Chapter 3 : The Two Titans and Their Turbulant Times

Section I : Brief Biographical Sketch of Sir Winston Churchill

(Winston Churchill (1874-1965) English writer, statesman, historian and courageous leader.)

The Right Honourable Sir Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill was one of the greatest men of his time. He towered like a giant above the danger he and the rest of the sane world faced in the Second World War. He is considered one of the best wartime leaders of the twentieth century and served as Prime Minister of Britain twice (1940-45, 1951-55).

Churchill was born into the aristocratic family of the Dukes of Marlborough. His father, Lord Randolph Churchill, was a charismatic politician who served as Chancellor of the Exchequer; his mother, Jenny Jerome, an American socialite. As a young army officer, he saw action in British India, the Sudan and the Second Boer War. He gained fame as a war correspondent and through books he wrote about his campaigns.

Childhood: a Bumpy Beginning

Baby Winston was born two months premature, on November 30, 1874, a descendant of a famous English aristocratic family, with Lord Randolph Churchill, a politician, for his father, and Lady Randolph Churchill (nee Jennie Jerome) the daughter of an American millionaire, as his mother. An undersized, emotional child, at times shy, and at other times over-assertive, Winston displayed an independent, rebellious nature. Despite the canings he received in school, he did so badly scholastically, his illustrious father, who Winston adored, feared he might be retarded. Winston loved his mother deeply, but both his parents were emotionally distant. So his nanny, Mrs. Everest, became the “dearest and most intimate friend” of his young life. Much later, when he became one of the greatest figures of his age, Mrs. Everest’s picture hung above his desk. Winston ultimately proved his father’s fears wrong, when he attended England’s prestigious and private Harrow School. Finally, he did well at something-English, history and fencing. An interesting hint of his life to come.

He left Harrow in 1893, and after two failed attempts, was accepted by the Royal Military College at Sandhurst in the “Cavalry Class”- possibly because he had the means to provide his
own horse. He graduated eighth out of a class of 150 at the end of 1894, and became a cavalry lieutenant. He was rarely visited by his mother (then known as Lady Randolph Churchill) and wrote letters begging her to either come to the school or to allow him to come home. His relationship with his father was a distant one; he once remarked that they barely spoke to each other. Because of the lack of parental contact, he became very close to his nanny, Elizabeth Anne Everest, whom he used to call “Old Woom”. Churchill’s father died when he was in his teens leaving his son with a conviction that he would die soon and should accomplish something in life and mark his name in history.

**FIGHTING AND WRITING**

Churchill saw military action in India, the Sudan and the Second Boer war in South Africa, before resigning from the British Army in 1900. Later, he also served briefly on the Western Front in the First World War. The words “courageous daring” characterize his military career. His father died early that year, when Churchill was only 20. Churchill had a lisp, just like his father, and he thought he might also share the fate of an early death with him. He decided not to waste any time in making his mark on the world. A visit to New York, where Churchill stayed with an Irish-born American politician, greatly influenced Churchill in his approach to public speaking and politics, and in fostering his love of America. He returned to England to stay with his childhood nanny for a week, before she died. In October 1899, the South African (Boer) War started, and Churchill was there. It was his fifth campaign, and he was only 24. Churchill managed to travel almost 300 miles (480 km) to Portuguese territory. Despite the minor national-hero status this won him in Britain, he carried on as a well-paid war correspondent, and rejoined the army in South Africa. He again accounted himself bravely before returning to England in 1900, where he published two books on his Boer War experiences.

**Political Life**

Churchill stood again for Parliament, in Oldham in 1900, the same place in which he lost before. This time he won and soon became associated with the Conservative Party. After the 1900 general election, he embarked on a speaking tour of Britain, followed by tours of the United States and Canada earning a whopping 10,000 Pound.
Disaffected with the Conservative party, Churchill joined the Liberal Party in 1904. When the Liberals won the 1905 election, Churchill became Under-Secretary of State at the Colonial Office. In 1908, at just 33 years old, he entered the Cabinet, as President of the Board of Trade. He became Home Secretary in 1910. 1904 was also the year Churchill first met his bride-to-be, Clementine Hozier. Four years passed before they met again, at a dinner party, where he found himself seated beside her. They began a lifelong romance, marrying that same year. They had five children, but the fourth died before her third birthday. In 1911, Churchill became First Lord of the Admiralty. He held this post into the first months of the First World War, but he resigned after the military disaster of the Dardanelles war in Turkey (April 1915 to January 1916), for which he was blamed. (Britain lost more men in this madness than any other Allied country—21,255 dead and some 250,000 wounded.) Churchill joined the army, commanded an infantry battalion, and rose to the rank of colonel. In 1917, he was back in government, appointed Minister of Munitions, although he was not a member of the small War Cabinet, and no longer had any influence over war strategy. From 1919 to 1921, he was Secretary of State for War and Air. In 1924 he rejoined the Conservative party, and became the Chancellor of the Exchequer until 1929.

The 1930s were Churchill’s “wilderness years.” His outspoken opposition to Gandhi and Indian self-rule, and his support for Edward VIII during the “Abdication Crisis” made him unpopular. And his warnings about the rise of Nazi Germany and the need for British rearmament went unheeded.

He spent much of his time between 1931 and 1935 at Chartwell, in Kent, his home in the country. A keen amateur artist and mason, he painted in oils and constructed garden walls and a swimming pool. And although Churchill’s earnings as author and journalist were large, his scale of living also necessitated digence as a lecturer and an investor.

**Second World War**

When war broke out in 1939, Churchill again became First Lord of the Admiralty. Seven hours and 45 minutes after Britain declared war on Germany, a wireless message told British man-of-war across the world: “Winston is back.” Then when Neville Chamberlain resigned as Britain’s prime minister in May 1940, Churchill took his place. He was 65. He told the British Parliament:
“I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat.” One can include the equally famous, “we shall defend our Island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills and air, we shall never surrender”. Further the immortal line, “let us therefore brace ourselves to our duties, and so bear ourselves that, if the British empire and its Commonwealth lasts for a thousand years, men will say This was their finest hour.” “Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few”.

Churchill’s absolute refusal to cower before the military might of Nazi Germany inspired his country. It’s safe to say that without his inspirational example of fearless fighting spirit, Britain would have lost the Second World War. He summed up this attitude towards Hitler in one wartime speech in this way: “You do your worst! And we will do our best!” In 1940, when Britain stood alone against the Nazis, fighting tremendous odds at sea and in the air, Churchill exerted all his skill as an orator to rally British pride and courage, and all his ability as a statesman to get arms and provisions from abroad. (In 1963, when President John F. Kennedy conferred honorary citizenship of the United States on Churchill, Kennedy said, “He mobilized the English language and sent it into battle.”) The possibility of Britain winning against the unstoppable Germans seemed to tiny, that a French military leader predicted that Britain was going to have her “neck wrung like a chicken.” Later, Churchill remarked: “Some neck. Some chicken!” Despite poor health in the last two years of the war, Churchill became the tireless linchpin of the Grand Alliance of 26 nations that eventually defeated the Axis powers. He was the man chiefly responsible for providing the leadership and insuring the cohesion of the three great wartime allies-Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States.

On May 8, 1945, after nearly six years of war, Churchill announced Germany’s unconditional surrender. The Second World War was finally over.

Prime Minister Churchill acknowledges the crowds in London on May 8 with his famous V-for-Victory sign.
**Post-War Years**

Churchill emerged as a national hero from the Second World War, but surprisingly, his Conservative party was defeated by the Labour party in the 1945 election. So he led the Conservative opposition in the House of Commons, and remained active as a political thinker.

He suffered a mild stroke while on holiday in the south of France in the summer of 1949. Nevertheless, in 1951, Churchill again became Britain’s Prime Minister.

Churchill won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1953. (He authored some 20 books, and his speeches and other papers were collected into other volumes.) That same year, Queen Elizabeth II conferred upon him the highest order of chivalry awarded a commoner, when she made him a **Knight Companion of the Order of the Garter**.

In June that year, when he was 78, Churchill suffered a slight paralytic stroke that affected his speech and his ability to walk. Both the public and Parliament were told he was suffering from exhaustion. He returned to his desk at 10 Downing Street after two months of recuperation at Chartwell.

Aware that he was weaker both mentally and physically, Churchill resigned as Prime Minister in 1955, at the age of 81. But he kept his seat in the House of Commons until 1964.

When he was 90, Churchill suffered a severe stroke, on January 15, 1965. With typical bulldogged tenacity, he fought back for nine days, astounding the medical experts. But finally he died at his London home, on January 24, 1965-70 years to the day after his father’s death.

*So great was his standing and his service to his country, Churchill received the solemn honour of a state funeral, usually only received for royalty.*

As well as his wife Clementine Churchill and four children, Sir Winston Churchill left 10 grandchildren and three great-grandchildren.

Queen Elizabeth paid tribute to his “**Many-sided genius**” in her message to the public about his death. She added that “the survival of this country and the sister nations of the Commonwealth,
in the face of the greatest danger that has ever threatened them, will be a perpetual memorial to his leadership, his vision, and his indomitable courage.

The British Prime Minister of the day said: “Sir Winston will be mourned all over the world by all who owe so much to him. He is now at peace after a life in which he created history, and which will be remembered as long as history is read.:

It seems the prime minister was right. In 2002, a BBC poll of the “100 Greatest Britons” proclaimed Winston Churchill The Greatest of Them All, based on approximately one million votes from BBC viewers.

Churchill as artist, historian, and writer

Winston Churchill was an accomplished artist and took great pleasure in painting, especially after his resignation as First Lord of the Admiralty in 1915. He found a haven in art to overcome the spells of depression, or as he termed it, the “Black Dog”, which he suffered throughout his life. As William Rees-Mogg has stated, “In his life, he had to suffer the “black dog” of depression. In his landscapes and still lives there is no sign of depression.” Churchill was persuaded and taught to paint by his artist friend, Paul Maze, who he met during the First World War. Maze was a great influence on Churchill’s painting and became a lifelong painting companion. He is best known for his impressionist scenes of landscape, many of which were painted while on holiday in the South of France, Egypt or Morocco. He continued his hobby throughout his life and painted hundreds of paintings, many of which are on show in the studio at Chartwell as well as private collections.[214] His paintings can today be seen in the Wendy and Emery Reves Collection at the Dallas Museum of Art. The villa was rebuilt within the museum in 1985 with a gallery of paintings and memorabilia from Sir Winston Churchill. Most of his paintings are oil-based and feature landscape, but he also did a number of interior scenes and portraits.

Despite his lifelong fame and upper-class origins, Churchill always struggled to keep his income at a level that would fund his extravagant lifestyle. MPs before 1946 received only a nominal salary (and in fact did not receive anything at all until the Parliament Act 1911) so many had secondary professions from which to earn a living. From his first book in 1898 until his second stint as Prime Minister, Churchill’s income was almost entirely made from writing books and
opinion pieces for newspapers and magazines. The most famous of his newspaper articles are those that appeared in the *Evening Standard* from 1936 warning of the rise of Hitler and the danger of the policy of appeasement.

Churchill was also a prolific writer of books, writing a novel, two biographies, three volumes of memoirs, and several histories in addition to his many newspaper articles. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1953 “for his mastery of historical and biographical description as well as for brilliant oratory in defending exalted human values”. Two of his most famous works, published after his first premiership brought his international fame to new heights, were his six-volume memoir *The Second World War and A History of the English-Speaking Peoples*; a four-volume history covering the period from Caesar’s invasions of Britain (55 BC) to the beginning of the First World War (1914).

He was also an amateur bricklayer, building garden walls and even a cottage at Chartwell. As part of this hobby he joined the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers.

**Honours**

*Honours of Winston Churchill*

In addition to the honour of a state funeral, Churchill received a wide range of awards and other honours. For example, he was the first person to become an Honorary Citizen of the United States.

In 1945, while Churchill was mentioned by Halvdan Koht as one of seven appropriate candidates for the Nobel Prize in Peace, the nomination went to Cordell Hull.

Churchill received the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1953 for his numerous published works, especially his six-volumes set *The Second World War*. In a 2002 BBC poll of the “100 Greatest Britons”, he was proclaimed “The Greatest of Them All” based on approximately a million votes from BBC viewers. Churchill was also rated as one of the most influential leaders in history by *TIME*. Churchill College, Cambridge was founded in 1958 to memorialize him.
Honorary Degrees

- University of Rochester (LLD) in 1941
- Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts (LLD) in 1943
- McGill University in Montreal, Canada (LLD) in 1944
- Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri 5 March 1946
- Leiden University in Leiden, Netherlands, honorary doctorate in 1946
- University of Miami in Miami, Florida in 1947
- University of Copenhagen in Copenhagen, Denmark (PhD) in 1950.

Portrayal in film and television

Jawaharlal Nehru: A Brief Life Sketch

Jawaharlal Nehru was born in 1889. His father, Motilal Nehru was leading barrister of the day in Allahabad. The family's original name was Kaul. The Nehrus are Kashmiri Brahmans in origin. The title of Pandit (scholar or doctor) applied to Nehru comes from this origin. The Kashmiri Brahmans were coming down to the plains from their mountain valley in the seventeenth, eighteenth centuries in search of better chances. They got good positions in the service of the Mogul Emperors.

The family experienced vicissitudes of fortune in times of trouble. Nehru's great grandfather, Lakshmi Narayan Nehru became the first lawyer of the East India Company, Nehru's grandfather, Ganga Dhar Nehru, was Kotwal of Delhi until the mutiny in 1857. The Mutiny put an end to the Nehru family's connection with Delhi for merely a century until he returned in 1946 as the Prime Minister of India.

Nehru's father, Motilal was born in Agra in 1861, a posthumous child. The burden of the family fell on Motilal's two older brothers – Bhansa Dhar and Nandlal. Nandlal brought up Motilal. Nandlal served for ten years at Khetri – a small Rajput principality at a young age. He then left to study and practice law at Agra. When the High Court moved from Agra to Allahabad Nandlal moved with it, taking Motilal with him. So Allahabad became the Nehru home town. Nandlal rose to be one of the leaders of the Bar there. Motilal studied Law in Kanpur and had a good grounding in Persian, Arabic, Urdu and English. He worked with his guardian brother in Allahabad. Nandlal died suddenly. Motilal was left to make his own way in the world and he did it triumphantly.
Motilal had ideas of his own about his son. He was almost necessarily rather lonely from childhood. As a father Motilal was a disciplinarian and had an explosive temper. Nehru admired his father tremendously, with his gentle mother he was more confiding, she introduced him to various religious rites. Jawaharlal had a lonely childhood.

Born of rich and doting parents he had all that wealth and luxury could provide a long-desired son of a prominent and prosperous advocate of Allahabad High Court. However, Walter Crocker states,

"Contrary to what is often said, Nehru's background was not aristocratic. He himself always spoke of it as middle class; in English terms of that day it would have been upper middle class."


Jawaharlal remained the only male Nehrus in the immediate family. A sister Sarup Kumari (who would be known to the world as the glamorous Vijayalaxmi Pandit, the first woman President of the United Nations General Assembly) was born in August 1900. On Jawaharlal's sixteenth birthday, another ill-fated boy was born; he died within a month, (the third of Motilal's four sons failed to outlive his infancy. Two years later, in 1907, the last of Jawaharlal's last siblings another sister Krishna born.

The young Jawaharlal Nehru's mind was shaped by two sets of parental influences that he never saw as contradictory – the traditional Hinduism of his mother and the other womenfolk of the Nehru household, and the modernist, secular cosmopolitanism of his father."

*(p.4, Shashi Tharoor, Nehru: The Invention of India. Penguin Viking, New Delhi: 2003)*

Motilal's chief household retainer was Munshi Mubarak Ali. Jawahar learned a great deal from him. He wrote:

"With his fine grey bread he seemed to my young eyes very ancient and full of old time lore, and I used to snuggle upto him and listen, wide-eyed, by the hour to his innumerable stories."

After six months at a Convent School he was, a mere seven year-old brought back
home to be coached by private tutors. But his father, though deeply fond of the son and
heir, had great expectations of the child and in his domineering way decided that he should
have what was then thought to be the very best kind of education at home. He was lucky in
his tutor, an Irishman named Brooks who helped him to imbibe a love for literature and for
science as well as an interest in theosophy about which, when thirteen years of age, Jaha\nralal got into youthful raptures.

His tutor Brooks instilled in him a lifelong love of reading. The young Jaha\nralal devoured Scott, Dickens, Conan Doyle and Mark Twain.

At fifteen, he went to Harrow, where in his time there were only four or five Indian
boys. He could adjust well and did not entirely feel a misfit as some of the Indian did, he
was reasonably well liked and had a fair record, both at work and in play.

He developed, for both places, perhaps for Cambridge more than for Harrow, a sort
of emotional attachment. Though, he did not particularly impress his fellow students at the
University he was generally, the typical public school man, – pleasant and polished.

Even as a young man studying at Cambridge Jaha\nralal was interested in serious
things of life while not denying himself its innocent joys. Jaha\nralal returned to India in
1912, soon found himself in his characteristically ambivalent mood. With his education
complete, Nehru returned to India after seven formative years in England – the country
against which he was to struggle.

