. All that slackens that social sensibility of man leads at every step to internal conflict and does not let the fire of discontent die out until the very social existence of man is violently disrupted and must come to its end. The inordinate greed for money, however, has been raising walls to keep people apart in every country and in every home. This does not mean that there was no difference between people existed in the past but the walls did not reach such great heights. The poor but not the rich alone can rescue society from the crushing weight of great wealth. "The building of an entrance gate to the heavily barred economic field must lie in their hands." (Ibid : 38)

In material affair man has for long neglected his sublime quality, humanity using his strength only in the furtherance of greed. Numberless slaves are tormented to the chariot of wealth and driven forward under the whip. That is why they say, "we must, therefore, try to combine all our labour power and thereby again economic benefits to be shared by all" (Ibid : 37) It is the co-operative principle which has made man great in knowledge and given a moral basis to his conduct of practical affairs. Where it is not found or lacking there is suffering, malice, falsity, barbarity and strife. The conflict of power against power creates conflagrations on all sides. Man is being sacrificed at the alter of individual greed. The rift between the mighty and the weak in the world of material affairs is the most serious danger today.
European countries now realizes this co-operative principle but the country like India this principle is not well-perceived, the Indian, specially Hindus are very backward in this respect. Here "Vast masses of people, deprived of education, health and the means of enjoyment are doomed to exist as dullards" (Ibid : 40 ) Once upon a time Indian economy was based on co-operative principle. They are now conscious about their strength and develop their own inherent strength. If the economic of India is formed on co-operation, the villages which are the nurseries of our civilization will be activated and the whole country will gain a new life. If the people of India will work co-operation forgetting their inequality not only in economic but also in social field, Laxmi, the god of plenty must descend from heaven to earth. India will shine in every field and emerge as one of the prosperous nation, not only physically but spiritually, that attracts all other people to come and merges in the sea of humanity. So the poet says, "And it is my earnest prayer that the liberation of wealth, its re-distribution, be carried on in this country to the fullest extent, so that, through the united efforts of all the people, the goddess of food and plenty may be firmly enthroned for all time to come." (Ibid : 41)

**Greater India (1921)**

*Greater India* in which contains 'our swadeshi samaj', 'The way to get is done'. The one Nationalist party', 'East and West in Greater India' is another excellent creation of Tagore and was delivered in form of a speech in 1921. Here Tagore speaks about India as a nation which was individual in character and nature.

In first section, 'our swadeshi samaj'. Tagore talks about the Swadeshi Samaj of India which was ruled by a king who declared wars, defended his territory and administered his laws, although the social organisation had to look after other duties, from the supply of water to the supply of knowledge. Now the situation has been changed and the lie that entangled the people of samaj has been loosened. The mind of Bengal has been distracted and turned away from its village homesteads. *That is why its temples are in ruins, for those are none to repair them; its pools are
insanitary' for there are none to clear out the slime; the dwellings of its wealthy ones are deserted and no joyful festivity resounds therein." (Tagore 2003 : 2-3) Today the government must give water, health to the people and for the education they must cringe at the door of government.

In England, everyone is at liberty to pursue his self - interest, his personal comforts and amusements. They do not care for communal duties but all the greater cares rest on the state. But in India the outlook is something different as here the king is free and the burden of civic obligations are cast on the people. Whatever the king does, he is not responsible to people but to dharma but people carry on their duties. "The king warred and haunted, - Whether he spent his time attending to matters of state, or to his personal pleasures, was a matter for which he might be accountable to dharma but on which the people did not leave their communal welfare to depend" (Ibid : 4) In England all good work depend upon the state whereas in India the good depends on the social organisation and in England to save the state means to save a country. That is why England is busy keeping the state ever alert.

At that time Tagore belongs to is a crucial period of India where all the country men are mostly villagers who, when they feel in their veins the throb of the greater life of the outside world, Join the mela for achieving that object. Actually melas which are the social forum of man and woman are altogether a natural growth in our country. They come to melas forgetting their burden of life, thus opening their hearts to express themselves candidly. "On such festive occasion the village forgets its narrowness in a hospitable expansion of heart. Just as in the rains the water course are filled with water from the sky, so in mela time the village heart is filled with the spirit of the universal." (Ibid : 10)

The Hindu and Muslim problem is an unhealthy problem to a country like India. If the leaders of our country will shake off empty politics and make their concentration on giving new life and objective to these melas, putting their own heart into the work and bringing together the hearts of Hindu and Muslim, the country will then awake into life. To improve a nation a large amount of money is needed but if a band of workers go from district to district to organise these melas and to furnish them with new compositions by way of jstras, kirtans and recitations with bioscope and lantern shows, the money question will not arise. The profit income out of these
programme can be used for national work and it also make a bridge between organizers of the mela and the people with a stronger tie and would enable them to get acquainted with every detail of the life of the country.

In India religious and literary education were given in the midst of the joy of festivity but not-a-days the zamindars who were active organizer behind these melas have been drawn away to the metropolis. So the melas which happened at regular interval do not occur at regular interval; hence the villages are losing all their joy and the religious and literary culture which was a feature of all festivity and used to be the solace of man, woman and child alike is getting more and more beyond the reach of the ordinary people. And field does not yield crops but breed noxious weeds. Hence Tagore says, "If we do not rescue these institutions from such foul decay we shall be guilty before our country and our dharma." (ibid : 13)

India’s sole endeavor is to set up a personal relationship between man and man. They have to know what is the true way of India. They have to shake off the habit of looking on man as a machine or a tool. In Japan war is a mechanical thing and those who takes part in it have to act and become a parts of machine. Every Japanese soldier is something more than a machine. The people of India must bind each other not the ties of religions or law but by the heart. "Our relationship extended to the most distant connections, continued unrelaxed with children even when grown up and included neighbors and villagers irrespective of race or caste." (Ibid : 14)

India is such a country that embraces all the people of different religions. They come and merge in the Indian blood and share their weal and woe among each other forgetting their cast, religion and creed. "It is evident that India is God’s chemical factory for the making of a supreme religious synthesis." (Ibid : 25) India once was the world’s guru for the free thought arranged over religion, philosophy and science, far and wide she had no desire to dominate other and to scramble for spoils. Hence China, Japan and Tibet who are vigilant to close their windows against the advances of Europe, welcomed India with open arms as their guru because she had never sent out armies for plunder and pillage but only her message of peace and good will. "This glory, which India had earned as the fruit of herself – discipline, was greater than that of the widest of Empires." (Ibid : 27)
But today India is dethroned from that high seat because a fear has entered into her heart. As a result, "Our timidity has caused us to stop all voyaging on the high seas – whether of water or of wisdom" (Ibid : 26) All the power has become the womanish power of thrift and conservation. All the treasure that was used to multiply by commerce now increases no more. Now India as a nation loses its creative power, it hangs limp – like paralysed limb. If they huddle together in a corner with fear and anxiety it paves the way of coming British. They have to break their enclosure and then they come to weak how wonderfully strong they were and how miserably weak they are now. This policy of retreat can not make any good to them, the true way of self defence is to use their inherent powers which can not come out of imitation but from within.

They have to realize that India is a country where prevails unity in diversity that is one of the sublime features of the Sanatan Dharma of India who does not espy an enemy in every stranger, nor does she repel none, destroy none. She, actually, seeks to bring them all into one grand harmony. By the reason of this genius of India, Hindu, Moslem and Christian need not fight her for supremacy but will find common ground under the shelter of her hospitality. If they realise this God-given function of India, their aim will become true, their shame will depart from them and they will revive the hidden power of India. "Before that great day comes, call once on the Mother! – the one Mother who, through the ages, has been nourishing her children from her eternal stoke of wisdom and truth, preserving them from destruction, drawing them nearer one another and to Himself." (Ibid : 29)

In another section, 'The way to get it done' Tagore expresses the imperialistic motives of the British people who are always tormenting Indians. In a disunited country like India foreign domination is just a unifying agency. They are trying to make India weak. Britain has been made great by her greatness but if their motives are to keep Indians distracted in disunity, to prevent then natural growth of their power, their greatness cannot last but will topple over of itself. "To make a subjugated country weak, to keep it distracted in disunity, to prevent the natural
growth of its power by refusing to allow their exercise and thus to reduce it to lifelessness – this is England’s policy of the day." (Ibid : 32)

In the third section that is ‘The one nationalist party, Tagore talks about India as a nation and its present predicament. He does not belong to any party and according to him, there must be one party, nationalist party whose only religion should be to eradicate all the problems of India. This is only possible when 'The increased facility of travel, the study of history, the unity of Government and the strenuous efforts of the congress party, combined to give us glimpses of such ideas as that the country is one, that the nation is one that whether in joy or in sorrow our Destiny is one." (Ibid : 58)

In order to improve a nation co-operative method is needed, unless and until different classes of people unite India will never prosper. "Moreover, as long as the landowner and the tiller of the soil go their respective ways in isolation, neither will thrive" (Ibid : 61) Today the water stores are drying, the pastures are no longer inviolate, temples are falling into decay and the uneducated sons of the village are earning a precarious livelihood by giving false evidence. The rich people who shared their pleasures with the poor are being drawn way to the cities. The Darogas, instead of protecting them, are tormenting and exploiting day by day.

Actually there is no high altruistic ideal, nor any living example of self-sacrifice before the people of India who are frantically tearing each other to pieces with the weapon of false litigation while the village is fast growing into jungle and malaria devastating the land. But there is no one to drive out the dacoit like the policeman. They are always complaining that all their troubles are destined and all their blames are cast on God. Today the village community which is the mother of a nation "is moribund – its life-giving institutions are uprooted and are floating like dead logs down the streams of time." (Ibid : 63 – 64)

The educated mass who were confined to a narrow ambit have to come out and mix cordially with them. "We, the educated and gentle classes, who were once the friends and protectors of the people and who in the pride and luxury of our newly acquired attainments were slowly drifting further and further away from them, are
once more about to return to our neglected duties, and braking down the barrier of our artificial differences, unite with the masses in building up the common-wealth that is to be." (Ibid : 64) If the zamindars put their hearts into the matter of giving fresh life to the villages, the work can be thoroughly done. They have to shake off from their heart that ryot are not the danger to their self – interest. " .......... we are powerless unless we organise ourselves against organised encroachment" (Ibid : 69) so one national consciousness for union should pervade all classes of people to wipe out all evils from society. When they are able to do so, the future generation then say. "All this is our, all this we have built up. These field we have made to be fertile, these water to be pure, this atmosphere healthy." (Ibid : 71)

In the last chapter, 'East and West in Greater India, Tagore talks about some important topics about East and West. The Indian history begin when the Aryans, overcoming all barriers, entered into India. They brought on the sunny field adorned with corn and fruits by their foil and skill but they could never say that this India was exclusively theirs. The non-Aryans become fused with the Aryans be mean of marriage and this intermingling became freer in the Buddhist age. But "the brahminic samaj set to work to repair its barriers and make its encircling walls impregnable they found some parts of the country come to such a pass that Brahmmins of sufficiently pure stock could not be found to conduct the Vedic ceremonies." (Ibid : 73)

In the history of India, the principle at work is not the ultimate glorification of the Hindu or any other race. Here Hindu, Muslims or Christian will have to work co-operatively in making of Greater India. Those section of society who are not willing to merge with other must perish in the long run. "The section which is unable or unwilling to adapt itself to the entire scheme, but struggles to keep up a separate existence will have to drop out and be lost sooner or later." (Ibid : 76)

The British have come in and occupied an important place in India's history and India has been kept aloof from the West, as a result she would have lacked an element essential for her attainment of perfection. "Europe now has her lamp ablaze. We must light our torches at its wick and make a fresh start on the highway of time." (Ibid : 77) The English man has come as the messenger of God of world festival to tell the people of India that the world has need of them, not where they are petty but
where they can help with the force of life to rouse the world in wisdom, love and work, in the expansion of insight, knowledge and mutuality. Unless they can justify the mission on which the English man has been conferred on, until they can set out with him to honour the invitation of which he is bearer, he will then become their tormentor. India does not being to any particular race, it is a country where all kinds of race can peacefully enjoy the eternal bliss under the shade of brotherhood, sympathy, fellow feeling and love. Actually India belongs to humanity. 'What right have we to say who shall and who shall not find a place therein. Who is this "We"? Bengali Marathi or Panjabi, Hindu or Mussalman? Moslem and Englishman and whosoever else there be" (Ibid : 78)

Indian people should not remain aloof, inactive, irresponsible from the west and should be willing to give and to take to enrich their nation, thus strengthening them physically and spiritually. So the greatest men of modern India have all made in their life’s work to bring about an approachment with the west. The chief example is Raja Rammohan Roy who stood alone in his day for the union of India with the world on the basis of humanity. No blind belief, no ancestral habit was allowed to obscure his vision. He who alone laid the foundation of new Bengal, has accepted the west with a wonderful expansion of heart and intellect without betraying the East. He cheerfully endured torment with a view to extend the field of knowledge and work, right across from East to West, to procure for his country men the internal rights of man in the pursuit of Truth. "It was he who first felt and declared that for us Buddha, Christ and Mahammed have spent their lives; that for each one of us has been stored up the fruits of the discipline of our Rishis; that in whatsoever part of the world whosoever has removed obstacles in the path of wisdom or breaking the bondage of dead matter, has given freedom to man’s true shakti, he is our very own and through him is each one of us glorified” (Ibid : 79 – 80)

Rammohan Roy did not help India to repair her obstacles or to keep cowering behind them, he led her out into the freedom of Space and Time and built for her a bridge between the East and the west. That is why he is still alive before the eyes of his country man, his power of stimulating India’s creative energies is not yet exhausted. No blind habit of mind, no pettiness of racial pride were able to make him commit the folly of rebellion against the manifest purpose of time “That grand
purpose which could not have found its fulfillment in the past but is ever marching onwards to the future, found in him a gallant, unflinching standard bearer." (Ibid : 80)