When he returned from England India was essentially unchanged. The British were
still undisputed masters of the sub-continent. Political consciousness was still confined to
the intelligentsia in the cities, though the lower middle class had been aroused by Tilak and
the agitation against the partition of Bengal from 1906 to 1910 was protested. The Con-
gress remained a timid annual gathering, loyal to the British connexion. The extreemists
had been subdued and their leaders were in prison or in self imposed exile. The caste sys-
tem was in petrified perpetuation. The peasant masses were in slumber. Gandhi was still in
South Africa. India was, in the words of Michael Brecher "in political apathy". As the First
World War drew to a close discontent was increasingly felt in India.

By and large there was no nationalism in India a century earlier, and not much until
about the time Nehru was born, because Indians did not much feel that they were one
people. Indian nationalism was to arise as the resentment spreading as English education
produced more and more Indians realized what it is to be self-governed. Indian national-
ism, even at its highest against the British, remained a minority movement. Moreover it was a
movement amongst Westernized Indians, educated in the English language and in English thinking. "They turned English weapons against the English" in the words of Walter Crocker.

It is in this atmosphere, in 1915, Nehru started public work, three years after returning from England. He started with the peasants. Before long, he took the significant step of giving up wearing European clothes. In 1916 he met Gandhi for the first time, but Nehru remained a moderate, almost a social worker until the Jullianwalla Bagh shootings in Amritsar in 1919, 400 non-violent citizens were killed and over 1000 wounded. It was then that he resolved to give his life to fighting the British and to end 'the slavery and disgrace of the Indian people'. By 1917 he joined Home Rule League. His real initiation into politics came two years later when he came in contact with Mahatma Gandhi.

Being a leader of the Bar at Allahabad, Motilal Nehru was naturally anxious that his son should join him and practice law. Hence, Jawaharlal, after obtaining his Master's degree in Science at Cambridge, attended the usual dinners and was in due course, called to the Bar. But when he actually joined his father's chambers after his return to India in 1915, he found he had no heart in the profession.

In 1916, he married Kamala Kaul at the age of 26. A son was born in 1927 but died almost immediately. But actually, Nehru was married to a cause. The cause was overiding and it left little place for family life or comfort. Nehru wrote in Discovery of India:

"I was a most unsatisfactory person
to marry".*

(*P.25-30)

Kamala was a devoted wife. Jawaharlal's daughter Indira Priyadarshini was born in November 1917. Jawaharlal Nehru has mentioned that the three people who influenced him most were his father Motilal Nehru, Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore. His father had a masterful personality. He influenced his son to a great extent in his younger days until Jawaharlal came under the magic spell of Mahatma Gandhi. But "then came Gandhi". Hiren Mukerjee rightly describes, quoting from The Discovery of India (p.30) Nehru wrote a letter,

"an abnormal person with mystery
and unplumbed depths within me,
which I could not myself fathom".

Mukerjee writes:
Towards his self discovery, in the course of action where he could lose himself steps would now begin to be taken, for India, World War I drew to its end seethed as she had never seethed before, and a man appeared, Gandhi a "little man of poor physique with something of steel in him."

Gandhi returned from South Africa in 1915 but remained a silent spectator. In Africa he had experimented successfully with *Satyagraha* or non-violent non-cooperation, a technique which was to revolutionize Indian politics. Early in 1919, the Rowlatt Bills and the Jullianwala Bagh tragedy shocked the country. At the end of 1919, Gandhi was rapidly emerging as the dominant figure. His influence had already spread to almost all sections of the Indian people. Gandhi created a new mood and provided a way out of the impasse. As Prime Minister Nehru put it many years later in these words:

"We saw him functioning, functioning with success. It was so different from our method, which shouted a great deal and did little. Here was a man who didn't shout at all. He spoke softly and gently... there was an element of great strength about it."

**Nehru's Role in Struggle for Indian Independence (1912–47)**

Nehru had developed an interest in Indian politics during his time in Britain. Within months of his return to India in 1912 he had attended an annual session of the Indian National Congress in Patna. Nehru was disconcerted with what he saw as a "very much an English-knowing upper class affair." The Congress in 1912 had been the party of moderates and elites. Nehru harboured doubts regarding the ineffectualness of the Congress but agreed to work for the party in support of the Indian civil rights movement in South Africa. He collected funds for the civil rights campaigners led by Mohandas Gandhi in 1913. Later, he campaigned against the indentured labour and other such discriminations faced by Indians in the British colonies.
When the First World War broke out in August 1914, sympathy in India was divided. Although educated Indians "by and large took a vicarious pleasure" in seeing the British rulers humbled, the ruling upper classes sided with the Allies, Nehru confessed that he viewed the war with mixed feelings. Frank Moraes wrote: "If [Nehru's] sympathy was with any country it was with France, whose culture he greatly admired." During the war, Nehru volunteered for the St John Ambulance and worked as one of the provincial secretaries of the organisation in Allahabad. Nehru also spoke out against the censorship acts passed by the British government in India.

Nehru emerged from the war years as a leader whose political views were considered radical. Although the political discourse had been dominated at this time by Gopal Krishna Gokhale, a moderate who said that it was "madness to think of independence", Nehru had spoken "openly of the politics of non-cooperation, of the need of resigning from honorary positions under the government and of not continuing the futile politics of representation." Nehru ridiculed the Indian Civil Service (ICS) for its support of British policies. He noted that someone had once defined the Indian Civil Service, "with which we are unfortunately still afflicted in this country, as neither Indian, nor civil, nor a service." Motilal Nehru, a prominent moderate leader, acknowledged the limits of constitutional agitation, but counseled his son that there was no other "practical alternative" to it. Nehru, however, was not satisfied with the pace of the national movement. He became involved with aggressive nationalists leaders who were demanding. Home Rule for Indians.

The influence of the moderates of Congress politics began to wane after Gokhale died in 1915. Anti-moderate leaders such as Annie Beasant and Lokmanya Tilak took the opportunity to call for a national movement for Home Rule. But, in 1915, the proposal was rejected due to the reluctance of the moderates to commit to such a radical course of action. Besant nevertheless formed a league for advocating Home Rule in 1916; and Tilak, on his release from a prison term, had in April 1916 formed his own league. Nehru joined both leagues but worked especially for the former. He remarked later. "[Besant] had a very powerful influence on me in my childhood... even later when I entered political life her influence continued. Another development which brought about a radical change in Indian politics was the espousal of Hindu-Muslim unity with the Lucknow pact at the annual meeting of the Congress in December 1916. The pact had been initiated earlier in the year at Allahabad at a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee which was held at the Nehru residence at Anand Bhawan. Nehru welcomed and encouraged the rapprochment between the two Indian communities.
Home Rule Movement

Several nationalist leaders banded together in 1916 under the leadership of Annie Besant to voice a demand for self-government, and to obtain the status of a Dominion within the British Empire as enjoyed by Australia, Canada, South Africa, New Zealand and Newfoundland at the time. Nehru joined the movement and rose to become secretary of Besant's All India Home Rule League. In June 1917 Besant was arrested and interned by the British government. The Congress and various other Indian organisation threatened to launch protests if she were not set free. The British government was subsequently forced to release Besant and make significant concessions after a period of intense protests.

Political Apprenticeship

Nehru returned to India in 1912, where he worked as a barrister in Allahabad while moving up the ranks of the Congress during World War I. His close association with the Congress dates from 1919, in the immediate aftermath of World War I.

Nehru first met Gandhi in 1916, at the Lucknow session of the Congress. It was to be the beginning of a lifelong partnership between the two, which lasted until the Gandhi's death. Nehru quickly rose to prominence under the mentorship of Gandhi. By late 1921, he had already become one of the most prominent leaders of the Congress.

When the British colonial administration outlawed the Congress party, Nehru went to prison for the first time. Over the next 24 years he was to serve another eight periods of detention. In all, he would spend more than nine years in jail.

Nehru's political apprenticeship under Gandhi lasted from 1919 to 1929. He was elected general secretary of the Congress party for two terms in the 1920s. His first term began with the Kakinada session of the Congress in 1923. Along with Subhas Chandra Bose, Nehru was considered a radical within the party during his tenure as general secretary due to his rejection of dominion status for India in favour of complete independence.

Nehru co-operated with Dr.N.S.Hardiker in founding the Hindustani Seva Dal in 1923. Nehru was elected chairman of the Allahabad Municipal Board in 1923. Nehru's second term as general secretary began with the Madras session of the Congress in 1927.

Non-cooperation:

The first big national involvement of Nehru came at the onset of the non-cooperation movement in 1920. He led the movement in the United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh). Nehru was arrested on charges of anti-governmental activities in 1921. Nehru remained loyal to Gandhi and did not join the Swaraj Party formed by his father Motilal Nehru.
Meanwhile, Kamala grew worse, and was sent to Europe for special treatment. Nehru joined her. Most of the time was spent in Geneva or at a nearby mountain sanatorium in Montana. But as Kamala’s health improved he was able to visit neighbouring countries.

The Mahatma’s personal influence was remarkable. Nehru began reading Bhagvad Gita afresh with its emphasis on right action. His faith in the importance of means dated from this period as also his stress on the ethical side of politics. In the broadest sense, his life was simplified and spiritualised. Gandhi, the man was a model of behaviour for Nehru.

In the 1920s and 30s, the British authorities underrated Nehru. But in the middle twenties Jawaharlal emerged as a national leader of infinite possibilities. The highlight of Nehru's European Sojourn was an anti-imperialist conference in Brussels in February 1927. It was there that he first came into contact with communists, socialists and radical nationalists from Asia and Africa. It was there that the goals of national independence and social reform became linked inextricably in his mind. It was there, too, that the notion of an Afro-Asian group of nations co-operating with one another was conceived. At the Conference, among the most prominent figures were George Lansbury, the archpacifist, Albert Einstein and Romain Rolland. For Nehru this was an informal debut on the international stage. His speeches at Brussels were typical of the radical socialist pronouncements then in vogue, angry critique of imperialism and all its misdeeds, with special reference to India.

The radical streak in Jawaharlal Nehru began to show from the movement of his arrival in England. The news of the Japanese naval triumph over Russia at Tsushima in 1905 thrilled him with the realization that a great European power could be defeated by an Asian nation. A later visit to Ireland also revealed to him the force of nationalism, with the Sinn Fein movement and Irish calls for a boycott of British goods reinforcing his Extremist sympathies. He also read George Bernard Shaw, William Marris and Meredith Townsend, Pershasive arguments against both capitalism and imperialism that seemed to predict the inevitable decline of the British Raj in India. He had received Trevelyan's biography of Garibaldi in school as prize, which inspired visions of similar deeds in India.

For his European sojourn in 1926-7 proved to be a turning point in his intellectual growth a period for reflection and serious reading.

As the struggle for freedom accelerated it required him to draw upon inner resources he had not known he possessed. In April 1932, his mother was badly beaten about the head and severely injured in 'lathi charge' when she was participating in a demonstration against the British Raj. She wrote to him 'The mother of a brave son is also somewhat like him' but
Jawaharlal's despondency was great a chronically ill-wife, a neglected daughter, and now a widowed mother who had nearly died at the hands of police, in addition to his two sisters also being jailed, all weighed on him. His only consolation in prison lay in his continued writing of the letters to Indira on world history – letters that he was not, for a while, allowed to send her. They reveal Jawaharlal's vision of human progress, advancing through periods of inhumanity and suffering but technologically moving onward towards better lives for the world's ordinary people.

In 1931, Jawaharlal's father Motilal passed. He spent over nine years in jail – not continuously but the various terms add up to this figure. Despite poor health, which required medication in jail, and food that was 'quite amazingly bad', Jawaharlal welcomed his imprisonment. He seemed to see it as confirmation of his sacrifices for the nation. He used his time to read widely – the *Kuran*, the *Bible* and the *Bhagvad Gita*, a history of the *Holy Roman Empire*, Havell's *Aryan Rule in India* with its praise of India's glorious past and the memoirs of the Mughal Emperor, Babar and French traveller Bernier. These works fed a romanticized sense of the Indian nationalist struggle. But Sarvapalli Gopal has observed:

"This was adolescent exaltation, yet to be channelled by hard thinking"

At home front, Kamala left far heaven's abode in February 1936. Nehru wrote "that fair body and that lovely face, which used to smile so often and so well, were reduced to ashes".*

*(The Discovery of India, p. 38)*

His daughter Indira married a Parsi gentleman, Feroz Gandhi (no relation to Mahatma Gandhi). Shashi Tharoor writes: "Nehru often called his daughter 'Indu-boy', a term of affection that could not but have reminded her of her duty to compensate for his lack of a son". By the time, the unquestioned leader of India of the Third World War emerging fast. **Internationalising the Struggle**

Nehru played a leading role in the development of the internationalist outlook of the Indian freedom struggle. He sought foreign allies for India and forged links with movements for freedom and democracy all over the world. In 1927, his efforts paid off and the Congress was invited to attend the congress of oppressed nationalities in Brussels in Belgium. The meeting was called to coordinate and plan a common struggle against imperialism. Nehru represented India and was elected to the Executive Council of the League against Imperialism that was born at this meeting.
During the mid-1930s, Nehru was much concerned with developments in Europe, which seemed to be drifting toward another world war. He was in Europe early in 1936, visiting his ailing wife, shortly before she died in a sanitarium in Switzerland. Even at this time, he emphasised that, in the event of war, India's place was alongside the democracies, though he insisted that India could only fight in support of Great Britain and France as a free country.

Nehru closely worked with Subhash Bose in developing good relations with governments of free countries all over the world. However, the two split in the late 1930s, when Bose agreed to seek the help of fascists in driving the British out of India. At the same time, Nehru had supported the people of Spain who were fighting to defend themselves against Franco. People of many countries volunteered to fight the fascist forces in Spain and formed the International Brigade. Nehru along with his aide V.K. Krishna Menon went to Spain and extended the support of the Indian people to the people of Spain. Nehru refused to meet Mussolini, the dictator of Italy when the latter expressed his desire to meet him. Thus, Nehru came to be seen as a champion of freedom and democracy all over the world.

**Declaration of Independence**

Nehru was one of the first leaders to demand that the Congress Party should resolve to make a complete and explicit break from all ties with the British Empire. He introduced a resolution demanding "complete national independence" in 1927, which was rejected because of Gandhi's opposition.

In 1928, Gandhi agreed to Nehru's demands and proposed a resolution that called for the British to grant dominion status to India within two years. If the British failed to meet the deadline, the Congress would call upon all Indians to fight for complete independence. Nehru was one of the leaders who objected to the time given to the British – he pressed Gandhi to demand immediate actions from the British. Gandhi brokered a further compromise by reducing the time given from two years to one. Nehru agreed to vote for the new resolution.

Demands for dominion status was rejected by the British in 1929. Nehru assumed the presidency of the Congress party during the Lahore session on 29 December 1929 and introduced a successful resolution calling for complete independence.

Nehru drafted the Indian declaration of independence, which stated:
"We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them the people have a further right to alter it or abolish it. The British government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or complete independence.

At midnight on New Year's Eve 1929, Nehru hoisted the tricolour flag of India upon the banks of the Ravi in Lahore. A pledge of independence was read out, which included a readiness to withhold taxes. The massive gathering of public attending the ceremony was asked if they agreed with it, and the vast majority of people were witnessed to raise their hands in approval. 172 Indian members of central and provincial legislatures resigned in support of the resolution and in accordance with Indian public sentiment. The Congress asked the people of India to observe 26 January as Independence Day. The flag of India was hoisted publicly across India by Congress volunteers, nationalists and the public. Plans for a mass civil disobedience was also undertaken.

Nehru and most of the Congress leaders were initially ambivalent about Gandhi's plan to begin civil disobedience with a Satyagraha aimed at the British salt tax. After the protest gathered steam, they realised the power of salt as a symbol. Nehru remarked about the unprecedented popular response, "it seemed as though a spring had been suddenly released" Nehru was arrested on 14 April 1930 while entraining from Allahabad for Raipur. He had earlier, after addressing a huge meeting and leading a vast procession, ceremoniously manufactured some contraband salt. He was charged with breach of the salt law, tried summarily behind prison walls and sentenced to six months of imprisonment. Nehru nominated Gandhi to succeed him as Congress President during his absence in jail, but Gandhi declined, and Nehru then nominated his father as his successor. With Nehru's arrest the civil disobedience acquired a new tempo, and arrest, firing on crowds and lathi charges grew to be ordinary occurrences.

The Salt Satyagrah succeeded in drawing the attention of the world. India, British, and world opinion increasingly began to recognise the legitimacy of the claims by the Congress party for independence. Nehru considered the salt satyagraha the high water mark of his association with Gandhi, and felt that its lasting importance was in changing the attitudes of Indians:
"Of course these movements exercised tremendous pressure on the British Government and shook the government machinery. But the real importance, to my mind, lay in the effect they had on our own people, and especially the village masses ... Non-cooperation dragged them out of the mire and gave them self-respect and self-reliance ... They acted courageously and did not submit so easily to unjust oppression; their outlook widened and they began to think a little in terms of India as a whole ... It was a remarkable transformation and the Congress, under Gandhi’s leadership, must have the credit for it.

Architect of India

Nehru elaborated the policies of the Congress and a future Indian nation under his leadership in 1929. He declared that the aims of the congress were freedom of religion, right to form associations, freedom of expression of thought, equality before law for every individual without distinction of caste, colour, creed or religion, protection to regional languages and cultures, safeguarding the interests of the peasants and labour, abolition of untouchability, introduction of adult franchise, imposition of prohibition, nationalisation of industries, socialism, and establishment of a secular India. All these aims formed the core of the "Fundamental Rights and Economic Policy" resolution drafted by Nehru in 1929–31 and were ratified by the All India Congress Committee under Gandhi’s leadership. However, some Congress leaders objected to the resolution and decided to oppose Nehru.

The espousal of socialism as the Congress goal was most difficult to achieve. Nehru was opposed in this by the right-wing Congressmen Sardar Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Chakravarthi Rajagopalachari. Nehru had the support of the left-wing Congressmen Maulana Azad and Subhash Chandra Bose. The trio combined to oust Dr. Prasad as Congress President in 1936. Nehru was elected in his place and held the presidency for two years (1936-37). Nehru was then succeeded by his socialist colleagues Bose (1938-39) and Azad (1940-46). After the fall of Bose from the mainstream of Indian politics (due to his support of violence in driving the British out of India), the power struggle between the socialists and conservative balanced out. However Sardar Patel died in 1950, leaving Nehru as the sole remaining iconic national leader, and soon the situation became such that Nehru was able to implement many of his basic policy without hindrance.
Independence: The First Prime Minister

At the age of 58 years he became the first Prime Minister. In 1947, he became the first Prime Minister of independent India. He effectively coped with the formidable challenges of those times the disorders and mass exodus of minorities across the new border with Pakistan, the integration of 500-odd princely states into the Indian Union, the framing of a new constitution and the establishment of the political and administrative infrastructure for a parliamentary democracy. He remained PM for 17 years till he died.

Jawaharlal Nehru played a key role in building modern India. He set up a Planning Commission, encouraged development of science and technology, and launched three successive five-year plans. His policies led to a sizeable growth in agricultural and industrial and industrial production. Nehru also played a major role in developing independent India's foreign policy. He called for liquidation of colonialism in Asia and Africa and along with Tito and Nasser, was one of the chief architects of the nonaligned movement. He played a constructive, mediatory role in bringing the Korean War to an end and in resolving other international crises such as those over the Suez Canal and the Congo, offering India's services for conciliation and international policing. He contributed behind the scenes toward the solution of several other explosive issues such as those of West Berlin, Austria, and Laos.

But Jawaharlal Nehru could not improve India's relations with Pakistan and China. The Kashmir issue proved a stumbling block in reaching an accord with Pakistan, and the border dispute prevented a resolution with China. The Chinese invasion in 1962, which Nehru failed to anticipate, came as a great blow to him and probably hastened his death.

Legacy

As India's first Prime Minister and external affairs minister, Jawaharlal Nehru played a major role in shaping modern India's government and political culture along with sound foreign policy. He is praised for creating a system providing universal primary education, reaching children in the farthest corners of rural India. Nehru's education policy is also credited for the development of world-class educational institutions such as the All India Institute of Medical Sciences, Indian Institutes of Technology, and the Indian Institutes of Management. One may quote:

("Nehru was a great man... Nehru gave to Indians an image of themselves that I don't think others might have succeeded in doing." – Sir Isaiah Berlin)
In addition, Nehru's stance as an unfailing nationalist led him to also implement policies which stressed commonality among Indians while still appreciating regional diversities. This proved particularly important as post-Independence differences surfaced since British withdrawal from the subcontinent prompted regional leaders to no longer relate to one another as allies against a common adversary. While differences of culture and, especially, language threatened the unity of the new nation, Nehru established programs such as the National Book Trust and the National Literary Academy which promoted the translation of regional literatures between languages and also organised the transfer of materials between regions. In pursuit of a single, unified India, Nehru warned, "Integrate or perish."

The sudden attack of Communist China on the northern frontiers of India in 1962 came as a rude shock not only to the people of India but also her Prime Minister. Nehru was not himself when he got back to India from his overseas tour in November 1961. By spring, in 1962, he was diagnosed a kidney infection and for the first time in his line he had to take prolonged treatment and to remain in bed. On 27th May, Wednesday, he passed away by 2 p.m.

He was six month short of 75. In most countries Nehru's death took priority over all the other news. Tribute began pouring in from all quarters, from the presidents and Prime Ministers, from the Pope and from Kings and from innumerable individuals, organizations and celebrities.

For fifty years Nehru had been drawing the biggest crowd in India, now on his last journey he drew the biggest crowd of all. Walter Crocker describes it touchingly:

"The journey lay along the six miles from Nehru's house to the place on the banks of the Jamuna near where Gandhi's body had been cremated some sixteen years before; along the roads and streets where Nehru had driven countless times since then... A little after half past four Sanjay lit the pyre and the flames rose briskly. That part of the ceremony came from India. The next part came from England: a volley of small arms was fired three times and twenty four buglers sounded The Last Post. While the fire was burning the body to ashes thus was symbolised the inextricability of India and England in Nehru's life." (p. 177-178)

Section II : Churchill : His Time and Setting

In view of appreciation of Sir Winston Churchill's personality, we must take his
time and setting into consideration. Both Nehru and Churchill lived and ruled at the critical juncture. Both of them as historians knew the law of continuity in National Life and they were the catalysts to bring differentiation by way of taking on new forms in the process of development; new ideas, new movements. Both of them deeply influenced the organic unity of institutional life of a nation. Their writing reflects how they shaped and moulded their nation.

**History of United Kingdom:**

The history of the United Kingdom as a Unified Sovereign began with the Political Union of the Kingdom of England, which included Wales, and Scotland (1714-27). On the new Kingdom, the historian Simon Schma said:

"What began as a hostile merger would end in a full partnership in the most powerful going concern in the world ... it was one of the most astonishing transformations in European history"*1

A further Act of Union in 1800 added the Kingdom of Ireland to create the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

George II (1727-1760) enhanced the stability of the constitutional system, with a government run by Sir Robert Walpole during the period 1730-42.*2 He built up the first British Empire, strengthening the colonies in the Caribbean and North America. In coalition with the rising power Prussia, defeated France in the Seven Years War (1756-1763) and won full control of Canada.*3

George III reigned 1760-1820; frequently reviled by Americans as a tyrant and the instigator of the American War of Independence, he was insane off and on after 1788 as his eldest son served as regent.*4 The reign was notable for the building of a second empire based in India, Asia and Africa, the beginnings of the industrial revolution that made Britain an economic powerhouse, and above all the life and death struggle with the French, the French Revolutionary wars 1793-1802, ending in a draw and a short truce, and the epic Napoleonic wars (1803-1815) ending with the decisive defeat of Napoleon.*5 The era was prosperous as enterpreneurs extended the range of their business around the globe.

From 1700 to 1850, Britain was involved in 137 wars or rebellions. It maintained a relatively large and expensive Royal Navy, along with a small standing army. The demand for war supplies stimulated the industrial sector, particularly naval supplies, munitions and textiles, which gave Britain an advantage in International trade during the postwar years.*6

The Seven Years War, which began in 1756, was the first war waged on a global
scale, fought in Europe, India, North America, the Caribbean, the Philippines and coastal Africa. The signing of the Treaty of Paris (1763) had important consequences for Britain and its empire. In India, the Carnatic war had left France still in control of its enclaves but with military restrictions and an obligation to support British client states, effectively leaving the future of India to Britain. The British Victory over France in the Seven Years War therefore left Britain as the World's dominant colonial power.*7

During the 1760s and 1770s, relations between the Thirteen Colonies and Britain became increasingly strained, primarily because of opposition to Parliament's repeated attempts to tax American colonists without their consent.*8 Disagreement turned to violence and in 1775 the American Revolutionary war began. In 1776 the patriots expelled royal officials and declared the independence of the United States of America. The loss of the Thirteen Colonies, at the time Britain's most populous colonies, marked the transition between the "first" and "second" empires, in which Britain shifted its attention to Asia, the Pacific and later Africa.*9 Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations, published in 1776, had argued that colonies were redundant, and that free trade should replace the old mercantilist policies that had characterised the first period of colonial expansion dating back to the protectionism of Spain and Portugal. The growth of trade between the newly independent United States and Britain after 1783 confirmed Smith's view that political control was not necessary for economic success.*10

**East India Company for India**

During the first 100 years of operation, the focus of the British East India Company had been trade, not the building of an empire in India. Company interest turned from trade to territory during the 18th Century as the Mughal Empire declined in power and the British East India Company struggled with its French Counterpart, the La Compagnie francaise des Indes Orientales, during the Carnatic Wars of the 1740s and 1750s. The British led by Robert Clive, defeated the French and their Indian allies in the Battle of Plassey, leaving the company in control of Bengal and a major military and political power in India. In the following decades it gradually increased the size of the territories under its control, either ruling directly or indirectly via local Puppet rulers under the threat of force of the Indian Army, 80% of which was composed of native Indian Sepoys.

**19th Century**

At the threshold to the 19th Century, Britain was challenged again by France under
Napoleon, in a struggle that, unlike previous wars, represented a contest of ideologies between the two nations.\textsuperscript{11}

The Victorian Era was the period of Queen Victoria's rule between 1837 and 1901 which signified the height of the British Industrial Revolution and the apex of the British Empire. The Great London Exhibition of 1851 clearly demonstrated Britain's dominance in engineering and industry; that lasted until the rise of the United States and Germany in the 1890s. Using the imperial tools of free trade and financial investment, it exerted major influence on many countries outside Europe, especially in Latin America and Asia.\textsuperscript{12}

Thus Britain had both a formal Empire based on British rule and an informal one based on the British pound.\textsuperscript{13} The second half of the 19th century saw a huge expansion of Britain's colonial empire in Asia and Africa. The Queen gave her name to an era of British greatness, especially in the far flung British Empire with which she identified. She played a small role in politics, but became the iconic symbol of the nation, the empire, and proper, restrained behaviour.

20th Century:

Queen Victoria died in 1901 and her son Edward VII became King inaugurating the Edwardian Era which was characterised by great and ostentatious display of wealth in contrast to the sombre Victorian Era. The era was prosperous but political crises were escalating out of control. Dangerfield (1935) identified the "strange death of liberal England" as the multiple crisis that hit simultaneously in 1910-1914 with serious social and political instability arising from the Irish Crisis, labour unrest, the women's suffrage movements, and partisan and constitutional struggle in Parliament. At one point it even seemed the Army might refuse orders dealing with Northern Ireland.\textsuperscript{14} No solution appeared in sight when the unexpected outbreak of the Great War in 1914 put domastic issues on hold. McKibben argues that the political party system of the Edwardian era was in delicate balance on the eve of the war in 1914.

After a rough start Britain under David Lloyd George successfully mobilised its manpower, womanpower, industry, finances, Empire and diplomacy, in league with the French and Americans, to defeat the Germans and Turks. Most Britons largely supported the war, but the Irish were restless and plotted a rebellion in 1916.\textsuperscript{15} Britain was neutral at first as the liberal government had a pacifist tendency, but it was committed to defending Belgium, which Germany invaded. Britain declared war on Germany and its allies. The romantic notions of warfare that everyone had expected faded as the fighting in France
logged down into trench warfare. The war had been won by Britain and its allies, but at a
terrible human and financial cost, creating a sentiment that wars should never be fought
again. The League of Nations was founded with the idea that nations could resolve their
differences peacefully, but these hopes were unfounded. The harsh peace settlement im-
posed on Germany would leave it embittered and seeking revenge. Victorian attitudes and
ideas that had continued into the first years of the 20th century changed during World War I.
By 1918, there were about five million people in the army and the fledgling Royal Air
Force, newly formed from the Royal Naval Air Service and the Royal Flying Corps, was
about the same size of the pre-war army. The almost three million casualties were known
as the "lost generation", and such numbers inevitably left society scarred; but even so,
some people felt their sacrifice was little regarded in Britain, with poems like Siegfred
Sassoou's Blighters Criticising the ill-informed jingoism of the home front.

Interwar Era:

The Loyd Geor ge coalition fell apart in 1922. Conservative Stanley Baldwin as leader
of the Conservative Party (1923-37) and as Prime Minister in 1923-4, 1924-9, and again in
1935-7 dominated British Politics. His mixture of strong social reforms and steady government
proved a powerful election combination, with the result that the Conservatives governed
Britain either by themselves or as the leading component of the National Government.
Baldwin's reputation soared in the 1920s and 1930s but crashed after 1945 as he was blamed
for the appeasement policies toward Germany. McKibbin finds that the political culture of
the interwar period was built around an anti-socialist middle class, supported by the con-
servative leaders. The British economy was lackluster in the 1920s, with sharp declines
and high unemployment in heavy industry and coal. For over a century the shipping indus-
try had dominated world trade, but it remained in the doldrums despite various stimulus
efforts by the government. Coal was a sick industry; the best seams were being exhausted,
raising the cost. Demand fell as oil began replacing coal for fuel. The Great Depression
originated in the United States in late 1929 and quickly spread to the world. Britain's world
trade fell in half (1929-33), the output of heavy industry fell by a third, employment profits
plunged in nearly all sectors. Unemployment remained high until the war absorbed all the
job seekers. George Orwell's book The Road to Wigan Pier gives a break overview of the
hardships of the time. Vivid memories of the horrors and deaths of the World War made
Britain and its leaders strongly inclined to pacifism in the interwar era.

Appeasement
The challenge came from dictators, first Benito Mussolini of Italy, then Adolf Hitler of a much more powerful Nazi Germany. The League of Nations proved disappointed supporters; it was unable to resolve any of the threats posed by the dictators.

**World War II and Churchill:**

On 3 September 1939 Neville Chamberlain declared war on Germany following the German invasion of Poland. Churchill was back in the government as Chamberlain appointed him First Lord of the Admiralty. The seeming failure of the government, including the military failure in Norway in 1940, meant that criticism of Chamberlain became more robust. On May 10th, 1940, Winston Churchill became Prime Minister and during the war, he was the most dominant figure in British Politics - a role that received huge praise once the war was over. He himself described his role as his "work with destiny" – a destiny for which he believed he had spent his life in preparation. From as early as 1936 he was making noises in Parliament about the overwhelming rate of German rearmament. His campaign made him unpopular with an administration which favoured appeasement and feared hostilities before UK rearmament could be completed. Churchill's predecessor, Neville Chamberlain had failed to fully estimate the intentions of the Nazi regime and following a series of events which led to the crisis in Norway in April 1940, he made the decision to resign and requested a meeting with Conservative MP Lord Halifax and with Churchill. Thus Churchill became his successor. With Chamberlaine out of the picture, Churchill reformed government, coalition in the face of national crisis. He himself became Minister for defence at the head of a Defence Committee. He surrounded himself by complimentary military staff who were essential to his vision of a war machine, unflinching in its belief in ultimate victory over barbarism. A signal went round the British fleet announcing 'Winston is back!' With his inmate understanding of the instincts and character of the British people, Churchill inspired the British nation to feats of courage and endurance, of which they had never known, or even imagined themselves capable.

Churchill was experienced in warfare, from both the civilian's and soldier's point of view. He had seen active service in Cuba and India - famously engaging there in hand-to-hand combat - and he used his position as journalist to fight for peace in the Boer War.

He also played a vital role in World War One. After seeing action on the Western Front from 1915-16, he was appointed Lloyd George's minister of munitions in 1917, and he was involved in the mass production of tanks, crucial to Britain's victory. Churchill learned a great deal from World War One, which influenced his policy when Britain once
again faced the threat from Germany. As Churchill saw it the way to fight a war was to ensure cohesion between government and army. The failure of conduct in World War One had been the rift between ministers and military leaders.

By late 1940 he had developed his strategy, it was simply a matter of time, as far as he was concerned, before the Axis powers were defeated.

His other great talent was the ability to galvanise an entire nation and he depended on eloquence and intelligence to impart national spirit and unflinching determination in the face of Germany and Italy's warmongering. Even though he promised nothing more than 'blood, toil, tears and sweat', he inspired courage on the Home Front.

Throughout the war he worked tirelessly, and built good relations with President Roosevelt at the same time as maintaining an alliance with the Soviet Union. His overriding aim was to woo support from the US. His first step to achieving the coalition came with the destroyers-for-bases negotiation, which won Britain the lease of 50 much-needed US naval destroyers in exchange for the use of military bases, mostly in the Caribbean. Over the next five years, the partnership developed, not always smoothly, but as Churchill anticipated, it became crucial to winning the war.

His speeches have become part of legend; he said "If Hitler invaded Hell; I would at least make a favourable reference to the Devil in the House of Commons."

His speeches were a great inspiration to the embattled United Kingdom. His famous words "I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears, and sweat" speech was his first as Prime Minister. He followed that closely, before the Battle of Britain, with "We shall defend our island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender." Additional speeches: "Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few...The task which lies before us immediately is at once more practical, more simple and more stern. I hope—indeed, I pray—that we shall not be found unworthy of our victory if after toil and tribulation it is granted to us. For the rest, we have to gain the victory. That is our task." and This was their finest hour. His good relationship with Franklin Roosevelt secured the United Kingdom vital supplies via the North Atlantic Ocean shipping routes. It was for this reason that Churchill was relieved when Roosevelt was re-electe. Upon re-election, Roosevelt immediately set about implementing a new method of not only providing military hardware to Britain without the need for mon-
etary payment, but also of providing, free of fiscal charge, much of the shipping that trans-
ported the supplies. Put simply, Roosevelt persuaded congress that repayment for this im-
mensely costly service would take the form of defending the USA; and so Lend-lease was
born. Churchill initiated the Special Operations Executive (SOE), under Hugh Dalton's
Ministry of Economic Warfare, which established, conducted and fostered covert, subversive
and partisan operations in occupied territories with notable success, and also the command-
dos which established the pattern for most of the world's current Special Forces. Students
of literature relish the effect of his words which was electric.