In the Deccan, Ranade had spent his life in order to make the same bridge between East and West. In his very nature there was that creative power of synthesis which draws men together to set up the samaj, to do away with discord and inequality and to remove all obstacles in the way of knowledge, love and will-power. He stood on a lofty place surpassing all the petty or unworthy considerations prevalent in his time inspite of all the various conflicts of ideas and interests between the Indian and the Englishman. He accepted all the elements in the British which are valuable for making true history of India and discarded all the obstructions that stood in way of perfection of India. "His largeness of heart and breadth of mind impelled him to make life-long endeavour to clear the way for an acceptance of whatever elements in the British are of value for the true History of India and to strive for the removal of whatever obstructions stand in the way of India's attainment of perfection." (Ibid : 81)

Then came swami Vivekananda who took the East on his right hand and West on his left. His message was not to keep India bound in her narrowness. His genius was for assimilation, for harmony, for creation. He dedicated his life to open up the high road by which the thought treasure of the East may pass to the West and of the West to the East. After that Bankim Chandra came in the soil of India to make it pregnant and to awake people from their stupor. He evoked both East and West to a veritable festival of union in the pages of his Bangadarshan. With him Bengali literature has made such wonderful progress because she cut through all the artificial bonds that would have hampered her communion with the world literature. "Bankim is great, not merely by what he wrote, but because his genius helped to pave the way for such growth." (Ibid : 82)

The people of India knocks at the door of Europe for their improvement but that is not the way to make any real gain. They have to acquire their power by a successful struggle against obstructing forces. If they give aims to them that would be humiliating. "A feeling of wounded self – respect is prompting us to return upon ourselves." (Ibid : 84) Rammohon Roy was able to assimilate the ideals of Europe so
completely because he was no amazed by them, he had no poverty or weakness on his side. He had ground of his own on which he could take his stand and where he could secure his acquisitions. He knew the true wealth of India and consequently he had the touchstone, by the help of which he could test the wealth of others. He did not sell himself by holding his palms like beggar but assessed the true value of whatever he took.

The West has come as guest of India and Indian people do not rend them away while aim of his visit remains unfulfilled. If they do not come into touch with what is true, what is best found in the Englishman, if they find in him nothing more than merely a merchant or a military man, or a bureaucrat, if he will not come to the plane in which man may communicate with other, there will be perennial unhappiness between the English man and the Indian people. There was a time when high-souled Englishman like David Hare came very near to the Indian people and exhibited before them the greatness of the English character. The students of that period freely surrendered their hearts to the British connexion. But today teaching panorama has been changed and the English professor does not able to exhibit the best, that is found in his race, to their students. “As the result, the students can not enter into the spirit of English literature as they used to do. They gulp it down but do not relish it.” (Ibid : 87)

They are responsible for the failure of the Englishman to give them of his best. If they remove their own poverty, they can make him overcome his misertliness. They must exert their powers in every direction before the Englishman, then he will give what he is willing to. But “if we are content to stand at his door empty handed we shall only be turned away, again and again.” (Ibid : 88) The best in the Englishman may not be acquired by them in slothful ease but it must be strenuously won. If the Englishman should be moved to pity, that would be worse thing to them. It is their manhood which must awaken his who himself has realized his best through supreme toil and suffering. “We must cultivate the like power within ourselves. There is no easier way of gaining the best.” (Ibid : 89)

Many people of India go to the English man’s durbar with bowed heads and folded hands to seek emolument of office or badges of honour. Instead of their own
improvement, it causes to expose his pettiness and help to distort his true manifestation in India. Those who violently assail him stir to evoke the sinful side of the Englishman’s nature. So, “it is our frailty which excites his insolence, his greed, his cowardice or his cruelty, why blame him? Rather should we take the blame on ourselves.” (Ibid : 89) In England, the Englishman’s lower nature is kept under control and his society compels him to rouse higher nature to its fullest capacity. The social conscience being vigilant impels each individual to take stand on a high level and maintain his place there with unceasing effort. But in India, society is not able to perform the same function because “the decay and weakness of the Indian Samaj itself is also a bar to the rousing of the true British spirit.” (Ibid : 90)

Neither tall talk, no violence but only sacrifice and service are true tests of strength. If “the Indian can not give up his fear, shake off his self interest, his luxury, their demanding from the Government with empty hand for the service of the Motherland will aggravate both their incapacity and humiliation. When they shall have made their country their own by sacrifice and established their claim to it by applying their powers for its reclamation, they shall not need to stand objectly at the door of the Englishman. “Then may we become colleagues and enter into mutual arrangements.” (Ibid : 91) But until and unless they can shake off individual or samajic folly, as long as they are not able to give their country men the full rights of man, as long as zamindars in India go on to look their tenantry as a part of their property, as long as racial problem in India remains and the higher case looks upon the lowest class nothing more than beast, they have no right or power to demand proper behaviors from the Englishman towards them. When they become equivalent to the Englishman in every sphere, “then will East and West unite in India – country with country, race with race, knowledge with knowledge, endeavour with endeavour. Then will the History of India come to an end, merged in the History of the world which will begin.” (Ibid : 92)
Talks in China (1925)

Tagore went to China in April, 1924 where he celebrated his birthday in Peking. The Chinese elite so much overwhelmed with that reception that he could not forget the scene till his death. There he delivered his lectures that was published in book form in 1925 and it contains seven chapters — autobiographical, to my hosts, to students, to teachers, leave talking, civilization and progress, satyam. Through this magnum opus Tagore preaches his brilliant idea about China, India and West. He also talks about his political philosophy which is unique, unparallel and unchallengeable even still now and in future.

The poet became glad when he got invitation from China and expressed himself in the following way; "I shall make a confession. When I had your invitation I felt nervous; I asked myself: 'What do these people expect when they invite me to their country?'" (Tagore 1994 : 594) He was amazed to see the land, which has a close similarity to that of India. The beautiful lake, the hills around and tree have the same smile as that of India. Thus, the harmony was not only found in nature but also in men. "When I came, I too saw your beautiful lake and the hills around. They did not seem at all strange, for your hills speak the same language as yours, your lakes, your trees the same physiognomy, with only a slight difference, as our Indian trees. Therefore when I find myself in the heart of nature here, I realized the unity of different countries in their outer aspect." (Ibid : 596) Tagore's purpose of coming to that land is to set up close relationship between India and China.

Science has made easy for nations to come closer but it has killed the mutual relationship between men and man and has generated an eternal problems that destroy man's peace and solace. Tagore's aim to come to China is not to express the superiority of his religion but the exuberance of love made him leave his own land Tagore's visit to China had no political and commercial purpose but to reopen the channel of union between India and China. Hence Tagore says, "We in India are a defeated race; we have no power, political, military or commercial; we do not know how to help or to injure you materially. But unfortunately, we can meet you as your guests, yours brothers and your friends let that happen." (Ibid : 597)
Tagore then invited the people of China to come to India where he has established an institution where all types of people, different colour, race, customs and tradition can meet. That will be a social forum where prevails eternal peace, happiness. "I do not know whether you have heard of the institution I have established in my own land. Its one object is to let India welcome the world to its heart," (Ibid : 597)

The people of Asia must unite not through some mechanical method of organisation but through a spirit of true sympathy, love and affection. The west, by the help of science, is progressing day by day. They acknowledge their immense intellect and superiority but if Asian people forget their moral wealth of wisdom, which is of far greater value than a system that creates enough materials and a physical power, it would be degradation on their part and an insult to their ancestors. That is why the poet says, "I have keenly felt this great degradation and disaster that has overcome the world." (Ibid : 598)

Today men's souls have hypnotized and their knees are bent before idols – the idols of money and power. More preaching is of no use if they are not able to change the system of education that might bring up their children in the atmosphere of higher life because their education has lacked idealism in its mere exercise of an intellect, the only desire produced in the heart of the students has been an ambition to win wealth and power, not to reach some inner standard of perfection, not to obtain self emancipation.

No nation can progress if the others are left outside its boundaries. The Asian people must try to win the heart of the West with all that is best and have to think of her and deal with her, not in revenge or contempt but with good will and understanding in the spirit of mutual respect. To order to establish his view, Tagore set up Visvabharati which represents the ideal of co-operation, of the spiritual unity of man. Tagore invited the brothers and sisters of China "to take part in building it,
you still have men among you mindful of the bond of love once established between our two people of the olden days." (Ibid : 599)

Those who would have rely on material force to make a strong nation, do not know history or understand civilization either. Reliance on power invokes the destruction of a nation because power begets more power and it gradually becomes barbarous. "Other nations again, added intellect to physical force that it might teach how to acquire more power........" (Ibid : 601) The real strength and progress in civilization is possible through co-operation and love, mutual trust and mutual aid. In order to enable men to assimilate their scientific gains, to control their new weapons and machine, new spiritual and moral power must continually developed. Otherwise machine will dominate, enslave and slay them.

Men today has been losing their freedom, humanity and lives to fit themselves for vast mechanical organisation which is based on science, politics, economics and military. Today they see civilization of vast power and great intellect veiling in a decent way mere cannibalism. It is the nemesis of science dominate over rather than subservient to the spirit of man; for the world of mere science is not a world of reality but an abstract impersonal world force. Man can enjoy victories won by diplomacy and brute force but it cannot last long.

With the help of unrighteousness men do prosper
With the help of unrighteousness men do gain victories over their enemies
With the help of unrighteousness men do attain what they desire.
But they perish at the root. (Ibid : 601)

Lies do prosper for a while but the true life dies at the root. The enemies may dominate and slay their body but they should not adopt their method if they want to save their life from utter destruction. One should seek righteousness even though he does not get success in life. "By the help of unrighteousness men do prosper, men do gain victories over their enemies, men do attain what they desire, but they perish at the root." (Ibid : 602)

Tagore then talks about student who has "natural yearning for the inspiration of the sunlight of joy and spring of life, for all that secretly helps the seed to sprout
and the bud to blossom.” (Ibid : 603) They come to this world like the morning star that shines with hope for the unborn day of country’s future. Today human soul is lying captive in the dungeon of Giant Machine for power and puf and the poet invites the students, his young princes who will rescue the human soul from the grip of greed that enchains them.

Civilization is immersed into darkness and what strikes the poet is that men are asleep and they are shut up within the very narrow limits of their own individual lives. But Tagore is optimist that the daylight will come and makes them free from the enclosure and exclusiveness of our individual life. “It is then that we see that light which is for all men and for all times. It is then that we come to know each other and come to co-operate in the field of life.” (Ibid : 604) There are some people in society who are the critic of human nature and say that it is not in human nature to be generous, men will always fight one another, the strong will conquer the weak. Inspite of that general propensity Tagore has an absolute faith on mankind.

Today the titanic force of intellect has overwhelmed the belief in spiritual and moral power. Men are running after money and property but for that they never exploit truth for personal aggrandizement. If they do so, that would be selling God’s blessing to make profit. Science, which has its own place in the healing of the sick, in the giving of more food, more leisure for life, is also truth. But when it helps the strong to crush the weaker, to rob those who are asleep, that is using truth for impious ends and those who are so sacrilegious will suffer and be punished, for their weapons will be turned against them. To save a society, a civilization, a nation men must come out of the cell of machine. The millionaires who produce a lot of merchandise for their personal aggrandizement can not make up a nation but invoke an unknown peril in civilization. “The great human societies are the creation not of profiteers, but of dreamers.” (Ibid : 606) So claim the Spirit of Man and prove that it lies not in machine-guns and cleverness, but in a simple faith.

Tagore then talks about teachers and education system at that time which is worn-out and stereotyped. Actually he is a great critic of confined and systematic education, which has no life, no living spirit and no connection with nature. “I believe that children should be surrounded with the things of Nature which have their own
educational value. Their mind should be allowed to stumble on and be surprised at everything that happens in the life today" (Ibid : 611) Students are the backbone of a nation, they are the successor of future generation who will hold sceptre to rule over the country. So to improve and strengthen a nation teachers have a big role in society and it is they who can alone mould the minds of students, making a living contact with nature, that the people of future world will enjoy eternal bliss.

When races come together, it will not be merely gathering of a crowd which is based on some bond of relation, otherwise they will push against one another. The proper education must able every child to grasp and fulfil this purpose of age, not to defeat it by acquiring the habit of creating divisions and of cherishing national prejudices. There may be different differences in human races which should be preserved and respected. The aim of education should be to understand unity inspite of differences “to discover truth through the wilderness of their contradictions.” (Ibid : 812)

The children should serve their neighbour, help them in various ways and remain constant contact with the life around them. They should be given the right of free thinking. There is also another kind of freedom at which the teachers should aim at the freedom of sympathy with all humanity, a freedom from all racial and national prejudices. The mind of children are confined inside prison houses in such a way that they become incapable of understanding other people with different languages and customs and traditions. Hence they grope in darkness, hurt each other in ignorance and suffer from the worst form of blindness of the age. The missionaries are responsible for creating such evil. “In the name of brotherhood and in the arrogance of their sectarian pride they create misunderstanding. This they make permanent in their text books and poison the minds of children.” (Ibid : 613)

The children have to save from such vicious methods of separating their minds and from other prejudices, which are fostered through books, through histories, geographies and lessons, which are full of national prejudices. In the East there is a great deal of bitter resentment against other races and in India people are reared up in felling of hatred. Tagore has tried to save the children from such
feelings with the help of friends from the west, who have done great service with their understanding, sympathy and love.