Churchill was also in London during the Blitz and regularly visited areas bombed
out by the Luftwaffe. To the people of London, he was one of them and a man who could
have removed himself from dangers of German bombers, but refused to -- staying in bombed
out London along with those who suffered.

He also took a role in military issues. It was he who was political force behind the
creation of commando units that would be sent in to disrupt the German military. He was
also scathing about military defeats, call the defeat of Tobruk a "disgrace".

During the war, Churchill also held a number of meetings with other wartime leaders.
He met F.D.Roosevelt, the American President, on 9 occassions between 1941 and 1945;
he had 5 the Russian leader Stalin between 1942-1945.

For all his popularity as war leader, Churchill lost the 1945 general election to Labour's
Clament Atlee. His wife told him that it might be a "blessing in disguise". Winston Churchill is
said to have replied, "very well disguised".

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After holding many posts in and out of Parliament and government since WW 1 he
became the Prime Minister (leader) of Parliament in Great Britain at the beginning of WW 2.

Postwar :

Britain was a winner in the war, but it lost India in 1947 and nearly all the rest of the
Empire by 1960. It debated its role in world affair and joined the UN in 1945, NATO in
1949, where it became a close ally of the United States. After a long debate and initial
rejection, it joined the European Union in 1973. Britain is no longer a major World Power.

In late October 2011, the Heads of Government of the Commonwealth of Nations
voted to grant gender equality in the British royal succession, ending the male-preference.
Primogeniture that was mandated by the 1701 Act of Settlement. The amendment also ended the ban on monarch marrying a Catholic.

History of UK

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Nehru: His Time and Setting

Nehru's life, like the life of any other man, has to be set in its proper context of place and time. The place was India and the time was the first half of the twentieth century. About India one has to take note of its scale. In size, in population and in antiquity, it transcends any country in Europe.

Arnold Toyanbee in Foreword of the book Nehru – a Contemporary's Estimate by Walter Crocker rightly observes:

"Nehru's personal life has to be placed in the setting of the contemporary history of India and indeed, of the whole world, for, in Nehru's generation, the world was growing together, for good or evil, into a unity and Nehru was a pioneer in taking nothing less than the world itself as field for his public activity."

(pp 9-10)
(London : George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 1966)

Nationalist agitation dominated India politically and culturally during the first half century; and it reached its zenith in two decades between the two World Wars. To destroy
the British raj became the beacon light of Nehru's existence. He was the implacable extremist. He castigated the Government of India Act of 1935 as "a new charter of slavery to strengthen the bonds of imperialist domination and to intensify the exploitation of our messes."

(Quoted from: A Study of Nehru Rajia Zakaria, ed. 1959, p.32)

With the education and social background of the English upper classes, Nehru was passionately determined to show that Indians could be as good as the British. By 1915, three years after returning from England, Nehru started public works. Reason as well as passion was on the side of Nehru when he threw in his lot with the Nationalists.

He started with the peasants. Before long he took the significant step of giving up wearing European clothes. Gandhi, whom Nehru had met in 1916, was a guest in the Nehru family home in 1918, but Nehru remained a moderate, almost a social worker, until the Jallianwala Bagh shootings in Amritsar in 1919; that fateful day when General Dyer ordered a fusillade on a public assembly which had met in defiance of a ban, killing about 400 and wounding over 1000. It was then that he resolved to give his life to fighting the British and to ending 'slavery and disgrace of the Indian people.' The fire was now in his belly. In 1928 he became General Secretary of Congress. By 1929 he had become so much a national figure that he was elected President of Congress, Gandhi backing him against the older and more experienced workers. He had to go long but he did and finally as history shows Indian nationalism won and so England withdrew from India. But Nehru borne a long history of colonization which was to be solved.

The Setting:

1.1 History of Indian Colonialism

In the 16th century, European powers began to conquer small outposts along the Indian coast. Portugal, the Netherlands and France ruled different regions in India before the "British East India Company" was founded in 1756. The British colonialists managed to control most parts of India while ruling the key cities Calcutta, Madras and Bombay as the main British bases. However, there still remained a few independent regions (Kashmir among others) whose lords were loyal to the British Empire.

In 1857, the first big rebellion took place in the north of India. The incident is also named "First war of Indian Independence", the "Sepoy Rebellion" or the "Indian Mutiny",...
depending on the individual perspective. This was the first time Indians rebelled in massive numbers against the presence and the rule of the British in South Asia. The rebellion failed and the British colonialists continued their rule.

In 1885, the "National Indian Congress" (popularly called "Congress") was founded. It demanded that the Indians should have their proper legitimate share in the government. From then on, the Congress developed into the main body of opposition against British colonial rule. Besides, a Muslim anti-colonial organisation was founded in 1906, called the "Muslim League".

While most parts of the Indian population remained loyal to the British colonial power during the First World War, more and more Muslim people joined the Indian independence movement since they were angry about the division of the Ottoman Empire by the British.

The non-violent resistance against British colonial rule, mainly initiated and organised by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, finally lead to independence in 1947. The Non-cooperation movement led by the Father of Nation, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was a significant as method of the Indian Struggle for freedom as it was non-violent.

At the same time, the huge British colony was split into two nations: The secular Indian Union and the smaller Muslim state of Pakistan. The Muslim League had demanded for an independent Muslim state with a majority of Muslims.

India became a member of the British Commonwealth after 1947.

1.2 Nehru's Literary Raw Material

The freedom struggle left deep marks in Nehru's memory. The first to be mentioned was Jallianwalla Bagh – the Amritsar. Tragedy in 1919 – the effect of which has been feelingly described in his autobiography along with this, 'my visit to the villages – his discovery of the peasant in 1920 – and 'my first close contact with Gandhi’ – Later he returned to his prison experience. He conveyed more poignantly than anything he has written the lasting effects of the nine years of enforced isolation from the outside world. Yet another milestone was the Lahore Congress in 1929 which remained vivid in his memory as this was the year Nehru came of age politically, the first time he was elected Congress President.

His attitude to Imperialism was based on emotional antipathy to colony rule. Nehru's life, his writing and speeches reflect all these historical events. Nehru's life, like the life of any other man, has to be set in its proper context of time. In his case, it means an intellec-
tual process that persistently transfer the independence of former colonial countries into people’s mind. For Nehru, the basic idea of the process is deconstruction of old fashioned perceptions and attitudes of power and oppression that were adopted during the time of colonialism.

1.3 Anti-colonialism

The dependent peoples have been seized by the strong desire to achieve full-self-government. Political independence would not solve all problems. Now, another was going to be on – i.e. mentality of colonialism versus process of anticolonialism. Anticolonialism is directly linked with Asian nationalism which has many negative characteristics. Gandhi, Nehru and his fellow freedom fighters had to fight this battle – “the colonial mind”. This was major psychological handicap. It may be called the ”Pukka Sahib” mentality.

There was direct relationship between the ”slave mentality” and the ”colonial mind”. Mahatma Gandhi used to complain about the slave mentality of large numbers of his countrymen and to plead that if only they, like him, would feel free, they would be free. This colonial mind set was more widespread and deep-rooted, and was more of an obstacle in the way of developing healthy and progressive outlook. President Sukarno of Indonesia at the Bandung Conference said:

"Colonialism has also its modern dress in the form of economic control, intellectual control..."

As a leader, for Nehru, this issue was going to be an acid test for democracy.

Broadly speaking, there is little or no anticolonial tradition in Indian history. It was due to British education, and its by product, it developed. The Indian attitude to this type of "colonialism" is expressed in the words of Mathew Arnold:

The East bowed low before the blast
In patience, deep disdain; she let the legions thunder past, And plunged in thought again.

Whatever the reason may be the fact that for centuries India and other Kingdoms in the Indian subcontinent warred against each other, and in the process the domination – subordination relationship was created again and again.

During colonialism, Western thought generally did not recognise the achievement of non-western civilizations, mostly nearly Eastern, Indian and Chinese. Much of the cul-
ultural work of building and sustaining Eurocentrism was done in popular genres of literature, for example Rudyard Kipling's Kim and adventure in general. Popular novelists like Edgar Rice Burroughs supported the political and military builders of western empires by presenting idealized (and often exaggeratedly masculine) western heroes who conquered 'savage' people in the remaining 'dark spaces' of the globe.

What survived over time and remains prevalent today is an "underlying presumption of a superior white western self as referent of analysis. One of the first critics of colonialism was Bartolome de las Casas, who described destruction brought by European colonists in America. Even in the 19th century, anti-colonial movements had developed claims about national traditions and values that were set against those of Europe. At the same time, the intellectual traditions of Eastern cultures were becoming more widely known in the west, mediated by figures such as Rabindranath Tagore.

1.4 Influence of Western / British Education

Anti-colonial movements drew upon western ideas and vocabularies to challenge the colonial rule. Surprisingly, anticolonial movement was amongst westernized Indians, educated in the English language, (some of them like Nehru, educated in England), they turned English Weapons against the English.

By far the most significant implication was that the British education United Indians from completely different parts of India and thus for the first time created a feeling of belonging together, giving the world "Indian" a new sense. Moreover, they thoroughly understood the meaning of freedom and democracy as well as other western ideas and values. This newly gained knowledge can be seen as the basis for the later struggle for independence. English strengthened the feeling of unity between the Indians as well because it gave the people of India the possibility to communicate with each other in a country that had 179 languages, 544 major dialects and thousands of minor dialects.* It is, therefore, essential to note the role played by English language and British education in India in the process of reawakening of spirit from the age-old slumber. It created a type of literature that worked wonder.

*(Vohra: India, P.94)

From 1835 was the Anglicizing period and initially this forcible deorientalization and unnatural Anglicization brought many evils in its wake. Macaulay's celebrated Minute
was gaining ground. He declared that it was necessary "to make natives of this country good scholar and that to this end our efforts ought to be directed" and on 7th March 1835, Lord William Bentick resolved that "the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India, and all funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone". This was the moment of the birth of Indo-Anglian literature. The infiltration of Western culture through the study of English language and literature gave a jolt to India's traditional life.

English education was a new force injected into Indian life. The immediate effects were a matter of false pride, 'Babudom', 'Pukka Sahib' mentality, trying to swallow the West in comic imitation. But that was surfacial. The deeper consequences proved elixir. It served nobly by shocking Indians into a new awareness, a sense of urgency, a flair for practicality and alternness in thought and action. The age old shackles, dormant intellectual and critical impulse quickened and a new outlook was visible everywhere, it was the reawakened Indian Spirit ready to meet the challanges of the values of modern science and the civilization of the West. Arthur Mayhew writes:

"Under English rule in India the impact of two civilizations may have produced unrest. But it has also sustained and stimulated life."

Indians learnt and comprehended English and they soon started writing also. It was manifestation of the new creative urge in India which can be referred as the literary renaissance in India. It was the fruitful union of Indian sapless and rich fertiliser from the west. Bengate led the way but the others were not slow to follow. Srinivas Iyenger observes:

"the filiations between the modern Indian literatures and English literature have been close."

1.5 Birth of Indian Writing in English, Indian Renaissance and Nehru:

From 1857 to 1900 English education took rapid strides and the climate was favourable for a new flowring of the creative Indian talent. Initially, 'English Spell' hypnotised them but soon the notes of dissent and discontent were heard. Then came Mahatma Gandhi, and from 1920 to 1947 he led a unique revolution against the British bureaucracy in India. English remained in the saddle all along, literacy in English was steadily growing
and Indian writing in English achieved a new range and power.

Gandhi was a humanist and a man of religion more than a nationalist. Although he worked for the liberation of India from foreign rule, there was no hatred in his heart for the British. Nehru inherited this ideology and his writing merges with the life of the nation the history of India during the last forty years of Indian Independence.

It is in literature that the heart beats of nation are heard. Through literature we realize the sense of unity. It is legitimate to view Indo-Anglian literature as an expression of the creative genius of the India people Indians have written and are writing in English. No doubt now it is recognised body of writing.

In fact, when Rammohan Roy and Ranade, Dadabhai and Phirozeshah, Surendranath, Rabindranath Tagore, Bepin Bal, Vivekananda, Tilak and Gokhale, Malaviya and C.R.Das, Aurobindo and Mahatma Gandhi, – when these and a hundred other nationalist and patriots of yesterday wrote in English, they were making Indian history.

The renaissance in modern Indian literature begins with Raja Rammohan Roy. Rammohan Roy mastered many languages, Sanskrit, English, Persian, Arabic, Hindustani besides Bengali. He travelled within and outside India. He served in the District under two British officials but left company in 1814, started the Atmiya Sabha, launching on the consciousness of Calcutta Society.

He undertook tireless endeavour to reform society, the plight of the widows, the darkness of superstition, the miasma of ignorance, the general backwardness of the country, all stirred him to action. He was a great humanitarian and social reformer. He fought and won the battle against the monstrous custom of Sati. In the words of Srinivas Iyengar:

"Rammohan Roy's interests and inquiries ranged from the rights of women and the freedom of the press to English education, the revenue and judicial systems in India, religious toleration and plight of the Indian peasantry."


In 1828 he founded the Brahmo Samaj. It became the meeting point of the cultural renaissance. He even seems to have thought of the possible emergence of a League of Nations to settle national disputes. In him, we find the seer, the idealist, the reformer, and the man of action fused in admirable preparation. Rammohan could be named as the first of the Indian masters of English Prose. Srinivas Iyengar writes:
"Rammohan Roy mastered the English language, and wrote and spoke forceful English years before. Macaulay wrote his Minute".*

*(Indian Writing in English, P.34).

Other writers of verse and prose the Cavally Brothers, Henry Derozio, Kashiprasad Ghose, Hasan Ali, R. Rajagopal, Mohan Lal belonged to Pre-Macaulay period. Michael Madhusadan Dutt (1827-1873) came immediately afterwards.

Raja Rammohan Roy had started the great task of national reconstruction on several fronts and reformers like Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Kesub Chandra Sen (1938-1884), Dayanand Sarswati, the founder of the Arya Samaj, created a great impression on the society. In Bombay, the reform or regeneration took the form of Prarthana Samaj. Kashinath Telang and Mahadev Govind Ranade (1842-1901) continued the tradition of Gyandev, Eknath and Namdev the prophets and saints of Maharashtra Kashinath Telang read and re-read John Stuart Mill, he also translated the Bhagvad Gita for the Sacred Books of the East Series. Ranade was yet the greater man. Later Gopal Krishna Gokhale became Ranade's disciple to carry forward his work.

He wrote in English his classic Rise of the Maratha Power; and he believed that the varied races of India could fuse into a nation. Ranade was also called the 'Father of Indian Economics and Mr. A.O.Hume, the founder of the Indian National Congress, himself called him Ranade, his "political Guru". Like Ranade Sir Narayan Chandravarkar was journalist, drator, politician, Prarthana Samajist, judge all rolled in one. He also wrote well. Dababhai Naoroji (1825-1917) taught at the Eliphinstone College, entered British Parliament in 1892. He published his Poverty and Un-British Rule in India in 1902.

Bengal, Punjab, Bombay and now, Madras was also part of this renaissance. Sir T. Muthuswami Ayyar, Sir V. Bhashyam, C. Ranga Charu, G. Subramania Ayyar continued the reform movement. In addition to Brahmo Samaj, Arya Prarthana Samaj and Arya Samaj, Theosophical Society was founded in Adyar near Madras in 1878 (in fact shifting there from New York) by Madame Blavatsky, Col. Olcott and William Q. Judge, Annie Besant, as President of the society, attempted to link the indigenous and Western Spirings of spiri-
uality. Ramkrishna Paramhansa (1836-1886) occurred at the nick of time, though actually an illiterate man, he was a self-illumined ecstatic and mystic. His mysticism was like the other and embraced the West and the East, and all forms of realization. He made it possible for the Indian intellectual to take the best that the West can give, yet not give up the spiritual heritage of his own country. His chief disciple, Swami Vivekananda, established Ramkrishna Mission. His writing and speeches spread over many volumes.

Rabindranath Tagore and Sri Aurobindo proved fiery evangelist of Nationalism, they were writer, poet, thinker, patriot, scholar, the critics of life and literature, with great power and versatility whose fame crossed the boundary. This torch bearers ignite and guided the spirit of fellow countrymen in the right direction. The Indian Renaissance, thus, prepared the way for the real search of Nation’s identity.

Section III:
Churchill: Leader and Statesman

Churchill: Leader and Statesman

"He was the lion who roared when the British Empire needed him most. He held many positions during his long career and was an accomplished civil servant. Winston Churchill entered the Royal Military College of Sandhurst, and graduated with honors in December of 1894." He later saw action in Cuba, India, Egypt, Sudan, the front lines of World War I, and even took part in one of the last British cavalry charges in history. When he turned twenty-five, Churchill was elected to Parliament, and began his career as a statesman in the House of Commons. He went on to serve as First Lord of the Admiralty, Minister of Munitions, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Prime Minister. In his private life, Winston Churchill was an avid reader and scholar, painter, author, journalist, and war correspondent. Historians widely attribute Churchill with being "the greatest statesman of the 20th century." Churchill was an effective leader and statesman because of his tremendous ability to inspire people; his unique strategic insight; his relentless passion; and his imperceptible personality.