To form the ideal of the spiritual unity of all races they try to build up an institution which will set up with the help of all other races. When Tagore was in Europe he appealed to the great scholars of the West and he was fortunate enough to receive their help. They were so generous by nature that they left their own places of learning and came to that institution, which is poor in material things and helped them to build it up. "I have in my mind not merely a university that is only one of aspects of our Visvabharati but the idea of a great meeting place for individuals from all countries where men who believe in our spiritual unity can come into human touch with their neighbours." (Ibid : 613) It will be a great future when the human races have come closer to one another, when through their meeting new truths will be expressed without the stimulating of the baser emotions within them.

The life in the West is tottering like an iceberg under the weight of its growing hugeness because it has lost its moral balance. "She knows that things are behaving in a drunken manner, but she does not know how to stop" (Ibid : 630) But the great civilization in the East and West have flourished in the past because they produced food for the spirit of man for all time, they had their faith in ideal which was creative. These great civilizations were run to death by the worshippers of self, shrewd bargainers in the market of profit and power who presumed to buy human souls with money and threw them into dustbins when they had been sucked dry. But they, driven by suicidal force of passion, set their neighbours' houses on fire and were themselves enveloped by the flame.

Some great ideal creates great societies of man, it is blind passion that breaks them to pieces. It has been taught by sages that it is Truth that rescues man from annihilation. What is evident in this world is the limitless possession of moving things but what is to be understood is the Supreme Truth by which the world is permeated. When greed for wealth overlooks this great truth and behaves as if there is nothing in this world, pride of man increases with the amount of things produced and collected and unhealthy competition comes down the path of conflict towards dark futility. "All our true enjoyment is in the realization of perfection. This can be reached, not
through argumentation but through renunciation of the material for the sake of the ideal" (Ibid : 632) The artist uses required amount of material for his purpose but it would be barbarous to make it too gorgeously forgetting the final value of the ideal.

Thus, in 'Talks in china' Tagore speaks about nation and nationalism and the madden passion in man for power and pelf.

Creative Unity (1922)

Creative unity is another beautiful creation come from the golden pen of golden tongued orator, Rabindranath Tagore who is a gem not an Indian writing in English but also in world literature. It contains 'The poet's forest, An Indian folk religion; East and West; The modern age, The spirit of freedom; The nation, Women and Home; An Eastern University. Though the book is not totally based on nationalism but here some flash of eastern and western civilization and of some precious talks about nation and predicament of modern age are found. The thoughts, which he put in this book, are unique and create creatively of a nation and civilization.

The modern age has brought the geography of the earth near to man but made it difficult for man to come into touch with man because "our mind has faculties which are universal but its habits are insular." (Tagore; 1994 : 530) Whenever men go to the foreign land, they hardly meet men and collect only specimens of knowledge which help to the material life whereas his spiritual life is vacant. It has been admitted that dealings between different races of men are not merely between individuals; the mutual understanding is either aided or obstructed by the general emanations forming the social atmosphere. These emanations are our collective ideas and collective feeling generated according to special historical circumstances. For example, the caste idea is a collective idea in India. The Indian people under the influence of the collective idea are no longer a pure individual with his conscience fully awake to the judging of the value of a human being. They are more or less a passive medium for giving expression to the sentiment of a whole community.
It is evident that the caste-idea is not creative, it is merely institutional. It adjusts man according to some mechanical arrangement. It emphasizes the negative side of the individual his separateness. It hurts the complete truth in man. The people in the West have a certain collective idea that obscures humanity. Today, the whole civilization comes to the mind of the people like "the vision of a huge demon, which had no shape, no meaning, yet had two arms that could strike and break and tear, a gaping mouth that could devour, and bulging brains that could conspire and plan. It was a purpose which had a living body, but no complete humanity to temper it." (Ibid : 531)

In Japan the old world presents itself with some ideal of perfection in which man has many opportunities for self revelation in art, in ceremonial, in religious faith and in customs expressing the poetry of social relationship. There one feels that deep delight of hospitality which life offers to life. But in the same soil the modern world stands side by side which is amazing big, powerful and inhospitable. It has no simple-hearted welcome for man. It is living yet the incompleteness of life's ideal hurts humanity.

The West comes to the East not with the imagination and sympathy that create and unite but with a passion for power and wealth. This passion is a mere force which has in the principles of separation, of conflict. "The wriggling tentacles of a cold blooded utilitarianism, with which the west has grasped all the easily yielding succulent portions of the East, are causing pain and indignation throughout the Eastern countries (Ibid : 531 – 532)

Tagore expresses that he is fortunate as he comes in contact with the people of the West who have shared their sorrows and inspiration with him and who seek the same God who is his God. He is certain that, if the great light of culture is extinct in Europe the horizon in the East will mourn in darkness. The Western humanity has received its mission to be the teacher of the world and her science through the mastery of laws of nature is to liberate human souls from the dark dungeon of matter. But the dominant collective idea in the western countries is not creative. It is ready to enslave or kill individuals, to drug a great people with soul killing poison,
darkening their whole future with the black mist of stupefaction and emasculating entire races of the utmost degree of helplessness. "It is wholly wanting in spiritual power to blend and harmonize; it lacks the sense of the great personality of man." (Ibid : 532).

The East and the West can never meet with each other since the West has not sent out its humanity in the East but only its machine. 'Man is man, machine is machine. And the twain shall wed.' (Ibid : 536). But the active love of humanity and spirit of martyrdom for the cause of justice and truth are found in the western countries. The West owes its true greatness not so much to its marvelous training of intellect but to its spirit of service devoted to the welfare of man. But the collective power which is the helm of western civilization is a passion, not an ideal.

The East must meet with the west in the growth of her life and such union is possible if the East come to the west with the ideal which is creative, not with the passion that spoils moral bonds. The mystic consciousness of the Infinite, which the East has brought with her, is greatly needed to the man of the west in order to give him his balance. "The man from the East, with his faith in the eternal, who in his soul had met the touch of the Supreme person – did he never come to you in the west and speak to you of the kingdom of Heaven?" (Ibid : 536) On the other hand, the East must find her own balance in science – the magnificent gift that the West can bring to her. When the East and West will bind each other in the bond of love, sympathy and spirituality, absolute peace will remain in the world. Mental bliss a man can acquire not in his personal profit but in sacrifice which is such a sublime quality that helps to reveal spirituality in man. "For, after all, man is a spiritual being and not a mere living money bag jumping from profit to profit, and breaking the backbone of human races in its financial leap frog." (Ibid : 535)

Then Tagore talks about the modern age. In recent centuries a drastic change has come over modern mentality with regard to the acquisition of money. But before that man met man in a living relationship, that relation has been changed. "On the otherhand, a relationship of pure utility humiliates man – it ignores the rights and needs of his deeper nature, it feels no compunction in maltreating and killing things of beauty that can never be restored." (Ibid : 538) Where as in the former age man
treated it with condescension, even with disrespect, they cringe before it. It becomes an outrage when it occupies those seats, which are specially preserved for the immortal. "The whole of the human world, throughout its length and breadth, has felt the gravitational pull of giant planet of greed, with concentric rings of innumerable satellites, causing in our society a marked deviation from the moral orbit." (Ibid : 539 – 40)

In the former times the intellectual and spiritual powers of this earth upheld their dignity of independence and were not giddily rocked on the tides of money market. "But, as in the last fatal stages of disease, this fatal influence of money has got into our brain and affected our heart." (Ibid : 540) Like a usurper, it has occupied the throne of high social ideals, using every means, by menace and threat. It has not only science for its ally but other forces also that have some semblance of religion such as nation – worship and the idealizing of organized selfishness. Like the claws of a tiger's paw they are softly and gradually sheathed. Its massacres are not visible as they are attacking the roots of their life. Its plunder is ruthless behind the scientific systems of screens. An unscrupulous system of propaganda paves the way for wide spread misrepresentation. "It works up the crowd psychology through regulated hypnotic doses at repeated intervals, administered in bottles with moral levels upon them of soothing colours." (Ibid : 540) Infact man is always busy in pursuit of power today by mitigating the obstructive forces that come from the higher religion of humanity. With his cult of power and his idolatry of money he has reverted to his primitive barbarism whose path is lit up by lurid light of intellect.

Society suffers from a profound feeling of unhappiness, not so much when it is in material poverty but when its members are devoid of humanity. This unhappiness continues in the subconscious mind of the community like a fire without flame till its life is reduced to ashes. In the recent events of history it is seen that human being becomes free from moral and spiritual bond. They are completely absorbed in a boisterous joy in a debauchery of destruction. "Thus we know that evils are like meteors, stray fragments of life, which need the attraction of some great ideal in order to be assimilated with the wholesomeness of creation. The evil forces are literally outlaws, they only need the control and cadence of spiritual laws to change them into good." (Ibid : 540)
The reign of the machine and of method has been firmly established and man has been made a homeless tramp. As nomad, ravenous and restless, the men from the West have come to people of India. They have exploited Eastern humanity for sheer gain of power. In the modern civilization for which an enormous number of men are used as materials and human relationship have in a large measure become utilitarian, man is imperfectly revealed. "But our modern education is producing a habit of mind which is ever weakening in us the spiritual apprehension of truth—the truth of a person as the ultimate reality of existence." (Ibid: 541) Science has its proper sphere to analysis the world as a construction just as grammer has been used to explain the syntax of a poem. But the world as a creation, is not a mere construction, it is more than syntax.

The terribly efficient method of repressing personality in the individuals and races spread all over the world and in consequence there comes a universal disruption, which is not far off. The great powers of the west are seeking peace, not by curbing their greed, or by giving up the exclusive advantages which they have unjustly acquired but by concentrating their force for mutual security. "Power has to be made secure not only against power but also against weakness, for there lies the peril of its losing balance" (Ibid: 542) The weak are as great danger for the strong as quick sands for an elephant. They do not help to the progress as they do not create obstruction, they only drag down. The people who are habituated to wield absolute power over other forget that by doing so they generate an unseen force which rends that power into pieces some day. The dumb rage of downtrodden finds its awful support from the universal law of moral balance. The air that is so thin and unsubstantial gives birth to storms that nothing can hinder. "This has been proved in history over and over again, and stormy forces arising the revolt of insulted humanity are openly gathering in the air at the present time." (Ibid: 542)

When freedom is not inner idea which gives strength to the activities of men and breadth to their creation, when it is merely a thing of external circumstance, one is groping in an open space and he is blind folded. In the West freedom as an idea has become feeble and ineffective. As a result, a spirit of repression and coercion is fast spreading in the polities and social relationship of the people. In the older day
the king was the freest individual in the world. But he could not enjoy the real freedom as they built for him a gorgeous prison of unreality. "In the age of monarchy the king lived surrounded by a miasma of intrigue. At court there was an endless whispering of lies and calumny and much plotting and planning among the conspiring countries to manipulate the king as the instrument of their own purposes." (Ibid : 544)

The same thing is going on with the people of the West who are free and have the sovereign power in their hands. But their power is spoiled by the hosts of self-seeking. "The mob mind is allowed the enjoyment of an apparent liberty, while its true freedom is curtailed on every side." (Ibid : 544) Their thoughts are fashioned according to the plans of organised interest. In choosing of ideas and forming of opinions it is obstructed either by some punitive force or by constant insinuation of untruths, it is made to dwell in an artificial world of hypnotic phrases. "In fact, the people have become the storehouse of a power that attracts round it a swarm of adventures who are secretly investing its walls to exploit it for their own devices." (Ibid : 544)

Thus the ideal of freedom has grown thin in the atmosphere of the west. "The mentality is that of a slave-owning community, with a mutilated multitude of men tied to its commercial and political treadmill." (Ibid : 544) The awe-inspiring scenes of inhumanity and injustice that are growing familiar to people are the outcome of psychology which deals with terror. The people who have sacrificed their souls to the passion of profit-making and the drunkenness of power are constantly haunted by phantoms of panic and suspicion and for this reason they become ruthless and arrogant where there is a bit chance of mischances. Morally they are not capable of allowing freedom to others and in their eagerness to curry favour with the powerful they not only support the injustice done by their own partners in political gambling but take part in it. "A perpetual anxiety for the protection of their gains at any cost strikes at the love of freedom and injustice, until at length they are ready to forgo themselves and for others." (Ibid : 545)

The immense power of money and of organized propaganda working everywhere behind screens of camouflage, creating an atmosphere of distrust,
timidity and antipathy is the picture of western civilization. The real freedom lies in mind and spirit, it can never come from outside. "He only has freedom who ideally loves freedom himself and is glad to extend it to others." (Ibid : 545) He who takes care to have slaves must chain himself to them, he who sets up walls for the purpose of exclusion, of others establishes walls across his own freedom. He who does not believe in freedom in others loses his moral right to it. Sooner or later he is lured into the net of physical and moral servility.

People have distinct personalities but nations are organization of power. For this reason their inner aspects and outward expressions are everywhere the same. In the modern world there is a fight between the living spirit of men and the methods of nation-organizing. This struggle began in central Asia between the cultivated area of man’s habitation and continually encroaching desert sands till the human religion of life and beauty was choked out of existence. "When the spread of higher ideals of humanity is not held to be important, the hardening method of national efficiency gains a certain strength and for some limited period of time, at least, it proudly asserts itself as the fittest to survive." (Ibid : 548)

The people, having living personality, must have their self-expression and this helps to their distinctive creations. Their creations are found in literature, art, social symbols and ceremonials. But nations do not create, they only destroy. An organization which is needed for production is also destruction. "But when, actuated by greed and hatred, they crowd away into a corner the living man who creates, then the harmony is lost, and the people's history runs at a break-neck speed towards some fatal catastrophe." (Ibid : 548) Humanity, which is guided by inner ideals, is living but where it is a dead organization it does not penetrate to them.

The professional man carries a rigid crust around him, which has very little variation and hardly any elasticity. This professionalism is a kind of region where men specialize their knowledge and organize their power, mercilessly elbowing each other in their struggle to come to the front. Professionalism is no doubt necessary but it must not be allowed to exceed its healthy limit to assume complete mastery over the personal man. Otherwise, it makes him narrow and hard and he will bend upon in pursuit of success at the cost of his faith in ideals. But "in ancient India professions
were kept within limits by social regulation. They were considered primarily as social necessities and in the second as the means of livelihood for individuals. Thus man, being free from the constant urging of unbounded competition, could have leisure to cultivate his nature in its completeness." (Ibid : 548 – 49)

The cult of the nation is the professionalism of the people. This cult is dangerous as it brings them enormous success, making them impatient of the claims of higher ideals. "The greater amount of success, the stronger are the conflicts of interest and jealousy and hatred which are aroused in men's minds, thereby making it more and more necessary for the other people who are still living, to stiffen into nations." (Ibid : 549) With the growth of nationalism man has become dangerous to man.

Crowd psychology like stream and other physical force which is a blind force can be utilized for creating a tremendous amount of power. Therefore rules of men, out of greed and fear, are bent upon to turn their people into machines of power, to try to train this crowd psychology for their special purposes. They think it to be their duty to germinate in the popular mind universal panic, unreasoning pride in their own race and hearted of others. Newspapers, school books and even religious service are used for this purpose and those who have the courage to expose their hypocrisy are either punished in the law-courts or are socially ostracized. The suppression of higher humanity in crowd minds are productive of enormous strength. "For the crowd mind is essentially primitive; its forces are elemental. Therefore the nation is for ever watching to take advantage of this enormous power of darkness." (Ibid : 549)

The instinct of the people for self-preservation is to dominate at particular time of crisis. The consciousness of its solidarity becomes wide-awake for the time being. This hyper-consciousness is found alive for all time by artificial means in the nation. "A man has to act the part of policeman when he finds his house invaded by burglars. But if that remains his normal conditions, then his consciousness of his household becomes acute and over wrought, making him fly at every stranger passing near his house." (Ibid : 549) This intensity of self-consciousness is nothing of which a man should feel proud; certainly it is not healthful. This incessant self-consciousness in a nation is highly harmful for the people.
When a group of men has been given training for a particular narrow purpose, it becomes a common interest with them to keep up that purpose and preach absolute loyalty to it. Nationalism is the training of a whole people for a narrow ideal and when it pervades the entire mind of people it leads them to moral degeneracy and intellectual blindness. "We cannot but hold firm the faith that this age of Nationalism, of gigantic vanity and selfishness is only a passing phase in civilization and those who are making permanent arrangements for accommodating this temporary mode of history will be unable to fit themselves for the coming age, when the true spirit of freedom will have sway." (Ibid: 549 – 50)

The moral foundation of civilization of man has unconsciously been become a sea change with the unchecked growth of nationalism. Though the ideal of social man is unselfishness, the ideal of nation like that of professional man is selfishness. For this reason, selfishness in the individual is condemned, while in the nation it is praised and it leads to helpless moral blindness. "Therefore to take an example, we find men more and more convinced of the superior claims of Christianity, merely because Christian nations are in possession of the greater part of the world." (Ibid: 550)

The nationalism which is the expression of the collective self-interest of a people does not need to be ashamed of itself if it keeps its true limitations. But practically, it is seen that every nation which has prospered has done so through its career of aggressive selfishness either in commercial adventures or in foreign aggression or in both. This material prosperity not only feeds continually the selfish instincts of the people but impresses men's mind with the lesson that selfishness is essential for a nation and therefore a virtue. "It is the emphasis laid in Europe upon the idea of the Nation's constant increase of power, which is becoming the greatest danger to man, both in its direct activity and its power of infection." (Ibid: 550)

Today, the spirit of national consciousness is like disease of a people that "becomes most acutely critical when the brain is affected. For it is the brain that is constantly directing the siege against all disease forces." (Ibid: 551) They show their red eyes and clench fists in violence of talk and movement. But the power of self
sacrifice, together with the moral faculty of sympathy and co-operation, is the guiding spirit of social vitality. Its aim is to maintain beneficent relation of harmony with its surroundings. But when it begins to neglect the universal moral law and keeps it within the bounds of its own narrow sphere, its strength becomes like strength of madness that ends in destruction.

The system which is national today may assume the shape of the international tomorrow but as long as men have not forsaken their idolatry of primitive instincts and collective passion, the new system will only become a new instrument of suffering. But Tagore retains a strong faith on mankind of the world who thinks clearly, feel nobly and act rightly, thus becoming the channels of moral truth. "Our moral ideals do not work with chisels and hammers. Like trees, they spread their roots in the soil and their branches in the sky, without consulting any architect for their plans." (Ibid : 551)

It is admitted that the relationship between the west and the East is growing more and more complex and wide spread for over two centuries. "The consequent strain and unrest have profoundly disturbed Asia and Antipathetic forces have been accumulating for years in the depth of the Eastern mind." (Ibid : 556) The political and commercial adventures carried on by the western races are main obstacles for meeting of the East and the West. Pride, greed, hypocrisy, fear, suspiciousness have been developing and threaten mankind with a world wide spiritual disaster. But the time has come when people must use all their wisdom to understand the situation and control it with a stronger trust in moral guidance than in any array of physical forces.

At the very initial period of man's history it was found that his first social aim was to form a community. At that period individuals were gathered together within geographical enclosures. At present, geographical barriers have almost lost their reality with facility of communication and "the great federation of men which is waiting either to find its true scope or to break asunder in a final catastrophe, is not a meeting of individuals, but of various human races." (Ibid : 556) Mankind must realize a unity, wider in range, deeper in sentiment, stronger in power than ever before.
People have to realize the God in man by a large faith and to build the temple of faith on a sure and world-wide basis.

"The first step towards realization is to create opportunities for revealing the different people to one another." (Ibid : 557) But it can never be possible if the exploiting utilitarian spirit is supreme. They have search some meeting ground where there can be no question of conflicting interests. One of such places is the university where people can work together in a common pursuit of truth, share together their common heritage and understand that artists in all parts of the world have created forms of beauty, scientists discovered secrets of the universe, philosophers solved the problem of existence, saints have made the truth of the spiritual world organic in their own lives for all mankind. They have to know that the great mind of man is one working through many differences, which are needed to make sure the full result of its fundamental unity. When they realize this truth, they respect all the differences in man that are real yet remain conscious of their oneness.

Keeping with a view to promote mutual understanding between the East and West Tagore has formed the nucleus of an International University in India. By establishing such institution, he invites students from the west to study the different system of Indian philosophy, literature, art and music in their proper environment, thus encouraging them to go on research work in collaboration with the scholars already engaged in this task. "India has her renaissance. She is preparing to make her contribution to the world of the future. In the past she produced her great culture, and in the present age she has an equally important contribution to make to the culture of the New world which is emerging from the wreckage of the old." (Ibid : 557)

On the other hand, the western Universities give their students an opportunity to learn what all the European peoples have contributed to their western culture. Thus, the intellectual mind of the west has been revealed vividly to the world. To complete the illumination of the West, the East is needed. There was a time when civilization in Asia was nurtured in comparative seclusion. Now time has come for co-ordination and co-operation. "The seedlings that were reared within narrow plots must now be transplanted into the open fields. They must pass the test of the world market if their maximum value is to be obtained." (Ibid : 558)
But before Asia is in a position to communicate with the culture of Europe, she must base her own structure on a synthesis of all the different cultures she has. The genuine interest of the West has risen in the philosophy and the arts of the East from which the western mind seeks fresh inspiration of truth and beauty. "Once the East had her reputation of fabulous wealth and the seekers were attracted from across the sea. Since then, the shine of wealth has changed its site." (Ibid : 558) But the East has the storage of wisdom and now in pursuit of power and wealth, there rises the cry of privation from the famished spirit of man, an opportunity is offered to the East to provide her store to those who need it.

Proper education is needed to unite the minds of the East and West in mutual understanding but education system in India is like artificial method of training specially calculated to produce the carriers of the white man's burden. Universities in India have latterly been burdened their syllabus with a greater number of subjects than before. "But it is only like adding to the bags of wheat the bullock carries to market, it does not make the bullock any better off." (Ibid : 559) Mind, having no natural food of truth and freedom of growth develops an unnatural craving for success and the students in India have fallen, victims to the mania for success in examinations. They have been taught that success lies in scoring the maximum number of marks with the stickiest economy of knowledge. It is a deliberate cultivation of disloyalty to truth, of intellectual dishonesty, of a foolish imposition by which the mind is encouraged to rob itself.

Universities should never be made into mechanical organizations for collecting and distributing knowledge. Through them the people should offer their intellectual hospitality, their wealth of mind to others and earn their proud right in return to receive gifts from the rest of the world. But in India there is no such a single university where a foreign or an Indian student can properly be acquainted with the best products of the Indian mind. That is why they cross the sea and knock at the doors of France and Germany. But "educational at institutions in our country are India's aims-bowl of knowledge; they lower our intellectual self-respect; they encourage us to make a foolish display of decorations composed of borrowed feathers." (Ibid : 559)
The main source of all forms of voluntary slavery is the desire of gain and it is
difficult to fight against this when modern civilization is tainted with such a universal
contamination of avarice. Tagore has realized this when he was a mere schoolboy.
But as soon as the upper class is reached, their worldly wisdom begins to assert
itself. They know that they no longer learn, rather they pass examinations.
Professors in the modern age are more numerous and lucrative than ever before.
They need specialization of training and knowledge in order to get spiritual freedom
from the claims of utilitarian ambitions. "But man's deeper nature is hurt; his
smothered life seeks to be liberated from the suffocating folds and sensual ties of
prosperity." (Ibid : 561 – 62) For this reason, it is found in the world a growing
dissatisfaction with the prevalent system of teaching.

In India a vague feeling of discontent is found to numerous attempts at
establishing national schools and colleges. The Indian education system is
successful in depriving her people of their real initiative and courage of thought. They
have been trained in such a way that they cannot produce but the only thing they can
do is borrowing and they imitate the educational plan of European institution. "To
change the figure we forget that, for proficiency in walking, it is better to train the
muscles of our own legs than to strut upon the wooden once of foreign make,
although they clatter and cause more surprise at our skill in using them than if they
were living and real." (Ibid : 562)

The most important truth mankind should know is that a teacher can never
truly teach unless he is still learning himself. "A lamp can never light another lamp
unless it continues to burn its own flame." (Ibid : 562) If the teacher has not living
traffic with his knowledge he merely repeats his lesson to his students, thus creating
a heavy load on their minds. Truth must not only inform but also inspire. If the
inspiration dies out and the information only accumulates, truth loses its infinity. The
greater part of learning in the Indian school has been spoiled as most of the
teachers, their subjects are like dead specimens of living things with which they have
learnt to introduce but no connection of love and life.
The educational institution which Tagore wants to establish should be in pursuit of truth from which the imparting of truth naturally follows. It can never be a dead cage in which living minds are fed with food prepared artificially. It must be an open house where students and teachers are at one. "They must live their complete life together dominated" by a common aspiration for truth and a need of sharing all the delights of culture." (Ibid : 563) In former days the great master craftsmen had students in their workshop where they co-operated in shaping things to perfection. But in merely academical teaching it is found subjects but not the man who pursues the subjects therefore the vital part of education remains incomplete.

The artificial arrangement in foreign education kills the creativity of Indian people. They have to judge and realize the elements, which are good to them and then they truly, accept and assimilate it with Indian culture. In Indian culture there is a four streams-the Vedic, the puranic, the Buddhist and the Jain. "It has its source in the heights of the Indian consciousness. But a river, belonging to a country is not fed by its own water alone. The Tibetan Brahmaputra is a tributary to the Indian Ganges, contributions have similarly found their way to India's original culture." (Ibid : 565) Muhammadan laden with his own stores of knowledge and feeling and his wonderful religious democracy has repeated by come into India from outside, thus bringing freshet after freshet to swell the current. They have made their permanent contribution to music, architecture, pictorial art and literature.

Economic life covers the whole width of the fundamental basis of society as its necessities are universal. Educational institutions must have close association with the economic life in order to obtain their fullest truth. The highest mission of education is to realize the inner principle of the unity of all knowledge and all activities of social and spiritual being. In ancient India, there was a forest schools called as tapovanas where "masters and students gathered fruit and took their cattle out to graze, supporting themselves by the work of their own hands." (Ibid : 568) Spiritual education is a part of the spiritual life itself that understand all life. The centre of Indian culture should not be the centre of the intellectual life of Indian but the centre of her economic life also. Cultivation, industry and education should go hand in hand and the success of industrial activities depend on co-operative principle which will unite the teachers, students and villagers of neighborhood in a living and
active bond of necessity. This will give the people of India a practical industrial training whose motive force is not influenced by the greed of profit.

The deliverance of man's soul from the grip of self is only possible when man is able to unite with the infinite soul. This religion of spiritual harmony is not a theological doctrine that can be taught in a class for half an hour each day. Such a religious ideal can only be made possible when students live in intimate touch with nature and grow in an atmosphere of service offered to all creatures, tendering trees, feeding birds and animals. Thus an institution should be a perpetual creation by the co-operative enthusiasm of teachers and students growing with the growth of their soul. "Its aim should lie in imparting life-breath to the complete man, who is intellectual as well as economic bound by social bonds, but aspiring towards spiritual freedom and final perfection". (Ibid :569)

Thus, nations today are losing their spiritual freedom which is necessary to give the mental peace among people of the world. Nations are making prosperous day by day by the help of industry and doing everything to stand their nations in the world civilization very strongly. Students are taught in such a way that they are losing their mental peace and running after only for degree and position. As a result, they create an eternal tension among nations and they engage only for power and pelf. To turn world tapovanas, where prevail universal peace, love, affection and sympathy for each other, man has to shake off his greed, suspicion and hatred. This idea is well effected in 'creative unity'. Students are the backbone of a nation, so they have to be taught in such novel manner that the nation, in future must be strengthen, strengthen not physically, but mentally and spiritually.