One of the Winston Churchill chief attributes as a leader was his capability of inspiring people, regardless of seemingly ominous circumstances. The source of this inspiration was his own character. Churchill perpetually demonstrated enthusiasm, determination, and optimism—if not at all times in private, then at least always in public. One of Churchill’s private secretaries spoke of Churchill’s drive:
"The effects of Churchill's zeal was [sic] felt immediately in Whitehall. Government departments which under Neville Chamberlain had continued to work at much the same speed as in peacetime awoke to the realities of war. A sense of urgency was created in the course of very days and respectable civil servants were actually to be seen running along the corridors. No quadrupled their efficiency; the Chiefs of Staff and the Joint Planning Staff were in almost constant session; regular office hours ceased to exist and weekends disappeared with them."

Churchill's ability to inspire may be seen in the opening days of World War II. He did not permit a defeatist attitude, nor would he entertain talk of reasonable terms with Adolf Hitler. As Sir Martin Gilbert, Churchill's Official biographer, wrote, "It was Churchill's own opposition to all forms of defeatism that marked out the first six months of his war premiership and established the nature and pattern of his war leadership."

Another example of Churchill's powers of inspiration was his ability to channel his determination to the British people, and generally strengthen their resolve through enthusiastic encouragement and praise to others. During the opening days of the war he said that, "The British people are like the sea. You can put the bucket in anywhere, and pull it up, and always find it salt."

Churchill inspired not only British leaders, but British citizens as well, by projecting an attitude of optimism and stalwart fortitude. Finally, Churchill's robust optimism is excellently showcased in a speech he made in the House of Commons on June 4, 1940, when he spoke these famous words:

We shall go on to the end. We shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air, we shall defend our island, whatever the cost may be. We shall fight on beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender.

Churchill's words prompted the Labour MP Josiah Wedwood to say, That was worth 1,000 guns, and the speeches of 1,000 years." Churchill's potent spirit of perseverance and determination is best summed up in one of the own maxims: "We must just KBO." The initials stood for "Keep Buggering On."

Winston Churchill was also an effective statesman and leader because he possessed the attribute of strategic foresight. An example of his keen intuition is found in the after-
math of the Munich Agreement. While Neville Chamberlain proclaimed that its policies of appeasement had brought, "peace in our time", Winston Churchill complained of the terms. He declared that: a) nothing vital was at stake; b) Czechoslovakia could "have hardly got worse" terms in the agreement; and c) the agreement would ultimately not be successful in preserving Europe's uneasy peace while the threat of Nazi Germany under Hitler still loomed. World War II would prove his intuition correct. Despite his misgivings, Churchill, "...never doubted that the Western Alliance would defeat Hitler and subsequently Japan", and his vision was again clear.

Another example that showcases Churchill's strategic foresight is Communist Russia. Churchill had early misgivings about Russia, apart from the ones that he voiced in his famous "Iron Curtain" speech, where he spoke of an iron curtain setting on Eastern Europe. In 1931, Churchill declared in front of a large audience in Brooklyn, New York, that the great struggle of the future would be between English-speaking nations and communism. The Cold War would later prove his prophecy correct.

A third example of Churchill's strategic intuition is shown during his time as First Lord of the Admiralty starting in October 1911. Churchill summed up his approach to British naval power in these words:

Adequate preparation for war is the only guarantee for the preservation of the wealth, natural resources, and territory of the State, and it can only be based upon an understanding, firstly, of the probable dangers that may arise; secondly, of the best general method of meeting them as taught by the principles to the deduced from the events of history; and, thirdly, of the most efficient application of the war material of the era.

Churchill applied this policy to his duties as First Lord of the Admiralty and set about thoroughly preparing Britain's fleet for war. He also studied German naval progress, strength, and maneuvers. A mere four years later, World War I broke out, and thanks to Churchill's wisdom, the British Navy was well prepared for battle. In summary. Churchill possessed exceptional strategic foresight, tempered with a healthy dose of realism. As one observer wrote, "Churchill had great foresight, but he knew the future is mostly unpredictable."

While Winston Churchill's foresight was a critical component of his leadership, there was another factor that elevated all of his talents to the forefront: his passion. Winston Churchill possessed a passion for democratic freedom that drove him to work hard for its preservation; allowing him to be an effective statesman and leader. Perhaps the best ex-
ample of Churchill's passion is found in some of the words that he used to inspire people and battle defeatism: "I am convinced that every man of you would rise up and tear me down from my place if I were for one moment to contemplate parley or surrender. If this long island story of ours is to last, let it end only when each one of us lies choking in his own blood on the ground."**14** Churchill's passion fueled his desire to maximize the efficiency of Britain's wartime government and bureaucracy. An excellent example of this efficiency is the structural organization that Churchill implemented in the English chain of command. Sir Martin Gilbert writes that:

"The organization of his wartime premiership was a central feature of Churchill's war leadership. That organization took several months to perfect, but from his worked to establish it, and to create in the immediate ambit of 10 Downing Street an organization that would give the nation strong and effective leadership".**15**

This organization was comprised of different councils, executives, committees, and boards. Each leader in charge of the respective agencies sat on an executive board chaired by Churchill called the Chief of Staff Committee. Once Churchill fine tuned this system, "the highest possible accumulation of professional knowledge was at his disposal."**16** Churchill's passion also produced innovation. For example, he prompted the invention of the tank. In order to break the deadlock of the "no-man's land" of World War I, Churchill suggested that a type of heavy tractor with robust treads be produced from which men could fire machine guns and throw grenades from behind armor plating. This suggestion led to the production of the first tanks. Churchill's service as a soldier also showcases his passion. During World War I, Churchill served on the frontlines in France as a major with the 2nd Battalion of the Grenadier Guards.**17** Eventually, Churchill became the commander of the 6th Royal Scots Fusillers, a battalion of the 9th Division.**18** As a soldier, he possessed a steady, defiant courage, setting an excellent example for his men. When he left France in 1916, one Scotsman from under his command declared that, "I believe every man in the room [at a farewell lunch] felt Winston Churchill's leaving us a real personal loss."**19**

The last component of Churchill's remarkable formula for success was his imper- turbable personality. Coupled with a dogged determination was a personality that was capable of exuding charm and wit, and that caused people to gravitate toward him. Churchill famously described himself in the following way: "We are all worms but I do believe I am a glow worm." History shows that he did indeed glow. For example, he was able to maintain a poise in even the most stressful of times:

Churchill's typists were also to find that, however
bad his moods could be in dire moments of the war, he always had words of comfort for them and a ready smile, – his "beatific grin," as Marian Holmes called it. "Don't mind me," he would say after an outburst, "It's not you–it's the war." On one occasion, in November 1944, finding Marian Holmes and her colleague Elizabeth Layton working in the Hawtrey Room and Chequers without a fire, he commented, "Oh, you poor things. You must light a fire and get your coats. It's just as well I came in"– and he proceeded to light the fire himself, pilling it high with logs."

writes that, "Lots of people have imagination, courage, and tenacity. Few people have them in the amount or combination that Churchill did." Churchill used his unique charm and personality to encourage people to strive hard at their work and to excel in the jobs they were assigned. For example, people visibly displayed their affection for Churchill, as General Ismay recalled in an incident on Downing Street when a large group of people waited outside his private entrance to the admiralty, and greeted him with cries of encouragement and good luck. Churchill's poise was also displayed in his famous wit. One evening as a tired and wobbly Churchill was leaving the House of Commons, the Labour Member of Parliament Bessie Braddock accused him of being 'disgustingly drunk. He replied: "Bessie, my dear, you are disgustingly ugly." But tomorrow I shall be sober and you will still be disgustingly ugly."

World War II, however, is where Churchill's personality shines the most. He tirelessly travelled to military positions and installations, conducting inspections, boosting morale, and supporting commanders. He also established a personal friendship with Franklin Delano Roosevelt and maintained strong relations and diplomatic ties with the American Government. Through it all, he was able to maintain a cool assurance of victory and instill confidence in everyone around him.

In conclusion, of all the qualities that Churchill displayed, perhaps the most inter-
esting was his unexpected outbursts of humility. While Churchill's power to inspire, his strategic foresight, his driving passion, and his unstoppable personality were the core qualities that made him an effective leader and statesman, the realization that he too was a "worm" tempered his character and kept him focused. His lifetime spanned not only the two World Wars of the 20th century but other conflicts, historic diplomatic meetings, and the onset of the Cold War. Winston Churchill led the British nation on two separate occasions as prime minister, in peace and in war, and on two separate occasions as First Lord of the Admiralty, both in the office and on the frontline. Yet, he steadfastly refused to take the credit. When cheered at the demise of Nazi Germany, he responded, "I have never accepted what many people have kindly said, namely that I inspired the nation. It was a nation and race dwelling all round that had the lion heart. I had the luck to be called upon to give the roar."*24

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Last Updated on Thursday, 03 December 2009 10:53.

**Churchill's Leadership Traits & Versatile Personality**

Churchill tops the list of personality of the century. Under his leadership, his country held the fate of Western Civilization in its hand, and it was Churchill's energy, resolution, and example that provided the necessary inspiration. Great as was both his persistence and his determination, he has no patience with indecision. Like the Quakers of old, he believed that your yea should be yea and your nay should be nay. He stands for doggedness, steadfastness and persistence.
A gift which captivated even his opponents was his gaiety. He employed it as an art of government, for if ever he was in a tight corner in Parliament, he would make the House laugh, and laughter disarm opposition. Nehru was also known for his humour and wit. Churchill's wit could be sharp as a rapier, it could also strike home by an unusual turn of phrase, an unexpected adjective, a masterly use of anticlimax. It was spontaneous and it was the same as in private.

Writer, painter, bricklayer, historian, polo player, orator and winner of the Nobel Prize for literature, he was perhaps the last of the truly versatile statesman; and if he did not excel in everything to which he put his hand, he scored a high average. "Let us reconcile ourselves", he once wrote, "to the mysterious rhythm of our destinies". Whether mysterious or not, the rhythm of his destiny was far from the ordinary; and he did succeed in reconciling himself to it.

His visionary ability has been separately treated in this study in detail. Note should be taken that though he greeted with enthusiasm, President Wilson's magnificent ideal of a league of Nations, he could see, with inescapable disillusionment, the League's decline into impotence. A man of international stature, he was first and foremost a British patriot, though never a nationalist. He believed in direct ministerical responsibility to Parliament and the Constitutional Monarchy. He dreamt of the affinities of the English Speaking peoples. Churchill, like Abraham Lincoln or Nehru was not a particularly charismatic leader. This is in contrast to the devilishly charismatic Hitler. While Churchill had a powerful personality and wonderful communication skills, no one wished to award him dictatorial powers for life. But this saved him from being over confident, egoist and inflexible. His ability lies in getting things done and get results and improve performance. It is the ability to influence, motivate and provide the tools and environment to others so that they can best contribute towards the successful attainment of the goals of their organization. He was a man of immense courage and creativity, these qualities shaped the war during Brittain's "darkest hour".

Churchill did, of course, have his failings. His failings were his defects not vices. He was notably self-centred. He never tolerated delay. For him "Action This Day" really did have meaning. He could be bad tempered, especially if something to which he saw no immediate solution. He did have an addiction to luxury, impulsively extravagant but he never failed to put the call of duty first – a long way ahead of self-indulgence. He was always prepared to fight for his convictions without the least regard to his personal popu-
larity or political advantage.

In his first book *The Story of Malakand Field Force: An Episode of Frontier War* (1898), in Chapter III he wrote, "I pass with relief from the tossing Sea of Cause and Theory to the firm ground of Result and Fact". In the same chapter, he further says, "It is better to be making news than taking it; to be an actor rather than a critic".

**As a Leader**

Churchill was the lion who roared when the British Empire needed him most. He held many positions during his long career and was an accomplished civil servant. Winston Churchill entered the Royal Military College of Sandhurst, and graduated with honors in December of 1894. He later saw action in Cuba, India, Egypt, Sudan, the front lines of World War I, and even took part in one of the last British cavalry charges in history. When he turned twenty five, Churchill was elected to Parliament, and began his career as a statesman in the House of Commons. He went on to serve as First Lord of the Admiralty, Minister of Munitions, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Prime Minister. In his private life, Winston Churchill was an avid reader and scholar, painter, author, journalist, and war correspondent. Historians widely attribute Churchill with being "the greatest statesman of the 20th Century". Churchill was an effective leader and statesman because of his tremendous ability to inspire people; his unique strategic insight; his relentless passion; and his imperturbable personality.

One of Winston Churchill's chief attributes as a leader was his capability of inspiring people, regardless of seemingly ominous circumstances. The source of this inspiration was his own character. Churchill perpetually demonstrated enthusiasm, determination, and optimism – if not at all times in private, then at least always in public. One of Churchill's private secretaries spoke of Churchill's drive:

"The effects of Churchill's zeal was [sic] felt immediately in Whitehall. Government departments which under Neville Chamberlain had continued to work at much the same speed as in peacetime awoke to the realities of war. A sense of urgency was created in the course of very few days and respectable civil servants were actually to be seen running along the corridors. No quadrupled their efficiency; the Chiefs of Staff and the
Joint Planning Staff were in almost constant session; regular office hours ceased to exist and weekends disappeared with them."

(Geoffrey Best, *Churchill and War*, London)

Churchill's ability to inspire may be seen in the opening days of World War II. He did not permit a defeatist attitude, nor would he entertain talk of reasonable terms with Adolf Hitler. As Sir Martin Gilbert, Churchill's official biographer wrote, "It was Churchill's own opposition to all forms of defeatism that marked out the first six months of his war premiership and established the nature and pattern of his war leadership." Another example of Churchill's powers of inspiration was his ability to channel his determination to the British people, and generally strengthen their resolve through enthusiastic encouragement and praise to others. During the opening days of the war he said that, "The British people are like the sea. You can put the bucket in anywhere, and pull it up, and always find it salt." Churchill inspired not only British leaders, but British citizens as well, by projecting an attitude of optimism and stalwart fortitude. Finally, Churchill's robust optimism is excellently showcased in a speech he made in the House of Commons on June 4, 1940, when he spoke these famous words:

"We shall go on to the end. We should fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air, we shall defend our island, whatever the cost may be. We shall fight on beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender."

Churchill's words prompted the Labour MP Josiah Wedgwood to say, "That was worth 1,000 guns, and the speeches of 1,000 years". Churchill's potent spirit of perserverance and determination is best summed up in one of his own maxims: "We must just KBO." The initials stood for "Keep Buggering On." Churchill understood that dangers of defeatism and poor morale as a soldier and leader, so he set the example needed to inspire others around him...and he kept "buggering on."

Winston Churchill was also an effective statesman and leader because he possessed
the attribute of strategic foresight. An example of his keen intuition is found in the aftermath of the Munich Agreement. While Neville Chamberlain proclaimed that its policies of appeasement had brought, "peace in our time," Winston Churchill complained of the terms. He declared that: a) nothing vital was at stake; b) Czechoslovakia could "have hardly got worse" terms in the agreement; and c) the agreement would ultimately not be successful in preserving Europe's uneasy peace while the threat of Nazi Germany under Hitler still loomed. World War II would prove his intuition correct. Despite his misgivings, Churchill, ..."never doubted that the Western Alliance would defeat Hitler and subsequently Japan," and his vision was again clear. Another example that showcases Churchill's strategic foresight is Communist Russia. Churchill had early misgivings about Russia, apart from the ones that he voiced in his famous "Iron Curtain" speech, where he spoke of an iron curtain setting of Eastern Europe. In 1931, Churchill declared in front of a large audience in Brooklyn, New York, that the great struggle of the future would be between English-speaking nations and communism. The Cold War would later prove his prophecy correct. A third example of Churchill's strategic intuition is shown during his time as First Lord of the Admiralty starting in October 1911.

Churchill applied this policy to his duties as First Lord of the Admiralty and set about thoroughly preparing Britain's fleet for war. He also studied German naval progress, strength, and maneuvers. A mere four years later, World War I broke out, and thanks to Churchill's wisdom, the British Navy was well prepared for battle. In summary, Churchill possessed exceptional strategic foresight, tempered with a healthy dose of realism. As one observer wrote, "Churchill had great foresight, but he knew the future is mostly unpredictable."

While Winston Churchill's foresight was a critical component of his leadership, there was another factor that elevated all of his talents to the forefront: Churchill's passion fueled his desire to maximize the efficiency of Britain's wartime government and bureaucracy. An excellent example of this efficiency is the structural organization that Churchill implemented in the English chain of command. Sir Martin Gilbert writes that:

"The organization of his wartime premiership was a central feature of Churchill's war leadership. That
organization took several months to perfect, but from his worked to establish it, and to create in the immediate ambit of 10 Downing Street an organization that would give the nation strong and effective leadership."

This organization was compressed of different councils, executives, committees, and boards. Each leader in charge of the respective agencies sat on an executive board chaired by Churchill called the Chief of Staff Committee. Once Churchill fine tuned this system, "the highest possible accumulation of professional knowledge was at his disposal." Churchill's passion also produced innovation. For example, he prompted the invention of the tank. Churchill's service as a soldier also showcases his passion. During World War I, Churchill served on the frontlines in France as a major with the 2nd Battalion of the Grenadier Guards.

The last component of Churchill's remarkable formula for success was his imperturbable personality. Coupled with a dogged determination was a personality that was capable of exuding charm and wit, and that caused people to gravitate toward him. Churchill famously described himself in the following way: "We are all worms but I do believe I am a glow worm." History shows that he did indeed glow.

It may be said that Churchill's personality was the result of a combination of different qualities that produced his witty charm. John B. Severance, a British author on Churchill writes that "Lots of people have imagination, courage, and tenacity. Few people have them in the amount or combination that Churchill did." Churchill used his unique charm and personality to encourage people to strive hard at their work and to excel in the jobs they were assigned.