**Bouthakuranir Hat (The Market of the Queen Bride, 1883)**

Tagore's first novel, 'Bouthakuranir hat' was published when he was only twenty two. The plot was drawn partially from history and partially local legend. The story of the novel is quite simple without any complications. It is story about Pratapaditya, the king of Jessore and his relationship with some of his relatives,
particularly with his uncle Vasanta Roy, the king of Raygar, son Udayaditya and son-in-law Ramchandra.

Pratap's uncle, Basanta Roy wanted to maintain good relations with the Mughals. Although Pratap hated his uncle, his son Udayaditya and daughter Biva loved Basanta Roy for his charming personality. The main purpose of Pratapaditya in his life was to bring an end of the non-Aryan rule and wished that all the kings of Bengal should come under his royal parasol. He thought that his uncle had disgraced his family by accepting the Mughal yoke. He, therefore, invited Vasanta Roy to Jessore and ordered two pathans to murder him on the way.

Vasanta Roy, a very amiable old man, is dearly loved by Udayaditya and his sister Bibha who came to know of the conspiracy of her father against Vasanta Roy and told everything to her brother. Udayaditya at once took his sword and galloped in order to save Vasanta Roy from arrogant and selfish king. But the pathans were deeply enchanted by his innate goodness that they did not kill him.

Bibha, the daughter of Pratapaditya, had been living a miserable life in the palace because her husband Ramchandra Roy, the king of Chandradwip, had not been invited by his hostile father-in-law for a long time. At long last he was invited at the request of Vasanta Roy. But Ramchandra who was a reckless fool brought with him a court-jester, Ramai Vand who was sent by Ramchandra in disguise of a woman to Pratap's palace. And he was found with the queen. Pratap ordered Ramchandra put to death but he escaped with Udayaditya's help. In the morning when Pratapaditya knew how Ramchandra Roy escaped with the help of Udayaditya, he dismissed two of his guards, Sitaram and Bhagawat. He then realized that Udayaditya was incapable of doing such a daring deed himself and must have done it under the instruction and guidance of Vasanta Roy and therefore ordered Vasanta Roy to go away at once. He also decided to send away his daughter-in-law Surama to her father, king of Sripur.

Udayaditya was the object of hatred to his father from the age of sixteen when he was as Governor of Hushenkhali Pargana in which capacity he had proved to be an utter failure. Pratapaditya looked upon him as a worthless fellow who had
profaned the name and home of the family. Udayaditya was a extremely good young man, kind hearted and generous and friend of all, particularly of the distressed. He had fallen in love with a young widow, Rukmini at the age of eighteen. Soon he realized his moral fall and being extricated himself from her, he then married Surama, the daughter of the king of Sripur. But the king of Sripur did not accept the sovereignty of Pratapaditya, as a result she was the target of hatred and neglect in the palace. Their marital relation, however, is perfectly happy, thus making relieve the distress of other.

But things happen worse when Rukmini came to live in the suburb of Jessore under the pseudonym of Mongala. Her aim was to snatch away Udayaditya from Surama and became the Queen Consort. When she came to know that Surama would be sent to her father, she sent through a maid a message to the queen mother that she know some esoteric and mystical charm by which she could completely free Udayaditya from the spell of his wife. She sent to her a herbal medicine mixed with poison which Surama drank and died.

At that time Rammohan Mal, an intimate attendant of Ramchandra Roy come with a letter to bring Bibha from Jessore. But Bibha who was eager to go to her husband refuses the offer because her brother who, after Surama’s death had broken completely and there was none who looked after him properly in the palace. Besides he was all the more mortified at Rukmini’s fresh attempts to cast her spell on him.

One night Rukmini enters the room of Udayaditya and accuses him of having betrayed her, "why, why have I become your eye sore? What sin have I committed? You have ruined my life. The woman who one day surrendered her body and mind to a prince is today roaming the street like a beggar." (Tagore 1994 : 44) Udayaditya felt guilty and asked her to go away, promising to give her anything she wanted. She wanted to have the ring in his finger which he threw away and she picked up the ring and departed.

The two dismissed guards Sitaram and Bhagawat hoped that when Udayaditya will be the king all their miseries will come to an end. They forged a letter
in such away that it was written by Udayaditya and addressed to the Emperor at Delhi that Udayaditya should be appointed as king in his place. The ring of Udayaditya that Rukumini had brought was the seal of Udayaditya. They put this seal in the letter so that the emperor might not entertain any doubts about its genuiness. But instead of going to Delhi Bhagawat went to Pratapaditya and delivered letter to him. Knowing everything from the letter Udayaditya kept him confined in a small building.

Sitaram felt very distressed to see Udayaditya in prison and he immediately left for Raigarh and came back with Vasanta Roy who requested Pratapaditya to set him free but in vain. Sitaram then set fire to the prison building and ran away with Udayaditya and put him in a boat where Vasanta Roy had been waiting for them. Rukmini ran after them wildly but the boat had left before she reached there. Coming back, Sitaram threw into the burning room a skull, some bones and the sword of Udayaditya to deceive the people into believing that he was burnt in fire. But later he realized that as Rukmini had not died in the fire, she must divulge all the facts to the king. Pratapaditya sent to Raigarh some of his men with Rukmini to verify the truth of her information which was correct. The men returned but Rukmini stayed at Raigarh.

Pratapaditya sent Muktial Khan with a number of soldiers to arrest Udayaditya and murdered Vasanta Roy. They murdered Vasant Roy and brought Udayaditya to Jessore who abdicated his claim to the throne and started for Kashi. He decided to escort Bibha to her husband Ramchandra Roy on his way to Kashi. But when they reached Chandradwip, they learnt that Ramchandra was already married. Being humiliated Bibha went with his brother to Kashi to spend the rest of her life for religious purpose. The market near which they anchored their boat is called as "Bau Thakuranir Hat", "Udayaditya and Biva anchored their boat at Madhabpasha, hoping that when news of their arrival reached king Ramchandra he would come to receive his bride. Ramchandra did not come and as the days passed, people from all over the kingdom drifted into Madhabpasha to view their king's bride. Bibha gave alms to the poor and gradually the spot became a commercial center known as "Bouthakuranir Hat" (Market of the Queen-Bride). Eventually, Ramchandra came to take his bride home*. (Tagore 1981: 62)
Thus, a great change has been taken place on Udayaditya who said, "I do not hanker after any other happiness. I wish I was born, not as the crown Prince in the palace of Jessore but in the house of the poorest of the poor. I wish I was not born as his eldest son, the sole inheritor of his wealth, name and fame. By performing what austerities can I reverse my past" (Tagore 1994:45) Tagore wrote "Bouthukuranir Hat at a time when the tension created by the nationalist movement was high and his character Pratapaditya, because of his defiance of Mughal rule, was regarded as a national hero. Although Tagore wanted to encourage nationalism he did not consider Pratapaditya a fitting hero for the movement as he regarded nationalism as more than mere sentiment. To him it was a deep devotion to country which derived its strength from morality and the readiness to suffer for Justice-Tagore wrote about the flaws in Pratap's character: "In the fit of national awakening, an attempt was made in Bengal to portray Pratapaditya as an ideal hero of the country ...... At that time, the material I collected from history showed that he was autocratic and oppressive ruler. He had the inexperienced audacity to deny the authority of the emperor of Delhi but he lacked the power to do so." (Tagore 1975:1)

An autocratic ruler who oppressed his people, killed a relative, deprived his son of his right to rule and suppressed his dissenter could not be a symbol of nationalism. Tagore's biographer Krishna Kripalani described the author's characteristic trait of courage and humanism, which also analyzed Pratap's character and his influence in the nationalist movement. "The cruel vindictive king in the novel has been made much of by many Bengali patriots for his courage in defying the Moghul Emperor of Delhi. Rabindranath conceded his courage and showed no less courage himself in painting his real character as a man patriotism is only a partial virtual and what appears, as courage may only be a form of obstinacy and pride. Real virtue is to be measured by man's humanity" (Haq 1981:63)

Tagore added a new character, Dhananjoy Bairagi who initiated an anti-government movement in Pratapaditya's kingdom. He urged the populace to withhold their taxes from the unjust ruler and mobilized non-violent civil resistance against Paratap clearly, Tagore developed the concepts of non cooperation and non-violence long before Mahatma Gandhi.
In short, "Bouthakurnir Hat" is based on nationalism. The kingdom of Pratapaditya which is based on force, can not last long. It must perish in the long run, a kingdom can stand on a solid soil when it is formed by sympathy, fellow feeling, love and selfless dedication. Through the character of Dhananjoy Bairagi, Tagore expressed his own idea about Patriotism and nationalism.

_Crisis in Civilization (1941)_

Tagore's last major statement 'crisis in civilization' is another unique piece where Tagore talks about original motif of British civilizational. Tagore has disabused himself of a belief in the civilizational supremacy of the west. The British came to India with a great literary tradition that was very meagre for mental and spiritual upliftment of Indian people. At that time they were so ignorant that they could not make use the scientific apparatus of British people. "The learning we received in those days was meagre and far from diverse; science was still beyond our reach." (Tagore 1961:353) The very little education that the British had given to the people of India helped them to facilitate the British governmental affair.

But this does not mean that all British people were shrewd and miser to give their education for the physical and spiritual development of mankind. Tagore had frankly said that he came across such friends like Andrew who helped him to regain in his old age of that sincere respect for the British people. He admitted candidly, "To have know such men was for me an enrichment of my life. It is they who will save British honour from ship wrek". (Ibid :358)

The situation of the Indian mass was growing miserable and he laid squarely the political blame for Indian’s great evils at the door of British imperialism. "Lost in the glamorous aspects of British culture, I had never thought that, out of it could come so cruel a distortion of long cherished values; that distortion, I knew at last, was the emblem of a civilized nation’s contempt and callousness towards our vast masses". (Ibid :355) By the means of machine the British has strutted as a world
power. Mean while, Japan was developing amazingly by the rapid expansion of her economy. The Russian were also able to wipe out literacy ignorance, penury from their country. But ultimate predicament of India was the same.

One of the interesting points that had stricken Tagore's mind was that the lie of common interest resulted in a great joint work and obstructed communal difference from growing into political clash. At that time there was a two big power the Russian and the British who trampled on the manhood of the subject race under their rule, making them in a moribund state. On the other hand, the Russian had political attachments with many Muslim tribes in its territory and they had tried hard and unceasingly for the welfare of these people. But situation of India under the British rule was beyond endurance. "India, however, bearing the immense dead weight of British rule, lies effortless and inert." (Ibid: 356) Not only India but also China was victim to British imperialism. They doped the people of China with opium and followed up with territorial aggression.

In India the calamity of civilized rule is prominent not only in the grievous lack of the bare necessaries of life-food, clothing, educational and medical facilities - but even more deplorable in the way the nation has been split. This has not happened without sacral support from the topmost level in the administration. The Indians are in any way inferior to the Japanese in intellectual caliber. The basic difference between two races is that India was at the mercy of British rule, Japan has never suffered from alien domination. The spirit of violence dormant perhaps in the psychology of the west has roused itself and is ready to desecrate the spirit of Man. Tagore visualized an end eventually of their Empire: "The turning of the wheel of fortune will compel the British one day to give up their Indian empire. (Ibid: 358) His prediction is true and India is free from British rule.

No nation can dominate another forever. Tagore concluded with proud nationalist affirmation that the savior of world civilization will come not from the West but. "will be born in our midst in this poverty-shamed hovel which is India." (Ibid: 359) He hoped that a new dawn will come from the eastern where the new sun rises and thin unvanquished Man will retrace his path of conquest, inspite of all barriers, to win back his lost heritage. Man may get success does not have a solid basis. So the
mighty power of the British civilization must be perished in the long run, if it does not today but must be in future. "By unrighteousness man prospers, gains what seems desirable, defeat enemies, but perish at the roof."

Thus, through 'crisis in civilization', Tagore expresses the exploitation of British Government over India. What he predicts about the British Government becomes true in every words. Hence he is also called as a great political Philosopher.

_Gitanjali (1913)_

Rabindranath Tagore becomes world famous for his superb poem "Gitanjali" which was published in 1913. It brings him noble prize for literature and he is the first Asian poet who is able to get it. The thought of this poem is so lofty and spiritual that readers feel benumb when they go through the lines. A.K. Bose in his article entitled _Gitanjali and the West says about the western reaction of the poem Gitanjali that "Gitanjali reached the height of its popularity round about the first World War – a time when frustration and disillusionment with regard to the current values of life and society were gripping the westerner." (1961 : 57) The introduction of this poem is written by W.B. Yeats who, reading this poem, became enchanted by his lofty thought which is unique and unparallel and which is not told before him. W.B. Yeats says, "I have carried the manuscript of these translations about with me for days, reading it in railway trains or on the top of omnibuses and in the restaurants, and I have often had to close it lest some stranger would see how much it moved me". (Tagore 1913:ix) R.K. Dasgupta says about Tagore and yeats that "for a proper perspective of his response to Tagore we must bear in mind that he emerged out of the late nineteenth century decadence and strove for a simpler and purer faith with such adventitions spiritual aids a theosophy and occultism. The sources of Tagore's faith, on the other hand, were in a fresh spiritual looking forward to a rich fulfilment." (1963 : 31)
The different kinds of element-humanism, nationalism and spiritualism, are found in Gitangali. Gitangali no 35 is a political lyric and it is one of the most popular and effective lyrics of Tagore. In this inspiring poem the poet prays to God for the spiritual emancipation of his country. True freedom lies in a full and virtuous living. Therefore, the poet prays to God that his countrymen may be fearless, truthful, rational, God-fearing, noble and generous knowledge should be free and there must no restriction upon the spread of knowledge and there should no divisions of caste, creed or nationality. The language spoken by the people issues from the depth of their hearts and one therefore truthfully spoken. It is to be noted that the “heaven of freedom” for which the poet prays is not a heaven of political and economic freedom but to spiritual freedom from fear, narrow mindedness and evil desires.

Where the mind is without fear and the head in held high;

Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken up into
Fragments by narrow domestic walls;
Where words come out from the depth of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the desert sand of
dead habit;
Where the mind is let forward by thee into ever windering thought and action
Into that heaven of freedom, my father let my country awake. (Ibid : 20)

The theme of this poem is entirely different from that of the other poems in Gitanjali. Most of the poems in this collection are religious; they are hymns in praise of God or they are the expressions of the writer’s spiritual longings. But this poem is an expression of the poet’s patriotic feelings. Here Tagore gives a simple but sincere and fervent expression to his concept of what an ideal country should be. He wants that the people of his country should enjoy intellectual freedom and the freedom of action too. He wants that the people of his country should not have to submit to any intellectual domination, that they should always speak the truth, and that they should never lose the capacity for rational thinking. He wants that the people should not become the slaves of habit and should tackle every issue boldly and in a clear-sighted manner. Furthermore, he does not want that his country should become divided on account of communal, sectarian and caste prejudices. It is, indeed, an
inspiring poem which should be learnt by heart by every schoolboy and the lesson of
which should be imbibed by every teacher and every politician.

In another poem of *Gitanjali* the poet prays to God, his maker, to remove his
spiritual poverty. He earnestly prays to him to make him strong enough so that he
can bear easily the joys and sorrows of life and also serve others with love and
sympathy. He prays to God to make him spiritually strong so that he may never
patronize the powerful, insolent and proud nation and so that he may always
befriend the poor and protect them from the oppression of the mighty. He should
also uplift and enable his mind so that he is not disturbed by the trifling joy and
sorrow, success and failure of life. Above all, God should give him strength enough
to surrender himself gladly and willingly to His will and service.

Give me the strength lightly to bear my joys and sorrows.
Give me the strength to make my love fruitful in service.
Give me the strength never to disown the poor or
bend my knees before insolent might.
Give me the strength to raise my mind high above daily trifles. (Ibid : 20-21)

If God gives the poet enough strength he will make a nation fruitful and it will
be free from parochialism, bigotry and narrow nationalism. Then first and foremost
importance that man will give is not nation but mankind.

*Africa* (1937)

Rabindranath Tagore is a member of the family of man and wherever
humanity is insulted his pen comes out like a sword. He preaches his message of
sympathy and sorrow to all types of people all over the world and his sympathy for
African men is well reflected in his poem *“Africa”*. Though Tagore has never been in
Africa he feels pain when man is insulted. He stands beside the exploited humanity.
His poem “Africa” is an organised cry of a nation for her deep degradation.

The cruel greed of the civilized
Laid bare its shameless humanity;
The tracks of the forest,
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The cruel greed of the civilized
Laid bare its shameless humanity;
The tracks of the forest,
Ringing with your wordless cry,
Became soiled with blood and tears. (Tagore 2002:65)

Tagore feels for the oppressed people of the world equally as he does for his own countrymen. "Africa" has been an oft-quoted poem and is one of the best pieces in Patraput and this poem describes the poet's agony for the suppressed people of Africa.

O Sun-shaded Africa!
Shrouded in a veil,
Under the turbid glance of contempt
Your humanity lay hidden. (Ibid:65)

Nations come in Africa not the purpose of its well-being but to exploit it as much as possible. They are like hunters whose claws are shaper than tiger and their minds are filled with pride and bubble reputation. The tongues of these nations are spreaded out to lick up power and pulp

On they came with shackles of iron,
These man-hunters-
Their claws sharper than tiger's,
Their minds dark with pride-
Darker than your sunless forest!"(Ibid : 65)

A ray of hope is found in the ending portion of the poem. A new light must come out from the dark although the nailed boots of plunderers put an indelible impression on the mind of the people of Africa.

The church bell calling men to prayer;
Children played on mother's laps.
And in the poet's song
Rang the invocations to the Beautiful
Today, when the night is choked with thunder,
And beast emerge from hidden caves
Presaging the end of an Era
Came, O poet of a New Age -. (Ibid : 65-66)

Thus, the poem 'Africa' is the shameful record of the history of Africa that is created by those lustful nations who are guided by narrow nationalism and patriotism.
False Religion (1935)

Tagore's another poem 'False Religion' is based on blind faith, which gradually destroys mankind and snatches peace from the world. As a result one nation is madden to annihilate another. In the name of a religion man kill and get killed as their lamp of reason is totally extinguished. Instead of take care on scripture they should take care for the mankind and that will be a great and noble service that gives mental solace and brings spiritual bliss.

Those who in the name of Faith embrace illusion
Kill and are killed.
Even the atheist gets God's blessings- Do not boast of his religion;
With reverence he lights the lamp of Reason
And pays his homage not to scriptures,
But to the good in man. (Tagore 2002:38)

Those who have absolute faith only their religion and are completely blind in their own religion insult other religion and their hands do not shake to slay the man of another religion since they do not judge from the light of reason. They raise blood-strain banner in their temple and instead of worshipping real God that dwells in hearts of mankind, they worship devil.

The bigot insults his own religion
When he slays a man of another faith.
Conduct he judges not in the light of Reason;
In the temple he raises the blood-strained banner
And worships the devil in the name of God. (Ibid :38)

Tagore then invokes God to destroy false religion and altar, which is drenched with blood, in order to bring back peace in mankind. He is listening that time comes with her great broom that sweeps all refuge away and make themselves free from the cell of false religion.
O Lord, breaking false religion
Save the blind!
Break! O break
The alter that is drowned in blood.
Let your thunder strike
Into the prison of false religion. (Ibid:39)

East (1935)

Tagore in his poem 'East' talks about position of the East that is in slumber. It
has disappeared in the sea of oblivion. He requests time and again for the
awakening of East. When the closed doors of East are opened and are let to
penetrate fresh air in its cell, all its pain, sorrow, frustration must vanish.

The new Age is heralded with the call:
Open, open the door! Let darkness perish,
And lustre, born of sorrow and pain
Shine forth in you.
Awake, O ancient East! (Tagore 2002:45)

Thus the poem is based on the well-being of East. The poet has strong faith on
him that the East must come out; breaking the bondage of old age and it must bloom
afresh in every sphere of life. The poet, with folded hands, is waiting for this

With clasped hand I pray
Breaking the shackles of old age
May your new form bloom a fresh
In the resplendent glory of the rising sun. (Ibid:45)

Lord Buddha's Birthday (1935)

Through the poem 'Lord Buddha's Birthday' Tagore presents the present
predicament of world where nations are trying to surpass another for position. The
world is filled with hatred and turned with the struggle among nations and their aim
and ways have been crooked. If this thing is found, the world would be a dead world
where the ghost of man will reign. The only way to rescue the world from utterly
destruction is to unfold the lotus of love and to wipe out all strain of evil from the earth.

The world is frenzied with hatred
And torn with strife;
Its ways are crooked
Of lust are its fetters. (Tagore 2002 : 46)

Greed is the root cause that fetters mankind into the dungeon of his ego. The poet prays God so that He leads mankind into the path of austere renunciation. Then the true life will return to the world and air will be serene and free from the small of blood and hatred and the whole world will be luminous with the sun of knowledge.

Thou, the heroic Giver!
Come and initiate us
Into the path of austere renunciation
Thou, the great Bikhu,
Accept as alms our pride. (Ibid : 46)

Today the whole universe is burning in the blaze of desire that cannot be put out by water but by shaking off of desire and greed. Nations, today in pursuit of power and puf, strike one another. The whole atmosphere is defiled by the small of blood and the time has come to blow conch shell to play benign melodies that will purify the atmosphere where prevails eternal peace, sympathy and love.

The heart of the whole universe
Burns in the fire of desire;
Naught can slake its thirst
It withers a way in worldly pursuit.

Stains of blood defile countries far and wide
Hold over us your hand of blessing
Blow your conch-shell
Play your benign melodies
And bring the rhythm of Beauty. (Ibid : 47)

Thus this poem is based on Tagore's vision of a new nation where all nations are entangled in the universal brotherhood.
BIRD-MAN (1935)

Another unique thought is well expressed in Tagore's poem 'Bird-man' that is formed on nationalism. Industrial revolution has taken place in the world and that makes man machine and has stripped them of their mental freedom. Earth, water are polluted and only air is left afresh. The machine has made man bird so that he can soar in the blue sky with the companions of cloud.

The great machine made man a bird
Earth, water are prostrate at his feet,
Only the air was left. (Tagore 2002:48)

Today nations become strong and make revolutionary progress in every sphere of life except one that is man's spiritual progress. Man is losing spiritual freedom although he gets free in his life. Materially they are becoming rich day by day but their mental prosperity remains void. Science has not only engulfed earth and water but also air. There comes a great disaster that will perish everything to decorate the world anew.

Today, in Man's poisoned history
Its claims the could,
And in loud laughter
Rains from the skies destruction.
I feel the end of an Age has come
Chaos, like the raging hawk
Admits no impediment. (Ibid:48-49)

WORSHIP OF THE BUDDHA (1935)

'Worship of the Buddha' is another immortal creation of Tagore where he talks about Japan's rapid progress that is a great menace to world peace. The Japanese are going to the temple to pray to the Buddha for the success of their arms. They are aiming their arrows of terror against the Chinese. The beating of war-drums is heard in the air and they wear terrifying battle dress. They are ruthless, terrible with the heat of cruelty. As a result the earth is trembling with an unknown fear.
The drums of war resound
The soldiers want to gather for Jama, the king of Death
Their bitter dress terrifies,
They clench their teeth!
Ruthless with the heat of cruelty
They seek his blessing (Tagore 2002 : 52)

Their shouting of anger are soaring in the air and it also echoes among the houses. Breaking human bond they attack the villages, which are lying in its own debris. They, beating kettledrum with anger, are going to worship Buddha so that they can be more powerful, revengeful and merciless. The striking of their footstep is creating a great turmoil in the earth.

Shouting' they pray
May cries of anguish echo among the houses
Breaking human bond!
May Villages be charred to ashes. (Ibid :52)

They are madden in the festival of destruction and are tearing bodies of men and women welter skelter. They are engaged in hilarious dancing after killing thousands people in the war field. The fresh and fragrant atmosphere changes into the vapid atmosphere where the smell of bullet and ammunition pervades the entire world.

Torn bodies of women and children shall rouse hilarious dancing
And all breath be stopped by
The flying poison in the air. (Ibid:52)

Thus, the poem is shaped on the aggressive method of Japan whose sole aim is to gain material prosperity. The nation which is formed on the Ideal of military strength, militant nationalism and supremacy of state cannot last long. It must be perish in future.
Amrita (1936)

The pivot of this poem 'Amrita' is love for mankind and the main texture of this poem is fabricated on a story told in Upanishads. When the sage Yagyavalka was retiring from the world, he wanted to leave behind for his wife, Maitreyi, material goods. But Maitreyi protested what she would do with all these material possession if she would not get her soul's immortality. The only thing she wanted is Amrita that found in love.

Once a women of India said:
She did not want material possession
She wanted Amrita
This was her vow! (Tagore 2002:67)

Amiya is the central character of the poem and she has dedicated herself for social welfare. She is an ordinary Indian girl who, wearing rough sari on her body and bangles on her wrist, cultivates land with bare foot. The poet is moved when her hairs is hanging loosely down her back and a rustic colour touches her face which has a glow of shyness.

I saw Amiya
A ash-coloured, rough sari about her body,
Bongles on her wrist
Feet without shoes
Her hair hanging loosely down her back
A rustic tan touched her face
She was watering her kitchen garden. (Ibid:70)

When a nation is in distress, Amiya cannot think of marriage for her personal happiness. Her father, Kunja Kishore whose money is growing in the bank keeps no account of gaining and spending. He has invited sons of millionaires from time to time to the tea table but she frustrates all. At long comes Mohibhushan, the only son of Raibahadur who had spent eight years in Europe. Amiya becoming so moved about his knowledge that she is his disciple. It is Mohibhushan who has freed Amiya from the dungeon of material possession and taken her to the field of work when Kunja Kishore asks him angrily why he comes to house if he does not marry Amiya, he replies –
I want to take Amiya to her field of work.
Amiya’s last words were:
I have come to his work.
He has freed me from the dungeon of material possessions. (Ibid : 73)

Finally it is seen that Mohi is in jail to wipe out the sorrow and suffering of countrymen.

I asked: where is he?
Amiya replied: In Jail (Ibid : 73)

Thus, the patriotic flavour comes out from this poem. Mohibhushan, collecting experience from Europe, comes to uplift the position of his people but faces utter distress in the long run. Amiya spends rest of her life for well being of humanity.

**BHARAT TIRTHA (1317 BENGALI YEAR)**

*Gitanjali* consists some of the best patriotic songs of Rabindranath Tagore. Perhaps the most outstanding of them is Bharat Tirtha or Indian Pilgrimage. In this oft-quoted poem Rabindranath Tagore gives a bird’s eye view of the entire history of Indian culture – the core of it being unity in diversity. The spirit of co-existence, tolerance and love has described skilfully in a single poem.

In this poem Tagore has compared India as a holi place where Aryan, non Aryan, British, Hindu, Muslim all came and they purify their minds and hold their hands and merge in the sea of mankind.