World War II, however, is where Churchill's personality shines the most. He tirelessly travelled to military positions and installations conducting inspections, boosting morale, and supporting commanders. He also established a personal friendship with Franklin Delano Roosevelt and maintained strong relations and diplomatic ties with the American Government. Through it all, he was able to maintain a cool assurance of victory and instill confidence in everyone around him.
Winston Churchill led the British nation on two separate occasions as prime minister, in peace and in war, and on two separate occasions as First Lord of the Admiralty, both in the office and on the frontline. Yet, he steadfastly refused to take the credit. When cheered at the demise of Nazi Germany, he responded, "I have never accepted what many people have kindly said, namely that I inspired the nation. It was a nation and race dwelling all round that had the lion heart. I had the luck to be called upon to give the roar."

The inter-war era of Churchill's life is the least known and studied today. The young adventurer, the First Lord of the Admiralty during World War I, the global eminence of Second World War leadership and the post war direction of an older statesman, Churchill was a multitalented person, an individual of many interests, abilities, actions, beliefs and personality traits.

Sir Martin Gilbert, the world's leading authority on Winston Churchill has written an excellent short book on Churchill's war leadership. It may not be relevant here but it certainly reveals his many faceted personality. For almost a century Sir Winston S. Churchill has been a personality of international interest and importance. From the adventurous days of his youthful escapades in the Boer War and the publication of his first controversial writings on the operations of the Malakand Field Force, Churchill has never for long been out of the public eye or the newspaper headlines. He has gloried in triumphs such as few men have achieved and he has suffered defeats, disappointments, humiliation and derision in a measure seldom experienced by any other man in public life. He has been mocked and isolated in Parliament and yet lived to see his critics hail him as the greatest parliamentarian of modern times. He was cheered as the architect of victory in the greatest war in history and then hurled from office by the very people he had led through the terror to triumph. Today he stands alone, prominent among all the giants of world history.

It is difficult to find an historical parallel to the many-sided career of Mr. Churchill. His versatility and his achievements in so many different spheres of activity make him unique. There have been many statesmen who were also writers of high quality, many orators who were also men of action, many politicians who dabbled in the arts. But the existence of any other man who has done all these things remain unknown.

A man of great Integrity Churchill was 65 years old when he first became Prime
Minister. Despite his age he had enormous energy. He had been a member of parliament (MP) for nearly 40 years. He had held senior posts, both at home and in International affairs for over 25 of those years. During this extensive career he had experienced failure and unpopularity. Indeed during the early days of his leadership there was still considerable distrust from members of his own Conservative Party.

There is no doubt that the extensive experience that Churchill had accumulated (including his mistakes and failings) were central to his leadership style. This experience helped to found his vision. The lessons he learnt helped him to be decisive and make the right decisions.

No doubt, he was to be praised beyond words by all. It was remarked that he led the life that many men would love to live. He survived fifty gunfights. His opponents, too, respected him. Tito said about him,

"...he is a great man. He is of course, our enemy and has always been the enemy of communism, but he is an enemy one must respect, an enemy one likes to have."

(Tito, as quoted in Jasper Ridley, Tito: A Biography (Constable and Company Ltd., 1994) P.323)

A painter and writer, he was artist by heart. He combined tradition and innovation in his work and addressed the Royal Academy of Art in 1953 saying

"Without tradition, art is a flock of sheep without a shepherd. Without innovation, it is a corpse."

(From a speech given at the Royal Academy of Art in 1953; quoted in Time magazine (1954-05-11)

His joy and fulfilment in art was philosophical. He expressed his feeling for art in the following words:

Every day you may make progress. Every step may be fruitful. Yet there will stretch out before you an ever lengthening, ever ascending, ever improving path. You know you will never get to the end of the journey. But this, so far from discouraging, only adds to the joy and glory of the climb."

He insisted on quality and he set store by experience. By 1940 he had been 40 years in Parliament and had held every major portfolio in the Government except the foreign office. Under his leadership, his country held the fate of Western Civilization in its hand, and it was Churchill's energy resolution and example that provided the necessary inspira-
tion courage is the quality he emphatically advocated. He used to say his soldiers:

"Success is not final, failure is not fatal, it is the courage to continue that counts."

Again,

"Courage is what it takes to stand up and speak, courage is also what it takes to sit down and listen."

This courage helped him to face his failings bravely. Churchill did, of course, have his failings. Courage allowed him to face all the odd. In Great Contemporaries he write:

Courage is rightly esteemed the first of human qualities, because, as has been said, 'it is the quality which guarantees all others.'

(Great Contemporaries, "Clemenceau" [1937])

Not enough has been written about Churchill's period as leader of the opposition (1945-51), a new and unique role for him. His speeches as leader of the opposition clearly indicates that Churchill was not losing ground, neither his power was diminishing in spite of his half-century in political harness. He continued to stress what were for him familiar themes. One of these was the preservation of Great Britain and her interests. Certainly he was the most eloquent statesman of our time. Says Halbert E. Gulley in The Quarterly Review of Speech (April 1951).

His views on politics were apt:

"Politics are almost as exciting as war, and quite - as dangerous...... in war you can only be killed once. But in politics, many times."

**Character Traits of Winston Churchill**

The first weeks of May, 1945, saw the end in Europe of the most brutal and deadly war ever fought. Nazi Germany's unconditional surrender had given the free world, in Winston Churchill’s words, "the signal for the greatest outburst of joy in the history of mankind...[w]eary and worn, impoverished but undaunted and now triumphant, we had a moment that was sublime."

From the beginning Britain had staked its existence on the outcome of the war, and thus more than any other country had cause to feel "Inexpressible relief" as its successful
conclusion. Churchill, more than any other man, had led the Allied powers in their mortal fight against Nazism, and thus, more than any other man, deserves credit for the victory.

To the mammoth task of defeating Nazi Germany, Churchill brought to bear many of his special qualities: courage, perseverance, independence, physical and emotional resilience, superb writing and speaking skills, and a keen sense of history. Below we examine each and speculate on their origins and, where possible, on their impact on Churchill's thinking and actions before, during and after the Second World War.

**Courage**

Churchill's life from age 22 to 26 was spent first as a member of the Cavalry and later as an officer in the Infantry. He fought in several wars throughout the period, most notably in India, the Sudan and South Africa, emerging unscathed despite his constant participation in heavy fighting on the front line. After the battle of Omdurman in the Sudan in 1898, he wrote this account to his mother:

I was under fire all day and rode through the charge. You know my luck in these things. I was about the only officer whose clothes, saddlery or horse were unjured. I fired 10 shots with my pistol -- all necessary -- and just got to the end of it as we cleared the crush. I never felt the slightest nervousness and felt as cool as I do now ... I am sorry to say I shot five men for certain and two doubtful ... I destroyed those who molested me and so [meted] out without any disturbance of body or mind.

Here Churchill referred to his "luck in these things" to explain his continued survival, but later he came to believe that it was more than just good luck. As a correspondent for the Morning Post, Churchill covered the Boer War in South Africa. In 1899, on his way to the front line in Cape Town, he wrote to his mother: "I shall believe I am to be preserved for future things."

After his capture by and subsequent escape from the Boers, Churchill wrote to his mother and again alluded to a grand plan for himself in the world: "These are anxious days, but when one is quite sure that one is fulfilling one's proper place in the scheme of world affairs, one may await events with entire composure."

On 25 February 1899, Churchill again survived heavy fighting and set forth his thoughts in a letter to his friend Pamela Plowden:

I was very nearly killed two hours ago by a shrapnel. But though I was in the full burst of it God preserved me... My nerves were never better and I
think I care less for bullets every day.

Whether by sheer luck or divine providence, Churchill emerged from many battles unharmed. These experiences gave Churchill a sense of invincibility that emboldened him and gave him great courage in his later years.

Perseverance

The origins of Churchill characteristic perseverance are difficult to trace. While growing up, Churchill had been admonished almost continually by his parents and teachers for his lack of effort. Throughout his youth, letters from his teachers to his parents reporting on his progress in school were uniform in their condemnation of his "slothfulness".

His father was particularly harsh on him for his "slovenly happy-go-lucky harum scarum [sic] style of work", as this excerpt from an 1893 letter to Winston illustrates:

I am certain that if you cannot prevent yourself from leading the idle useless unprofitable life you have had during your schooldays & later months, you will become a mere social wastrel, one of the hundreds of public school failures, and you will degenerate into a shabby unhappy and futile existence.

Scarcely one year later, Churchill's father died. This event was a watershed in Churchill's life and marked the beginning of his Herculean efforts in politics, war, oratory and writing. From this sequence of events it can be inferred that his father's death may have spurred Churchill to persevere greatly in all his efforts in order to vindicate himself in this father's eyes. The echo of his dead father's exhortations prodded Churchill throughout his life to prove himself a worthy and deserving son.

Ironically, in 1941 Churchill returned to Harrow, the school that nearly flunked him as a youth, and exhorted the students in a passionate address:

Never give in, never give in, never, never, never, never -- in nothing, great or small, large or petty -- never give in except to convictions of honor and good good sense.

His young audience was no doubt unaware that Churchill's own perseverance was conspicuously lacking when he was their age.

Independence:

If perseverance is the most difficult of Churchill's traits to explain, then independence is the simplest. Churchill was sent to boarding schools throughout his youth, where he learned
to get along without his parents, who rarely visited him. This fact alone is enough to explain his independence.

Churchill’s father’s behavior in politics also must have influenced him. When Winston was 13 years old, his father resigned as Chancellor of the Exchequer after refusing to preside over “fiscal irresponsibility.” This unprecedented move effectively ended his father's political career. His father's willingness to commit political suicide rather than compromise his principles must have deeply impressed young Winston.

The most searing event in Churchill's life, his father's death, forced a certain amount of independence on him. At the age of 20, he suddenly became the man of the house. He commented on this in 1898.

Solitary trees, if they grow at all, grow strong; and a boy deprived of a father's care often develops, if he escapes the perils of youth, an independence and vigor of thought which may restore in after life the heavy loss of early days.

In his boarding school experiences, his father's bold example, and his father's death can be seen the origins of Churchill's independence. This independence showed itself often in the decade before the war, when Churchill was nearly alone in his constant vocal attacks against Allied disarmament and German rearmament. During the war, it could be seen clearly in his resolve to fight Germany single-handedly, as this passage from his *Memoirs of the Second World War* shows:

Future generations may deem it noteworthy that the supreme question of whether we should fight on alone never found a place upon the War Cabinet agenda.

**Physical and Emotional Resilience:**

Churchill’s physical and emotional resilience were invaluable to him throughout his life, and especially during his conduct of WWII. Churchill commented in his *Memoirs* that he had the uncanny ability to fall into a deep sleep at a moment's notice. He used this ability throughout the war to rejuvenate himself in the afternoons by taking hour-long naps.

Churchill also used his hobby of painting to relax and reinvigorate himself. He painted outdoor scenes often (although he painted only once during the war, in Marrakech at the start of the North African campaign) to relax and to free his mind from the pressing events of his busy life. This relaxation allowed him to step back from events to consider them in their historical context.

Perhaps more important, Churchill had incredible emotional resilience, which proved
useful during the many Allied setbacks encountered during the war. This resilience probably had its origins in Churchill's early political life, where he learned to suffer many defeats without becoming embittered.

Indeed, Churchill came to rely on this resilience just after the war, when his party lost power and he was forced to step down as Prime Minister. Still, he was not bitter, and returned to 10 Downing Street seven years later for another three-year stint as Prime Minister.

**Writing and Speaking Skills:**

More than any other trait, Churchill’s superb writing and speaking skills allowed him to lead Britain and its Commonwealth to victory. Churchill was quite capable of demagoguery, as this oft-quoted passage from his speech on the Dunkirk debacle illustrates:

> We shall not flag or fail. We shall go on to the end. We shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air, we shall defend our island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender.

Of course, Churchill was capable of more than just bombast. His earnest entreaties inspired millions of Britons to search their souls, to accept their responsibilities, to do their duty in the struggle against tyranny.

In *My Early Life*, Churchill himself attributes his literary abilities to his poor performance in school, which caused him to have a tutor:

> As I remained in the lowest form [at Harrow] three times as long as anyone, I had three times as much [tutoring in English]. I learned it thoroughly. Thus, I got into my bones the structure of the ordinary British sentence -- which is a noble thing.

No doubt Churchill's early start in politics (he was elected a Member of parliament at 25), and his early start in book writing (by 25 he had already published two best selling novels of his war experiences in the Sudan and India) helped to develop his engaging writing and speaking style. He honed this ability even further later in life, winning the Nobel Prize in Literature for his four-volume *History of the English Speaking Peoples* at the age of 80.

**Sense of History:**
As his writings to his mother about "filling one's proper place in the scheme of world affairs" might indicate, Churchill was always acutely aware of the broader historical context of events. He often made conscious use of history, specifically his own experiences in WWI, to analyze and make decisions during WWII, as this passage in his Memoirs indicates:

The Battle of Alamein differed for all previous fighting in the Desert. The front was limited, heavily fortified, and held in strength. There was no flank to turn. A breakthrough must be made by whoever was the stronger and wished to take the offensive. In this way we are led back to the battles of the First World War on the Western Front. We see here in Egypt the same kind of trial as was presented at Cambrai at the end of 1917, and in many of the battles of 1918, namely, short and good communications for the assailants, the use of artillery in its heaviest concentration, the "drum fire barriage," and the forward inrush of tanks.

But Churchill used history for more than just tactical analysis. His astute grasp of the broad technological trends of the last 300 years, and of the crucial importance of their applications in warfare, led to his invention of the tank during the First World War.

Above all, Churchill was aware of the sad irony that the vast intellectual and technological progress of the previous 20 generations was being used not to better the human condition by reducing or eliminating the likelihood of war, but rather to make the tools of war ever more efficient in their destruction of human life. He commented on this phenomenon in his 1937 essay "Europe's Peace":

How astonishing it is that present day civilization should be exposed to dangers from which it was believed the labors of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries had permanently rid the world; and that we, with all our vast delicate scientific structure of economics and finance upon which so many millions get their bread, be exposed to potential strokes far more sudden and immediately decisive than any which could be death by the Cimbri and the Teutons, the Parthians, the Visigoths and the Gauls... Many communities have been plunged back into a state of insecurity hitherto only associated with barbarism.
Churchill's high intellect and classical education enabled him to position events in the tapestry of time. This ability was a mixed blessing; it allowed him to use history successfully as a guide to his wartime decisions, but it also made him painfully aware of war's colossal waste of mankind's potential.

**Conclusion:**

Taken together, Churchill's traits made him an extraordinarily effective leader of millions of soldiers and civilians. Both looked to him for courage and direction.

While it is easy for us in the calm clarity of retrospection to discern historical influences of Churchill's character and behavior, predicting a person's behavior using present-day knowledge is not so easy.

**Churchill as Visionary**

The word 'vision' is commendatory suggesting a positive quality but 'Visionary' may have a dubious sense. There are of course varieties of the meanings of these words in the Oxford English Dictionary but here are at least the principal ones.

**Vision**:
"Something which is apparently seen otherwise than by ordinary sight"

Or
"A mental concept of a distinct and vivid kind: a highly imaginative scheme or anticipation"

On the other hand

**Visionary**:
"Given to fanciful and unpractical views; speculative, dreamy."

Or
"Existing in imagination only; not actual or real."

Or
"One who indulges in fantastic ideas or schemes; an unpractical enthusiast."

The last perjorative meaning according to the Oxford Dictionary, appears in English in 1702. This was how both, Nehru and Churchill were seen by their respective opponents and many others, too, later on. It is to asset that Visionary may be properly and convincingly applicable to both in a positive sense.

Churchill and Nehru made a big mark on the history of the times in which they lived. Their leadership traits share the same elements:
* in-depth knowledge of the past
* competence to cope with the present
* forecasting the future

They were more than politician statesman or writer. The secret of their leadership lies in their intuitive, inventive insight about coming days. Both employed their extensive experience, determination and integrity to work out what future would be as also should be.

**Churchill:**

Churchill was foresighted. There was no one else who could have done what he did in 1940. In 1940 Churchill, alone stood across the path of Hitler's victory. Churchill's reputation as the great prophet forecasting the perils of fascism is recognised by all. He is constantly cited as an example of visionary leadership.

In 1946, on 19th September, he delivered a speech at Zurich University and said

"We must build a kind of United States of Europe.


Churchill did believe:

"The further backward you look, the further forward you can see."


As a historian, his aim is to use historical scholarship to engage a range of contemporary concern as also to forecast coming events in order to show that the study of history can be of service to the broader public. His aim was, in his words:

"In this way only will hundreds of millions of toilers be able to regain the simple joy and hopes which make life worth living."

(Source the same as above)

However, in the final paragraphs of this speech, it is clear that Churchill envisioned a United State of Europe without the participation of Britain, which together with the British Commonwealth would coexist with other powers such as "mighty America, and I trust Soviet Russia." Before the second World War, Churchill favoured an isolationist attitude towards continental Europe. On 15 February 1930, Churchill commented in the American journal 'The Saturday Evening Post' that a European Union was possible between continental states but without Britain's involvement:

"We see nothing but good and hope in a richer, freer, more contented
European commonality. But we have our own dream and our own task.
We are with Europe, but not of it. We are linked but not compromised.
We are interested and associated but not absorbed."