এসো হে আর্য, এসো অনার্য, হিন্দু মুসলমান
এসো এসো আজ তুমি ইংরেজ এসো এসো শৃঙ্খল।
এসো ব্রাহ্মণ, জুটি করি মন ধরো হাত সবাকার
এসো হে পাতিত, হেক অপরিমেত সব অপমান ভার।
যার অভিপ্রেতে এসো এসো দোয়া মঙ্গলগুট হয়নি যে তুরা।
Tagore invites all types of people, Aryan, Non-Aryan, Drabir, Shak, Hun, Patan, Mughal to come to India and they will be united in a body that is body of mankind where there is not found any racial difference, high, and low, and their greatest identity will be that they are man. The West has opened the door and man comes to India taking gift from there. They not only give their culture, education but also understand Indian culture and tradition and accept it, thus creating a bond with humanity that must have a solid basis of love and fellow feeling. They do not go back to their home and stay with the people of India.

Thus, the poem is a prayer towards all types of people. Here Tagore surpasses the concept of nationalism, he becomes an internationalist.

_Ekla Chalo Rey_ (Rabindra Sangeet, 1905)

Lord Kerjon devises divide and rule policy between Hindu and Muslim in order to dominate the patriotic feeling of Bengal. Hence he has divided Bengal into West and East Bengal. Bihar and Orissa are added to the West Bengal in order to lessen the number of Hindu Bengali people, on the other hand he tells the Muslim that the East Bengal will be formed a muslim basis state so that they can take special benefit than Hindu in the government affair. In protest of 'Divide and Rule policy' Swadeshi Movement starts, though Rabindranath Tagore has not actively took part this movement, he supports it.
The stir of revolution does not come from common run of people, many people keep themself aloof from this stream of revolt. If they are afraid of and they do not speak with you, you yourself will be harbinger of the patriotic work. If they do not answer to your call and close their doors, you alone have to move forward, trampling the thorns of road. You have to open your mind and speak out all your feeling boldly if other people bow down their heads owing to fear. This idea is well reflected in patriotic song, ‘Ekla chalo Rey’ which is one of the popular songs of Rabindranath Tagore. It was composed during the Swadeshi movement and he wrote this song in August, 1905. It was turned in the Boul style. Rabindranath Tagore says –

If they answer not to thy call walk alone
If they are afraid and cower mutely facing the wall,
O thou of evil luck
Open thy mind and speak out alone
If they turn away and desert you when crossing the wilderness,
O thou of evil luck, trample the thorns under thy tread
And along the blood – lined track travel alone (Tagore 1961 : 50)

Thus, through this song Tagore takes part indirectly in the national movement.

The Bejeweled Garland Does Not Fit Me  (Rabindra Sangeet, 1919)

In 1919 the British Government devised a nefarious law known as Rowlatt Act. By the help of this law they snatch the freedom of the expression of newspaper and can arrest anybody without any kind of judgement. After First world war, Punjab has to incur heavy loss and many Punjabi people who took part with the British army in the war come back to their estate after war and become jobless. So an unseen fire of anger is shouldering in the air of Punjab and this law is ghee in the fire. They congregate at Jallianwalabag garden in Punjab to protest against this law. At that time Michael O’Dwyer is the ruler of Punjab and he orders to fire on the armsless populace. Many people are killed and injured for this devilish act.
Jallianwala Bagh massacre kindle a conflagration throughout India and Tagore is very much shocked at this act and renounces his knighthood conferred by the British Government. At that time he composes a song, “This bejeweled garland does not fit me, that contains his great feeling for his countrymen. He says, the necklace of knighthood pricks his conscience. He feels pain to wear it and his voice is choked and no mellifluous tone comes out from his voice. It is very shameful to him to wear this garland when his countrymen are lying in the pool of blood, when they are in distress. He cannot concentrate in his work and he only needs a garland made of flower.

This bejeweled garland does not fit me,
It hurts to wear it, it pains to tear it,
The voice gets choked, no strain of music resonates
The garland steals all my mind, I cannot put my mind to any work.

Greet me with a flower garland –
I am ashamed of the bejeweled garland,
And so hide my face from thee. (Tagore 2004 : 85)

Summing up, this song can be viewed in the nationalist perspective and it help to set up Indian nationalism on its basis.

O Mother, Thou has Capture the Heart of the World (Rabindra Sangeet)

This song deals with a singing for the Motherland India as Darling of the world. India has a secret gem that attracts the heart of the world. The terrible and wave tossed water of sea washes the feet of Tagore’s motherland, India whose green apron, that the Mother India puts on, is fluttering in the gentle breeze.

O Mother, Thou hast captured the heart of the world
Thou art father and mother – the pure sun bathed earth
The water of blue seas washes
Thy feet, Thy green apron flutters in the breeze. (Tagore 2004 : 171)

Tagore then imagines the Himalayas as the forehead of Mother India and its snow-covered summit is her crown. The sun first appears in the sky of India and
sacred mantras of Vedas are heard in the forest hermitage of India whose wisdom, religion, poetry, ballads nonpluse the people abroad because of their unique thought which is first time preached in the abode of India which is covered with green leaves. Her art is benevolent and glorious and give of food for all. In her breast she is carrying sacred nectar that every body craves to drink.

The Himalays, kissing the sky, is Thy forehead
Its snow capped summit is Thy crown
The sun arose first over Thy sky, the sacred hymns of the Vedas were
First heart in Thy forest hermitages.
Wisdom, religion, poetry, ballads of myriad varieties were first
Preached in Thy forest abodes
Thou art ever benevolent, Thou art glorious, Thou are the giver of food for all.
(Ibid : 172)

Through this song Tagore highlights the position of India and he compares India as his mother for whom his deep devotion is reflected in every line of the song. To sum up, this song can be taken in the nationalistic angle through Tagore’s conscious effort to exalt India.

O! the soil of Motherland I bow my head to Thee (Rabindra Sangeet 1905)

Through this song, Tagore expresses his gratitude to his Motherland. He wants to bow down his head to his Motherland who becomes one with his body and she has her permanent place in the recess of poet’s heart. Her dark image makes an indelible mark on the poet’s mind.

O! the soil of Motherland I bow my head to Thee –

Thou hast become one with my body, Thou hast merged into my heart and mind
Thy tender dark image is firmly etched in the core of my heart.” (Tagore 2004 : 172)

Tagore feels fortunate that he is born in this land and wishes to die in the lap of Mother India. He has prayed her alike in grief and happiness. She is the universal mother of the poet who caresses him, gives him food and quenches his thirst with
cool water. Her enduring power is limitless and it is for her Tagore finds many opportunities in his life but in return he is not able to give anything for this benevolent Mother, he laments for this and thinks that his life ends in smoke.

O Mother, I was born in Thy lap, I shall die on Thy breast
I have prayed on Thy soil in grief and happiness
Thou hast fed me food, Thou hast quenched my thirst with cool water,
Thou art the all - tolerant Mother of Mothers

My life has been a waste in vain work, I have spent my days indoors. (Ibid : 172)

Thus, this song is based on patriotic feeling of Rabindranath Tagore. Once this song become a house-hold mantra in cities, villages and on the lips of the cultivators in Bengal. It played a miracle during the Swadeshi movement.

Fruitful has been my birth in this land (Rabindra Sangeet)

This song is poet's feeling blessed to be born in his land. The pivot of this song is the poet's ardent love for his country, his birth has been fruitful as he sees first light of life in his land and he longs to gratify all her loving caress at his heart's content. Tagore does not have any idea that she is the wealth of a queen or not but he feels comfort when he takes rest in the lap of her shadowy bower. The aroma of flowers and the sky decked with a smiling moon do not arrest attention of the poet. His eyelids are open by her light that soothes his eyes as her light is mind and full of loving care. The poet prays to God that he wishers to close his eyes for ever in the midst of the same light.

Fruitful has been my birth in this land
Gratifying it has been, dear Mother, loving Thee.
I know not if Thou hast the Wealth of a queen,
Only this I know – my body is soothed when I rest in Thy shadow.
I know not any ardour with such rapturous aroma of flowers,
I know not which sky is adorned with such a smiling moon.
When I open them, Thy light soothes my eyes,
I pray I close my eyes in the self same light
Thus, the song is based on Tagore's nationalism which lays emphasis eternal beauty of his Motherland from where he departs for eternal sleep. He is content with the beauty whatever his mother possesses. His great patriotism is also seen through this song.

This Bharat is in shame today (Rabindra Sangeet)

This song is based on Tagore's praying to Divine Shakti for Bharat's resurgance. At that time when Tagore composed his song, India was under British rule. Superstitions, caste division, lack of proper education have weakened the backbone of India and she was in the mire of meanness. She had no spiritual strength, no chivalry, no discernment so that she could drive out the black cover that wrapped up on her body. She was cursed and disdained by the world she was weak in spirit and work. The golden crown of India has fallen in the dust. But the poet has retained an unconquerable faith that India must be awakened to the name of Brahman and she will be filled with purity, valour, courage and immortality.

This Bharat is in shame today-  
Sunk in the mire of meanness.  
No chivalry, no discernment,  
Neither great ascasis, not truth striving.  
Within and without, in spirit and work  
Brahman has been exiled all over,  
Cursed and disdained by the world,  
Rolling upon dust in stupor. (Tagore 2005 : 174)

Tagore is a great philosopher who foretells that Bharat must come out of hills and vales, across towns and hamlet, creating awe-inspiring thunderbolt. That is not far away, soon it will come and then She will restore her lost glory, fame and acquire a position in the world festival.

O! the Fearsome – smite Bharat with Thy sudden terrifying thunderbolt.  
And then – across hills and vales,  
Across towns and hamlets –
Bharat will awaken to the name of Brahman.
She will be charged with holiness and prowess,
Courage and immortality – all in but a twinkle. (Ibid : 174)

A sublime devotion of Rabindranath Taogre for his country runs through the lines of this song. So the main thread of this song is Tagore’s nationalism and patriotism for upliftment of his countrymen.

Rabindranath Tagore is essentially a poet. He has been universally recognized as one of the greatest lyric poets of all times whose creative writing is rich symbols. He made notable contributions in the fields of education, economics, politics and social affairs. “We who write about him should take care to see it that his image breathes as life like as possible, that his variegated activities are reviewed as many sidedly as possible. We would be unjust to Rabindranath Tagore both in deifying him and in judging him in terms of the Indian realities of today” (Ivbulis 1999 : 208) Above all, he is a deep thinker on race relations and a collaborator of a new age in human relationship. These contributions of Tagore are significant not only for India but also for the world. “He holds in him more than renaissance curiosity and creativity. “For decades the poet was hailed as the cultural ambassador of India to the west and they remember him for his gospels of love and peace.” (Mukherjee 2003 : 295) Tagore is a spiritual poet of humanity and to a sceptical and materialistic world he has revealed the authentic moral and spiritual message of the East. “His genius, that has been aply compared to a myriad – coloured gem, lighted most of the corners of the cultural life of man, and he has left his mark on each sphere of human personality.” (Mukherji 1961 : 77) Infact, all through his life he strived towards universality and wrote and spoke for the peace, progress and prosperity of mankind.

Tagore cannot be said to be a political philosopher in the true sense of term, he is a world poet. He was equally concerned with the people of home and abroad. Tagore played a vital role in Indian Renaissance. “However, it is important to understand first the concept of Indian Renaissance and how Rabindranath Tagore played a crucial role in ushering in Renaissance at various significant theoretical levels. His works therefore still largely holds the present, and it has opened ways for the future which again promises to go beyond it. In effect Tagore shows an increasing return to the Indian spirit in fresh forms.” (Chandra 2004 : 49) There had
been hardly any pressing problem in India and the world which did not draw the poet’s attention and presented solution with vision, courage and cultured judgement. His political writings bear testimony of his deep penetration and rare capacity for original thinking and show remarkable acumen for that kind of political thinking which endures. His reflections disclose a philosophy in which traditional ideas take on a new meaning and the emerging values of our times are stated with a new clarity. In addition, he presents the problems and movements concretely and with well-rounded sensibility and they assume world character concerning mankind in general. Finally his dealing with national and political problems in a fashion which gives them a new dimension and vividness and provide new insight into those problems. "Tagore taught his readers and disciples that above all nations stands humanity. He believed in the unity of the human race, a unity enlivened and enriched by natural diversity. He felt that co-operation and cross-fertilization of mankind’s diverse elements – racial, cultural, religious – is absolutely essential for the wholesome and complete development of our kind." (Callis 1962 : 134) Tagore as a humanist could never reconcile his conscience with the injustice and injury to humanity and stood for the exploited. His vision was not confined to narrow domestic walls but it surveyed the world in general and this made him an internationalist. His preaching and pronouncements are not merely the outcome of a poetic fancy but bear in them absolute values in the perspective of national and international events. All these made him a universal personality, a citizen of the world. "Today the centenary of the world poet is being celebrated all the world over. There cannot be a greater tribute to him than mingling our voices in singing to the glory of humanity." (Bhattacharya 1961 : 104)

Tagore was a great critic of narrow nationalism that becomes a very dangerous doctrin when it is taught for personal upliftment. "Nationalism understood and applied broadly is a great consolidating force but when it is used in a narrow sense of blind territorial loyalty it becomes a very dangerous dogma." (Bakshi 2001 : 66) He had deep, earnest and passionate love for India and the world. As such he could not become attached to the cult of impersonal political nationalism practiced in the west and Japan. He was a champion of the people and not of the nation. "Man is not to live in isolation. There is no such thing as absolute isolation in existence. He must realise his kinship with nature, with the world." (Sen 1961 : 14) So he wanted
to guard against the fetish of the nation and nationalism. The cult of nationalism acts as a dangerous anesthetic which curbs thinking potentialities of man and reduces his to being the object slave of powers for the sake of reaping profits and gigantic engine of production at the cost of the colony’s production. Organised nationalism blights the spiritual sensibilities of men and make them blind to the Nobel purpose of existence which is to cherish love, moral freedom and spiritual harmony. Nationalism is the organised gregariousness and mechanical gluttony and hence he clamoured for the release of cosmopolitan humanism.