Churchill's was a more cautious approach ("unionist position") to European integration than was the continental approach that was known as the "federalist" position. The federalists advocated full integration with a constitution, while the Unionist United Europe Movement advocated a consultative body, and the federalists prevailed at the Congress of Europe. The primary accomplishment of the Congress of Europe was the European Court of Human Rights, which predates the European Union.

What few people understand is how close Hitler had come to winning his war in the early summer of 1940, and well before the air Battle of Britain. He would have won his war if he had sent a small German army to land in England in June or July that much has been recognized by a few, mostly British, military historians. But that is a speculation. What is not a speculation is what Churchill, on the twenty seventh of May in 1940 in the secret sessions of the War Cabinet, called "the slippery slope." If at that time a British government had signaled as much as a cautious inclination to explore a negotiation with Hitler, amounting to a willingness to ascertain his possible terms, that would have been the first step onto a Slippery Slope from which there could be no retreat. There were people who did not see eye to eye with Churchill about that beyond the secrecy of the War Cabinet room there were many of the Conservative Party; and perhaps there was the majority of the elected representatives of the British people, of the Conservative Party; and there was at least the potentiality that, under different circumstances, the manhood and the womanhood of Britain may have consented to such an, at least seemingly, reasonable and prudent course. But Churchill did not let go; and he had his way. That was the greatest turning point a turning point, more than a milestone in his career. It may have been the greatest turning point in the history of the Second World War. During the succeeding months Churchill and Britain defied Hitler's Third Reich almost alone. Later he was no longer alone. He and his Britain could not conquer Hitler by themselves; but as long as Churchill governed Britain, Hitler could not win his war.

But the bravery and the resolution that Churchill demonstrated at that time were inseparable from certain elements of his vision. Visionary elements may be recognizable also at other times of his career. Some of these elements may be more obvious than are others. As early as 1901 he said in Parliament: "Democracy is more vindictive than Cabi-
nets. The wars of peoples will be more terrible than those of kings." (Note that he said this at a time when predictions about the impracticability of great future wars were current among many political thinkers.) Even more stunning and daunting is what this, very young Churchill wrote in the twenty-fifth year of his life. In *The River War*: "I hope that if evil days should come upon our country and the last army which a collapsing Empire could interpose between London and the invader was dissolving in rout and ruin, that there would be some even in these modern days who would not care to accustom themselves to the new order of things and tamely survive the disaster.\(^1\) As Robert Rhodes James wrote: "Foresight in politics is rare and it is usually a matter of fortune rather than genius.\(^2\) Perhaps; but, at any rate, Churchill's foresight were historical rather than political. Impetuosity, impatience, willfullness, fancifulness were Churchill's faults, often. Shortsightedness. No. An unwillingness to think." Seldom: perhaps never. He had an extraordinarily quick mind and these traits of his were not only inseparable from his temperament and character but inseparable, too, from the Visionary capacity of his mind.

One example of this was his visionary assessment of Hitler and his Third Reich. That during the crucial summer months of 1940 Churchill understood Hitler better than Hitler understood him was a great asset. The struggle between Churchill and Hitler during those months, was a veritable duel. Churchill's understanding of his great opponent contained insight that could be properly recognised as visionary ones.

He foresaw the rise of a revengeful Germany as early as 1924. The enormous contingents of German youth growing to military manhood year by year are inspired by the fierest sentiments, and the soul of Germany smoulders with dreams of a war of liberation or revenge. He looked well beyond the fevers of cosmopolitan Berlin or those of the parliament of the Weimar Republic; he espied another fever, that of the then still small bands of storm troopers, marching through German towns or banging their beer mugs in Bavarian halls.

In October 1930 Churchill dined at the German Embassy in London. He said at the talre that he was anxious about Hitler. There was his increasing recognition during the war of what the Germans were able to accomplish, of how formidable their armies were. There are reasons to believe, and some evidence, that after El Alamein he kept impressing Field Marshal Montgomery with that. This brings us to another example of his visionary quality. He saw that Hitler had forged a formidable unity of a people; that German National Socialism was a terrible wave of a possible future and it was against this that his Britain had to
stand fast. There are dualities in the inclinations of most human beings. One of Churchill's
dualities in his vision of the world and of its history involved England's relationship to the
United States (and to the English-speaking peoples) on the one hand, and to Europe on the
other. His sense of the Anglo-European relationship is a rich and complex theme. It in-
volves, among other things, his great appreciation for the civilization and culture of Eu-
rope, together with his respect for its ancient constituents, such as the constitutional mon-
archies that were still the principal forms of state in his lifetime. Note that as late as in the
thirty-sixth year of his life there were only two republics in all of Europe: France and
Switzerland.

But then here I come to the perhaps narrow but essentially deep difference that
separated Churchill from most of his contemporaries in the Conservative Party of his time.
They knew less of Europe than Churchill; more important, they were more suspicious of
English lies and commitments to Europe than was Churchill. They did not comprehend the
awesome dimensions of Hitler's purposes and of his power, while they took some comfort
from his anti-communism. At the same time they did not understand that if Britain allowed
Germany to dominate all of Central and most of Eastern Europe, the independence of West-
ern Europe, including France, would be fatefuly compromised and fatefuly constrained;
that what was at stake was more than the traditional questions of a balance of power. There
were, and there still are, many German, some American, Eastern European, and lately even
British historians who criticize Churchill for having pursued his policy of fighting Ger-
many, with the result that the destruction of German power led to the presence of Russian
power in the eastern half of the Continent. Yet this melancholy outcome of the Second
World War in Europe was not an outcome of some kind of Churchillian shortsightedness.
As early as 1940 he saw two alternatives; either Germany dominates all of Europe; or
Russia will dominate the eastern portion of Europe (at worst for a while); and half of Eu-
rope is better than none.

Churchill's recognition that Stalin was a nationalist and not an Internationalist
Communist; and that the clue to the Russian "enigma" lay in the interests of the Russian
imperial state as seen by Stalin. His understanding of Stalin explains his, sometimes criti-
cized, agreements with the Soviet leader, including the 1944 Percentages Agreement, through
which Churchill succeeded in saving Greece (and which Stalin rather meticulously kept).

And it was Churchill's vision of a postwar Russian danger that lay behind his futile
urgings to design Anglo-American strategy in the last year of the war with the purpose of
arriving as far east in Central Europe as was possible, in order to forestall a dangerous extension of Russian military presence there. This had little to do with Communism, but it had everything to do with where the Russian and the Anglo-American armies would meet and stand at the end of the war in essence, where the division line across Europe would occur and what it would mean. That was the essence of his Iron Curtain speech in Fulton too.

Further, his long range vision of the future of Europe and of communism are remarkable. He even, chose to entitle the last volume of his war memoirs *Triumph and Tragedy*, because of the unnatural division of Europe and the coming of the cold war.

And when General de Gaulle criticized the Americans who were letting so much of Eastern Europe go to the Russians. Churchill answered that, yes, this was so; Russia was now a big hungry wolf, in the midst of sheep; but after the meal comes the digestion period. Russia will not be able to digest what she was now about to swallow. The second instance is the remark he dropped to John Colville, on New Year's Day in 1953 (consider that this was said even before Stalin's death: "Churchill, said that if I lived my normal span I should assuredly see Eastern Europe free of Communism." It is given to few statesmen in history to suggest the unexpected, decades ahead, so accurately and clearly. Yet such were the visionary powers of Winston Churchill. He was astonishingly right about Hitler. He was largely right about Communism and Stalin. About the first he was able to translate his views into action. About the second because of many constraints and also because of American unwillingness only partly so. He also believed that the American idea of anticolonialism was, at least partly, premature. He did not share the frequent American inclination of considering China as a Great Power. As, he was an imperialist; yes, he did say at one, fateful occasion, in one, fateful phrase that he had not become Prime Minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire. True, his vision of Europe and his vision of the Anglo-American relationship were clearer than any vision he still may have had about the future of the Empire.

And here I arrive at and conclude with a summary of his protracted vision that of an eventual confederation of the English-speaking peoples of the world. He possessed this vision from the very beginning to the very end of his public life from his youthful support of his mother who published a short-lived *Angol-Saron Review* from 1899 to 1901. (Churchill did not like the title) through literally innumerable printed and spoken instances, culminating in the final publication of his four volumes of *The History of the English-speaking*
Peoples in the second half of the 1900s. His affection and respect for the United States was attributable to more than the influence of his American-born mother. It includes his vision of the future of the world. It was historic, more than racial.

One of Churchill's greatest failures, harming his reputation and his career, was that of his strident opposition to granting Dominion status to India, 1929 to 1935: "Once we lose confidence in our mission in the East, once we repudiate our responsibilities to foreigners and minorities, once we feel ourselves unable calmly and fearlessly to discharge our duties to vast helpless populations, then our presence in these countries will be stripped of every moral sanction." (Cited in James, Churchill, p.218.)

Contrary to most accepted views we ought to consider that he was not some kind of admirable remnant of a more heroic past. He was not The Last Lion. He was something else. He represented certain aristocratic traits in an age of democracy that he felt bound to accept and eventually cherish. He knew that not only the primacy of his nation among world powers but perhaps an entire era in the world that had begun about four hundred years before his birth was moving toward its end. In sum, he was the defender of civilization at the end of the Modern Age. That word, civilization, also appeared first in English five hundred years ago, defined then as the antithesis of barbarism. At a dramatic moment in the twentieth century, God allowed Churchill the task of being its principal defender.

Queen Elizabeth paid tribute to his "many-sided genius" in her message to the public on his death. She added that "the survival of this country and the sister nations of the Commonwealth, in the face of the greatest danger that has ever threatened them, will be a perpetual memorial to his leadership, his vision, and his indomitable courage."

The British Prime Minister of the day said: "Sir Winston will be mourned all over the world by all who owe so much to him. He is now at peace after a life in which he created history, and which will be remembered as long as history is read."

It seems the prime minister was right. In 2002, a BBC poll of the "100 Greatest Britons" proclaimed Winston Churchill The Greatest of Them All, based on approximately one million votes from BBC viewers.

Step by Step and While England Slept are the best examples of his vision. In both of these books the reviewers brought forth the amazing ability of Churchill to predict the growing conflict when it was so far in the future.

Ellery Sedgwick in Atlantic (January 1939, p.76) wrote:

"When it comes to providing a gift of prophecy there is no
denying the amazing prescience which foresaw in 1934 and 1936 the facertal crisis of 38. Nor can the thoughtful critic dispute Churchill's habitual clairvoyance in diving the future from an analysis of the past."

In the review of *Step by Step*, Churchill also received acclaim for his prognostication of the coming war.

Evan Old Critic H. G. Wells, writing for *Colliers*, praised Churchill as a man of destiny (Colliers from December 17, 1932 through June 3, 1939, Churchill wrote twelve articles that dealt with the growth of Germany and Japan, as future military adversaries. The articles comprised approximately forty percent of the articles he wrote for *Colliers* during this period.)

Thus Churchill combined imagination and capacity for original thought, with independent judgement. A statesman must have foresight and if he is to be a great statesman, he must have imagination too. These are two gifts that distinguish him from an ordinary politicians. Both Nehru and Churchill possessed this capacity.

And now one more startling and stunning example of his visionary quality. He was old and weary, in poor health, when in 1955 he felt compelled to end his public life. Yet in his last speech in the House of Commons in 1955 he, as one of his recent biographer Roy Jenkins writes, said something unforgettable ... which illuminated the dreadful prospect like a sheet of lighting" about the ending of our world. Churchill said: "Which way shall we turn to save our lives and the future of the world? It does not matter so much for old people; they are going soon anyway; but I find it poignant to look at youth in all its activity and ardour ... and wonder what would lie before them if God wearied of mankind?" Churchill was not a religious man; but this was a bourdon bell of foreboding, as from the heart and month of an Old Testament visionary and prophet. (Roy Jenkins, *Churchill*, New York, 2001, p.893).

My assessment arises from a conception of the historian's task which is not only to give a precise account of persons or of periods but to point out and to consider problems, problems of our understanding of places and people in the past, as well as the problem of the dualities of certain persons.

When asked what qualities a politician required, he characteristically replied:

"The ability to foretell what is going to happen tomorrow,
next month, next week, next month, and next year – and to have the ability afterwards to explain why it didn't happen"


A lifetime warrior and politician, he was optimist about better future, in one of his speech he said:

"What is the use of living, if it be not to strive for more causes and to make this muddled world a better place for those who will live in it after we are gone?"


Far back in 1946 he expressed desire that:

"We must build a kind of United States of Europe."

(Speech at Zurich University September 19, 1946) Partial Text

His rich and wide experience of life ultimately sums up in this vision:

"All the greatest things are simple, and many can be expressed in a single word: Freedom; Justice; Honour; Duty; Mercy; Hope.

(United Europe Meeting London, 1947)


His wisdom is clear and practical:

"In war : Resolution
In Defeat : Deficience
In Victory : Magnitude
In Peace : Good will

{The Second World War, Volume I : The Gathering Storm (1948)}

His conscience was transparent:

"We have surmounted all the perils and endured all the agonies of the past. We shall provide against and thus prevail over a the dangers and problems of the future, withhold no sacrifice,
drudge no toil, seek no sordid gain, fear no fee.
All will be well. We have, I believe, within us
for the life-strength and guiding light by which
the formented world around us may find the harbour
of safety, after a storm-beaten voyage."

(A Chateao Laurier, Ottawa, Canada, November 9, 1954; as cited at The Churchill Centre).

His self-respect was high, he used to say:
"We are all worms. But I do believe I am
a glow-worm."

{As quoted by Violet Bonham-Carter in Winston Churchill as I Knew Him, (1965) according to The Yale Book of Quotations (2006), Fred R. Shapiro, Yale University Press, p.155.}

**Nehru the Man**

This section briefly evaluates Nehru as a man with reference to the following aspects:

- Nehru – the hero of the masses
- Personal Appeal and Charm
- An Atheist
- The influence of the West and Western Education
- Mahatma Gandhi’s influence
- "No man is perfect"

Nehru had one of the finest minds in India, highly emotional, full of compassion, broad mindedness, sense of responsibility and a sensitive writer turned philosopher and then a politician.

**Nehru - the Hero of the Masses**

Nehru was always a curious combination of the idealist intellectual and the man of action. Grace was quite natural to him.

The magnetism of Nehru's own personality had made him the idol of the masses. His biographers have assessed him as democratic liberal humanist. Like a true liberal humanist he was emancipated from prejudices of caste, creed or colour.

The greatest quality of Nehru was his private face differed scarcely at all from his public face. He was a good livers. For him, the world was absorbing and fascinating place to live in. He was affected by events around him and being sensitive, reacted to them.

"I have no liking or attraction for the ascetic view of life,
the negation of life, the terrified abstention from its joys
and sensations. I have not consciously renounced anything
that I really valued, but then values change."

– Autobiography

Humour and wit were ready in his armoury, though used very sparingly. The elegance was more than just clothes, more even than the good breeding which was integral part of him. A mixture of distinction and charm, most people found him captivating. Like many egalitarians, Nehru himself was authoritarian in temperament. Yet, for all his sensitivity he was never touchy. Nehru by nature was an emotional man who had consciously tried to have self-control.

There are not many politicians who have been not corrupted by power as Nehru. Though reserved by nature, he loved and being loved by his people immensely. He was individualist yet he could draw huge crowd. In answer to the hero-worship he received, he said:

"I dislike it and wanted to run away from it,
and yet I had got used to it, and when it was
wholly absent, rather missed it."

– Autobiography

More than nine years of prison (intermitantly) was a real test of Nehru – the man. Aristocrate by birth having high standard of life he never complained about prison life. This, his nine years prison experience forced isolation from the family and outside world is conveyed more poignantly. Quite surprisingly he adjusted:

He write in Autobiography:

"I adjusted very well. I have that capacity.
I was much less agitated than my colleagues
by events outside..."

He turned his prison time into academic and intellectual pursuit. He was a good liver. A man with a zest for life, he liked the pagan way of life and called himself a pagan with exuberance of life. His childlike simplicity, his love for nature, were notable.

It was true, he was an English educated aristocrate, Westernized yet Nehru's admirers and worshippers were the countrymen rather than the townsman. This was ironic.

The extraordinary about the strength of the feeling that Nehru could rouse is intimacy and he evoked respect, he could win love and kept it. In the words of Hiren Mukerjee:
"It may be that history will judge him harshly, 
but for his own people who have known something 
of his mind and heart the task of judgement is not 
so simple."

A live person intellectually, he wrote in 1942 in **Prison Diary**: "To some extent, I suppose I have made a difference to events in India in the past. But I hunger for constructive work on a vast scale."

Often Nehru has been satirically called the last English in India. The Nehru family lived sophisticated westernized life quite fashionable in those days. Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal's father was a free thinker, modern and western in outlook, contemptuous of religioan, but his mother was the traditional Hindu lady. Motilal being the enthusiastic Western (which in those days was not uncommon in India) then, the Nehrus lived in the English style, as regards food, dress, and speech and the Nehru children were educated by English tutors or governesses. Jawaharlal's tutor Brooks was an Anglo Irishman and seems to have influenced him considerably. This English education and training had a remarkable effect on young Jawaharlal which lasted all his life. He wrote in his **Autobiography**: "Personally I owe too much to England in my mental make-up... I cannot get rid of the habits of mind, and the standards and ways of judging other countries as well as life generally, which I acquired at school and college in England".  