Nationalism as generally directed to a narrow channel effect adversely the interests of other countries. If love of one’s country is taken to imply hatred for other countries, such nationalism, according to Tagore, is bound to stand in the way of human development. It was the prevalence of such feelings among the French and Germans that resulted in war between the two countries. "Rabindranath’s political views were attuned to the lofty, spiritual idealism that animated his whole being." (India News 1961 : 29) Every child in Europe was taught to hate the Germans and vice versa. Such feelings are not conductive to the maintenance of peace in the world. According to Tagore, nationalism is an organised self interest of the whole people and the organization of politics and commerce for selfish ends and an organized power for exploitation. It admits that individual citizens of one’s nationality are always right whereas other are always wrong. It is prejudiced, jaundiced and inhuman. "Rabindranath had been nursing his subdued anti-imperialist wrath in his mind and that his wrath choose its own moment to erupt into poetry." (Poddar 2004 : 141)

Tagore was critical of the western nationalism. Nationalism he believed is the training of the whole people for a narrow ideal. It fosters separation and hence against the ideal of the spiritual fellowship of man. Nationalism, he believed, is a great menace. It breeds imperialism. It is an organised gregariousness and mechanical gluttony. It does not represent any principles of social co-operation or spiritual idealism. It is a political and economic organisation oriented to exploit other races particularly of Asia and Africa. "He always stood for Internationalism, as he felt that the narrow boundaries of nationalism invariably caused strife in the world." (Kirtikar 1961 : 18) As such he was a staunch critic of aggressive nationalism. It is
the herdsman of war. Such a concept of nationalism can not be accepted by Tagore who sought to set up a relation between man and man by the bond of sympathy and co-operation. It is the guiding spirit of social vitality. "As a matter of course, Tagore was not a politician in the professional sense. He did not believe in any 'ism'. He did not show any blueprint for the world's salvation. But his message of love and peace is an exhaustible source from which the world of today and tomorrow can derive all ways to the eternal peace." (Morimoto 1961 : 169) Therefore, civilization must take its stand upon the basis of social co-operation and not upon that of economic exploitation and conflict. Tagore is now finding support that excess nationalism must be curbed and interference with the total well-being of the 'civitas maxima' must be stopped. Therefore, the poet advised the nations of the west to come out of their narrow shell and build a world community on the plane of harmony and co-operation. "His aim was to spread this message of the Brotherhood of Man. There should be no difference between the East and the west, all the nations should feel a deep spiritual unity among themselves." (Basu 1961 : 182) Only then the world can live in peace and durable peace can be guaranteed. It can never be attained by an organisation like the League of Nations or the United Nations Organisation purely based on political edifice and to safeguard the interest of the 'Great powers'. But we still have to retain faith on mankind. "The present leaders of the world with their crass ignorance and little minds are hopelessly unfit and unable to rise to the occasion. Let us hope that the future leaders with suitable training and skill basically different from those of present and with insight, vision imagination will take hold of the favourable situation and fashion a world order based on a just and rational foundation." (Ckharaborty 1985 : 93)

The awakening of nationalism in Rabindranath Tagore is not a spontaneous burst and it gradually penetrates into his blood when he was rearing up in such kind of family atmosphere. "Ranindranath having born at such a time, grew up in this atmosphere. That influence become wide spread in his life the evidence of which we can see in his poetry, prose and articles written throughout his very long time." (Bhattacharjee 2003 : 59) Tagore's political philosophy proceeds from his deep spiritual humanism. In place of transcendalism, pluralism and intellectualism, it repose the value of the creative experiments and jubilation of human being who is a replica of the supreme eternal creating. Hence Uma Das says "My submission is
that in all of those landmarks of his life, the essential Ranindranath is there in his feelings for his fellow human beings, for men and women connected through the collective unconscious in the universal human spirit, what many commentators or scholars in the field analysed as Rabindranath's humanism, signifying thereby a set of values with man in the centre. It helped him to make a choice between man and nation. The spiritual unity of man was more important to him than all the national ideologies put together.” (Dasgupta 2004: 11)

His condemnation of power, his bitter denunciation of nationalism and his stress on a social organic living based on kinship and fraternity proceeds from his fundamental humanism. Infact, the whole political philosophy of Tagore was influenced by the principles of humanism. At the same time he criticized dictatorial regime which crushes creative nature of man, all-embracing sphere of activity of state which subjugates man’s social instinct, soulless character of foreign rule which exploits aggressive nationalism which breeds imperialism and war, negative approaches to life’s problems, vulgarisation of man’s higher nature and blind and insensate patriotism choking the springs of human civilization. Thus, “as a region of peace, he preached universal brotherhood and the essential oneness of man.” (Venkatachiliah 1961: 22) Infact, there are hardly any pressing problems in the life of India and of humanity of which Rabindranath Tagore has not given definite and far seeing solutions. “He was born and he died in a country subjected for long to the miseries and disgrace of a foreign rule. And yet, paradoxically enough, history chose him to be the spokesman of prostrate humanity and to champion the cause of man’s unity and peace.” (Dasgupta 1961: 1) He taught us self respect. He has exhorted us to know ourselves, to develop and depend on our own strength, to rise against tyranny and oppression, to love humanity and to be interested in the world.

Tagore condemn the barbaric manifestations of imperialistic arrogance and racial chauvinism. He was an opponent of Machiavellion statecraft in all its forms. He refused to equate political action with expediency and opportunism. He passionately and eloquently warned the foreign imperialists and the Indian anarchists against contravening the moral law. He was the first man who tried to bind all nations in a single thread. “What is more important, however, is that he was saying things that were a great deal more significant, and that he was among the first
world figures to see clearly the connection between mechanical civilization and
operation of nationalism and avarice, the exploitation of humanity labelled backward
by those who had got ahead in the race for self – interest." (Mukherjee 1961 : 114).
He refused to regard politics as the realm of the immoral. It must be admitted that
imperialism has been responsible for frequent wars on the world. Wars brought
destruction and misery to mankind. Imperialism is a serious threat to the peace of
the world. The lives of Hitler and Mussolini are ample proofs. Hence Tunku Abdul
says, "above all, Tagore was a man of peace, and I am sure that if he were alive
today and contemplating the tensions of the modern world and its conflicts of
power he would be urging always the cause of peace and goodwill. Let us honour
his memory then by dedicating ourselves anew to follow the path of peace."
(Putra 1961 : 6)

Tagore condemned the First and the Second world wars as the outcome of
aggressive nationalism. His message in 'Gitanjali' struck an immediate chord in the
heart of war weary humanity. The law of beast was never accepted by the people.
The Hindu Theory of 'Matsya Nyaya' – the logic of the fish according to which the
strong would devour the weak like fish in water, so there is need of protection of the
weaker nation, He condemned power in all its forms as irrational, detested force in
all its manifestations. "The cult of the nation seeks to utilize crowd psychology for
creating a tremendous amount of power; it turns men into machines of power and
trains the crowd mind for the special purpose of the ruling men." (Sen 1947 : 135)
But mankind cannot get rid of this institution until they succeed in evolving an
acceptable alternative to it. Thus we can firmly say that "neither adoration of the
state nor the intoxication of party politics but the building up of social co-operation
from the base, with real understanding of the meaning of union, should guide the
steps of humanity today." (Datta 1999 : 6)

The poet condemned war in the modern world more and people are realising
that war is too dangerous to employ. "Tagore considered war as man's return to the
laws of jungle. The animal instinct of man which is put in lull for years by education,
restraint and admonition proves futile, for under the impact of war modern civilization
is turned into barbarism. " (Mukherjee 1982 : 285) It no longer secures the traditional
objectives of state security, economic advantage and glory. Yet the states cannot be
denied the right to make war unless they are relieved of the obligations which now rest heavily and exclusively on them.

Tagore loved mankind or humanity and as such for him individual of one nation has the same significance and importance as that of any other nation without any consideration for the land to which he belonged. "His heart bled for afflicted humanity. It cried in agony to see man's inhumanity to man which makes countless thousands mourn." (Mookherji 1961 : 35) Similarly he was also very clear in his mind that injustice done to an individual in any part of the world was injustice to the mankind as a whole. The character and standard of judging justice essentially remained the same throughout the world. The outlook to the problem thus was very broad and wide enough to cover the humanity as a whole and this essential feature made him international in outlook. "Regarding Tagoe’s idea of nationalism it can be said that he emphasized on the formation of one world and one nation of mankind. In this sense he was an internationalist." (Singh 2002 : 145)

The world is living in a sleeping volcano which may erupt at any time engulfing the whole world into another war threatening the annihilation. Inspite of the fact that politics was not primary concern of Tagore yet in his idea a political philosophy emerged which was according to the needs and necessities of time and in fact provided solution to many of our political problems. "Rabindranath Tagore, it is commonly asserted, was not a political person. As an eminent and even archetypal artist he was, it is believed, rightfully innocent of politics, if not especially privileged to occupy a lofty, clean place above politics." (Dasgupta 1995 : 163) He is a guide to humanity and a touch bearer to us. Thus, “Tagore’s political thought like his poetry rises above regional considerations. He is concerned with Man, not the citizen of a particular state. To him, humanity stands above all nations.” (Chaudhuri 1961 : 129) His voice can never be drowned by the taboos of modern age and sometime in the near or distant future the world will listen to what he said. Saroj Kumar Das’s comment on poet is that “A prophet of Universal Humanism that he is, Tagore who has consistently avoided the idolatry of geography, confesses to the interpenetration of a humanistic touch all the same......" (1971 : 47)

Tagore wanted enduring peace in the world and he confessed that his dreams were unfulfilled yet his melodies unstruck were clinging to some lute – strings and
they were not lost. "And he stood for a rough and ready functional association of
countries across frontiers, so that the claims of nationality should not become too
exclusive. He was, therefore, our first real internationalist." (Anand 1961 : 75)
Though not a politician, he is a philosopher, a man with vision and a lover of
humanity and people wanted the world to live in peace and harmony and forsake
hated, jealousy and unrest. "Rabindranath Tagore was something more than a poet
or a short story-writer or a playwright or a novelist. He was prince among patriots. It
was a fight which the pen waged against the sword and ultimately it was the pen that
triumphed." (Bhattacharya 1987 : 115) And that is the only answer to man's survival.

Today the world is groping in crisis, when the nation of the world are busy in
national egotism, exploitation and aggressiveness, the cold war has every
potentiality of conflagration. "At present terrorism is an explosive problem for the
world ............. Terrorists today are capable of causing enormous damage to
blackmail and intimidate Governments in different part of the world." (Kar 2001 : 9)
Tagore message of unity, harmony, co-operation, fellowship, friendship and fraternity
and human relationship can save the world from going back to the law of the jungle.
To world which is wild with the delirium of hatred, conflicts and greed, Tagore's
message of unity in diversity, harmony and co-operation will be a heroic remedy of
that desperate evil. "Tagore's deep feeling for the unity of man made him realise
before most of his contemporaries that interdependence of peoples and countries
rather that their independence must be the principal of life ond progress today and
tomorrow if the world is to survive the challenge of modern science and teachology."
(Lewis 1961 : 87) The world to him is the habitation of man's spirit and not a mere
reservoir of political power. Here lies the genius of poet and political prophet
Rabindranath Tagore.

In his writings Tagore sought unity of mankind. He condemned all forms of
partisanism, parochialism, provincialism, narrowness and self-centredness. These in
post-independent Indian are eating into the vitals of our national life. Fissiparous
tendency, if allowed anywhere in the world, is the harbinger of strife and war.
Tagore, therefore, sought for unity of mankind for a prosperous peaceful world.
"Tagore gave us a message which is not only national : it belongs to the whole of
humanity." (Kabir 1963 : 110 - 111) He had a strong faith on mankind and hope but
his hopes and desires remain unfulfilled still now. "Rabindranath closed his eyes to the light of the world, long before the new chapter in the history of man had opened as he had desired to see. It has not opened till this day and nobody knows how many centuries it will take to open or will open at all." (Ghosh 1966 : 75) Today in order to stop the preparation of Third world war we need Tagore because "the outstanding features of his personality lay in the simple virtues of a sensitive love of nature and a warm love of all mankind." (Muhammad 1961 : 7) We need Tagore in the evolving and designing of the new scheme of things to establish a new world enriched by the splendor of his vision and the depth of his wisdom. "That day would come when the sunrays of brotherly love become sufficiently intense to meet the icebergs that today mark the boundaries of national life." (Ghosh 1980 : 39) Thus Tagore’s message for peace is in crying need today to bring back an eternal peace to the world. "Rabindranath Tagore is profound aspiration to those who are today struggling to prevent a third world war, prohibit the existence of nuclear weapons and base world peace on total disarmament." (Endicott 1961 : 47) The message of Tagore about nationalism is not only relevant to the present generation but also coming generation in future to rescue the world and to save the mankind from future annihilation. That is why, we can say with Harindranath Chattopadhyay that "it is absurd to think of Rabindranath within time and space, since he was universal in the truest sense of term and entirely unconscious of stupid boundary lines diving earth into bits rising wrath against each other, little bits off earth called by different names signifying different countries and these countries marked off on a man-made map and assuming on it separate colours which to the discerning eye appear to be patches of disease." (Chattapadhyay 1961 : 5-6) Therefore, he is an internationalist who preaches one nation, the nation of man for whom every nation should dedicate themselves to retain the existence of that nation (nation of man) intact for our own benefit. We will live then under the shade of that nation in absolute peace and bliss when that idea of nation comes in every nation.