(Page 419)

He was the most travelled among the leaders of India, he had from his younger days come into contact with modern trends of thought. His education in England was only the prelude to his meeting famous men and intellectuals of the West.

He was untypically for Indians of his class, when he was sent to England for education, his father controlled his pain saying "it is a question of making a real man of you". Nehru wrote to his father four months before leaving England, "education is a mental state". In his case this was the mental state of an educated English man of culture, a product of two of the finest institutions of learning in the empire. Nehru showed in himself that the best in East and West can be synthesized. His ancestral roots, his conscious rediscovery of India, the never ending love from the masses of India and influence of Gandhi combined to love
India and the East.

Frankly he wrote in his Autobiography:
"...a queer mixture of the East and the West, out of place everywhere, at home nowhere ... Perhaps my thoughts and approach to life are more akin to what is called Western than Eastern, but India clings to me, as she does to all her children, in innumerable ways; and behind me lie somewhere in the subconscious, racial memories of a hundred or whatever the number may be, generation of Brahmans."

He tried hard to achieve synthesis between India and Europe and that in himself he demonstrated the realities of coexistence.

Some kind of ethical approach to life had a strong appeal for him, though he did not call it God because "God has come to mean much that I do not believe in."*

*(Discovery of India, 1946, pp. 25-34)

His approach to life was scientific. A kind of strong humanism appealed to him. Nehru was an atheist. He wrote:
"...Any idea of a personal God seems very odd to me."

(The Discovery of India, Page 16)

But this does not mean he was a follower of Epicurean Philosophy. Motilal, his father, was not a religious man but the boy Jawaharlal would listen to the stories from the Ramayan and the Mahabharat narrated by his mother, Swarup Rani. He had acquired a considerable knowledge of Indian folklore and mythology but no religious notions were instilled into him in childhood.

On March 28, 1960 The Hindu quotes Nehru's words:
"I am not wedded to any dogma or religion but I do believe – whether one calls it religion or not – in the innate spirituality of human beings."

Though not an orthodox Hindu he believed in the theory of Karma. Nehru wrote in "Independence and After":
"Since the last war, Europe has been tied up to a
number of grave problems and conflicts. It may say so, the past Karma of Europe pursues it. We cannot easily get rid of the curse of our past Karma; it pursues our country in various ways."

*(Delivering a speech on the Foreign Policy of India at New Delhi on March 22, 1948)*

His wide and varied reading did not include books on religion. But he confessed:

"...I had to drift to those books, for ignorance of them was not a virtue and was often a severe drawback."*

*The Discovery of India, p.76

Further, he says:

Spiritualism with its seances and its so-called manifestations of spirits and the like has always seemed to me a rather absurd way"...

But he had firm ethical base and philosophical attitude. He had an inmeasurable belief in a Supreme Power that rules the fate of men and nations. In his Autobiography he writes:

"Faith in progress, in a cause, in ideals, in human goodness and human destiny – are they not nearly allied to faith in a providence? If we seek to justify them by reason and logic immediately we get into difficulties. But something within us clutches to that hope and faith, for, deprived of them, life would be a wilderness without an oasis."

(*Autobiography, p.477)

Inspired by Gandhi's spiritualised politics, by adopting the twin principles of truth and non-violence, Nehru was secular. A hero of humanity, it matter little if he was an atheist or not. He quoted:

"What else is wisdom? What of man's endeavour?... to stand fear set free, ...

To hold a band uplifted over Hate..."

In his mental make-up Nehru had two apparently opposite forces to form his mindset and vision, on the one hand, the influence of West and Western education, on the other
hand, Mahatma Gandhi’s way of life and philosophy. He was a queer combination of these two opposite philosophy.

From Gandhi he learnt a lifetime lessons that the right means is equally essential for right end and secondly, he realized that spirituality and politics can be and should be linked. Power comes within and rules spontaneously, automatically. Another important aspect was non-violence and brotherhood. Like Gandhi he never developed enmity for anybody. Gandhi strongly influenced his life, his vision as leader and his personality as man.

It was Mahatma Gandhi who became the inspiration of his life, it was his ideals that moulded Nehru into the man that he became a devoted disciple as he was. Like Gandhiji, Nehru had an inquiring mind and the range of his studies was much wider. Genuinely fond of books, he had found time in the midst of all stress and strain within and without, to read the important works of many great thinkers of East and West.

The effect of the appearance of Mahatma Gandhi on the Indian scene has been described by Nehru in language that is at once inimitable and unforgattable:

"And then Gandhi came. He was like a powerful current of fresh air that made us stretch ourselves and take deep breaths, like a beam of light that pierced the darkness and removed the scales from our eyes, like a whirlwind that upset many things but most of all the working of people's mind."*

(*Independence and After, Page 17)

It is a remarkable fact that all great men have a human side to their personality. Nehru had his own faults and failures. His outburst of temper was due to intellectual impatience, he was of a quick mind and could not tolerate slow reaction. Many biographers have criticised him for being at fault in judging people. He has often been charged with the troubling habit of indecision a serious drawback for a statesman. The very reverse of what he wrote to his daughter Indira:

"I have always been a bit of a student, trying to learn to understand, but largely this effort was intellectual. There was also the emotional element in it; the learning from crowds, the appreciation of mass psychology"*
Frank Moraes assesses him in the following words:

"His weaknesses are on the surface and make him the more likeable. There is in his ebullience of spirit and speech a schoolboy charm which contrasts strongly with his ascetic and reflective mind. Like Krishna, Nehru also loves to indulge in playful pranks, these are the most part expressing themselves in exhibitions of temper and tantrums which over the years India's people have grown accustomed to and have learned to expect and accept, even to delight in."*

*(Jawaharlal Nehru: A Biography, p.491)*

On completing 53 years of age, he wrote in *Prison Diary*; "Time Sweeps on and the energy and vitality of youth slowly ebb away. Not that I feel less vital or ineffective."

(*Prison Diary With Letters, 1942).*

In his speeches he was occasionally rambling, sometimes trite and even unrelated but it was the personality of the man rather than his oratory that held the attention. He could not prevent the growth of the corruption which his own colleagues facilitated. The image of the self-sacrificing Congressman in homespun gave way to that of the Professional Politicians, Manipulation, hypocrisy, inefficiency, profiting became common.

In 1959, in a birthday tribute, his sister Krishna wrote sadly:

"Nehru the Prime Minister no longer remembers or adheres to the ideals or dreams that Jawahar the Rebel had ... He no longer arouse his people as he did in years gone by, for he has allowed himself to be surrounded by those who are known to be opportunists and the entire Government machinery, corrupt and heavy with intrigue, rules the land, with no hope of an honest hearing from any quarter".

Frank Moraes wrote that:

"...in India today there is no one to restrain or guide Nehru. He is Caesar, and from Caesar one
can appeal only to Caesar."*

An admirer and former cabinet colleague, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur put it bluntly:

"He is not a good judge of character and is therefore easily deceived. He is not averse to flattery, and there is a conceit in him which makes him at once intolerant of criticism...
His very loyalty to friends blinds him to their faults. For this very reason he is not ruthless enough as a leader and his leadership is weakened thereby."*

(quoted from *Nehru The Invention of India* Shashi Tharoor. Viking Penguin 2003 p.206)

He had inner urge to do things, but he was conditioned by so many factors. Even his opponents had often put in a good word for him. Perhaps he was in a type of politics leading to complexity.

He was self-critical enough, but he had at bottom a fierce pride which indeed he needed to sustain himself. He had his foibles, and it may be that he failed the bigger tests of history, but he won his people's trust and even more their affection in great measure.

In view of the limitations under which Nehru has to work, it is easy to understand why there is a gap between the policy of his government and his own social and political ideals. That is why he always felt alone in a crowd. He write in *An Autobiography:*

"...But all these shouting crowds, and dull and wearying public functions, and interminable arguments, and the dust and tumble of politics touched me on the surface only, though sometimes the touch was sharp and pointed."*

(*An Autobiography, Jawaharlal Nehru, 1936, pp. 204-8).

He was a man who inspired deep friendships, and appreciated honest differences of opinion. He became the heir of Mahatma Gandhi because his life was founded on honest thought and honourable action. Krishna Kriplani describes his vivid personality as –

"He is at once personal and detached, human and aloof, with the result that now he appears fond now cold, now proud, now modest. An aristocrate in love with the masses, a nationalist who represents the culture of the
foreigner, an intellectual caught up in the mad storm of an emotional upheaval."*

(*Gandhi, Tagore and Nehru. By Krishna Kripiani, p.73)

Nehru's introspection was there long back in 1940.
"There comes a time in the life of every individual as well as every country when great decisions have to be made, risks have to be taken..."*

(*National Herald, 28 July 1940)

A man who moved with kings and queens on equal terms but had not lost the common touch and turned his life into a thing of beauty and joy. His simple recepie for happiness was –

"The happiest man is he whose thinking and action are co-ordinated."*

(*Speeches [1953-57] p.472)

Upon his death, Vajpayee declared in Parliament "a dream has remained half-ful-filled, a song has become silent, and a flame has vanished into the Unknown. The dream was of a world free of fear and hunger; the song a great epic resonant with the spirit of the Gita and as fragrant as a rose; the flame a candle which burnt all night long, showing us the way."

K.T.Narasimha Char in his Profile of Nehru states:

"Jawaharlal Nehru was no stronger to the world of action or the realm of thought. He was one of those rare men in history who had been gifted with the vision of the dreamer and the wisdom of the builder, his great master, Mahatma Gandhi being another such example." (p.ix)

There was not the remotest hint of a pose when, nearly ten years before his death, he drew up a Will and Testament (made known only when he died) requesting "a handful of my ashes" to be thrown in the Ganga, "the river of India" and the rest to be scattered over the fields, where India's peasants toil, to become an indistinguishable part of our immemorial country. Indeed, to the world he offered his understanding and his friendship, but to
India he gave his all.

Walter Crocker pays his respect in the following words:

"Whatever the Verdict of History on Nehru may be, either as leader or a man, he will remain one of those rare personages who form an inseparable part of their age." (p.15)

Upon the Mahatma's assassination, Nehru became the keeper of India's struggle for freedom. He was surely unchallangeable Prime Minister and peerless global statesman. His last few years were years of weariness and disillusionment. In his last years, problems increased but a quality of deep sincerity, a human touch breathing warmth and tenderness never separated.

Walter Crocker notes:

"Nehru's physical and intellectual endowment were, like his aesthetic appeal, extraordinary; but what in the final account impressed me most was his goodness."

He further quotes:

"If only the good were clever!
If only the clever were good"

(*144 Nehru – a Contemporary Estimate)

His mercurial personality was utterly charming even to total strongers witty, engaging. Yet the same Jawaharlal could be imperious and short tempered. An intellectual dreamer who gave expression to ideas but not to their implementation.

Shashi Tharoor rightly says:

"The very term 'Indian' was imbued with such meaning by Nehru that it is impossible to use it without acknowledging a debt..."

(Nehru The Invention of India, p.xi)

On his fiftieth birthday in 1939 Sarojini Naidu in a letter to him wrote:

"You are a man of destiny born to be alone in the midst of crowds, deeply loved but little
understood. Your first half century of life has passed already into history, song and legend. May the early years of the next half century bring you the fulfilment of your great dreams and visions and immortalise you in the chronicles of human progress..."

(A Bunch of Old Letters, p.397)

K.T.Narasimha Char praises Nehru as—
"a man of a large heart, his friendships for people lasted even if they parted company with him in the political field."*

(*Profile of Jawaharlal Nehru, Bombay: The Book Centre Pvt.Ltd., p.231)

Nehru – the Leader & Visionary

Nehru was not only the first Prime Minister of India, remained on the position for 17 years but also held the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, also the Chairman of the Planning Commission beside being the Minister for Scientific and Cultural Advancement, also taken on the party Presidency himself in 1951.

Nehru took over when the ghastly shame of partition riots and the assisination of the Mahatma Gandhi had shattered people's faith.

In 1930, Nehru wrote in his prison diary:
"I marked at my good fortune. To serve India in the battle of freedom is honour enough. To serve her under a leader like Mahatma Gandhi is a doubly fortunate..."

(A statement to the Court, 17 May 1922)

Again he wrote:
"I am a servant of the Indian people and I recognize no other master."*

(*Prison Diary with Letters, 19 Oct 1930, 26 January 1931)

As Ramchandra Guha writes:
"The history of postcolonial India...is one of an unstable democratic regime in the middle, challanged..."
from the left and the right by absolutist ideologies that seek to replace it."


Many British imperialists believed that an independent and united India would not survive. Sir Winston Churchill was having first opinion about it. There were conceptual and ideological challenges. "In all these Nehru was working against the grain of history, against the deep seated feudal and hierarchical tendencies in Indian society."

(*Ibid, p.54)

Nehru tried and hoped. For him politics was a matter of commitment and sacrifice. He confirmed "If anything goes wrong, in some measure at least, the responsibility for that must be borne by me as Prime Minister."*

(*A Letter to Rajendra Prasad, 8 December 1949)

Nehru holds the record for the rare combination of the unchallenged leadership of his party and the position of Prime Minister. He never foresake his love for socialism. It was his young age dream and philosophy of life. His one ambition was to be able to bring the peoples of India to the level of those of England and America.

K.T.Narasimha Char concludes:

"He was one of those rare men in whom the vision of the poet is wedded to the wisdom of the stateman in solving the problems facing the Prime Minister of an ancient land till recently under alien domination."

(*Profile of Jawaharlal Nehru, p.248)

He addressed the Indian masses as a democrat, but the Indian masses revered him as demigod. However, in the last years he failed to feel the pulse of the people he wanted to serve. His personal broad rational outlook helped him to be non-communal, non-parochial. His primary priority was to keep India United and he succeeded by encouraging a nationalism that would make Indians feel proud. His non-secularism was base for this foundation.

Crocker rightly calls him the aristocratic liberal humanist. Promoting adult suffrage is a proof of this praise. By single stroke democracy was implanted. He truly believed in a free society with no discrimination. He was not at all provincial. In 1943 in *Prison Diary* he wrote:

"One thing cannot be taken from us – to
act with courage and dignity and to stick
to ideals."*

(*15 February 1943, Prison Diary & Letters)

It was a giant task to unite a desperately divided and very poor country – and doing so democratically but Nehru did it, and surely, did it well. Nehru, quite aware of it, wrote: "it is a remarkable thing that a country and a people, rooted in the remote past, who have shown so much resistance in the past, should now be marching forward rapidly..."

Ramchandra Guha evaluates his positive contribution in the following words:

"But Nehru was Catholic with respect to more than matters of faith. Altogether he was the least Chauvinistic of political leaders. Like the Mahatma (Gandhi), he transcended the divisions of race and religion, caste and class, gender and geography. He was a Hindu who was befriended by Muslims, but also a Brahmin who did not observe the rules of caste, a north Indian who would not impose Hindi on the South, a man who could be trusted and respected by women."*


It is sad that he had to yield to the majority of his party and of the country and accepted the formation of linguistic state. (He was personally opposed to it).

He served as India's representative to the great Western democracies. The Western nations, too, look upon him as such and expect him to guarantee democracy in India. Nehru was the chief architect of our democracy and strictly followed democratic procedure. Most importantly, he was the builder of Indian democracy. He respected social diversity. His democratic outlook saved India from becoming a dominant religions or linguistic ethos.*

*(based on correspondence between Nehru and Vallabhbhai Patel)

His admiration for the Parliamentary system of government, he declared in the Constituent Assembly on March 8, 1948.

"India stands for democracy and will resist the imposition of any other concept or practice."*

(*"Independence And After", p.217)
He was a prophet of Modernity, Votary of Science and an admirer of the Jet Age. Nehru's economic policies built a decent industrial base and created a pool of technically skilled manpower that has fuelled the recent software boom. Nehru built on the inclusive idea of India framed by Tagore and Gandhi. He worked hard to bring women and low castes into public life, he also worked to integrate and respect the minorities.

One must take note of the fact that his period as Prime Minister was comparatively free of communal riots. He was one of those who build modern India in the most crucial first decade after Independence. At his suggestion, National Planning Commission was established in 1938 by the Congress Party. His general approach was largely Marxist, though not in a technical sense.

The Nehru way of Planning has been called "the middle way" by a combination of the principles of political and economic democracy. Brecher observes that:

"Gandhi knew that Nehru was the one person
who could bridge the growing gap between
socialism and Gandhism."*

*(Brecher Michael, Nehru a Political Biography. P.112)

Nehru's involvement in the drafting processes of the Indian Constitution is noteworthy. The longest written document of its type, it has an inspiring preamble and chapters on fundamental rights and the directive principles of State Policy. Nehru had dominated in the early discussion over the Objectives resolution and he had been Chairman of three important committees whose reports were the basis of the drafts to be incorporated in the Constitution.

Like Churchill's War Speeches, Nehru's election campaign was a fury of activity. He thoroughly enjoyed the sense of communion with large masses of people. This experience enabled him to discover real India. As a Speaker he always spoke extempore, his genuine concern and sincerity was immediately felt. The secret of people's fascination for him was in his warmth for his people. His speech fascinated people and the secret was this his theme was India. There was always rapport between him and his audience. He was humanist and artist in words and not any more politician. In 1925 he wrote an article "The Politician saying : "...No one will dream of asking a man who is not a trained engineer to build a bridge. But no such training is required of the politician, ..."*

(*The Searchlight, Anniversary Number (1928)

He was not of that typed politician. As leader he had immense capacity to work. In
1952, during the General Elections for campaigning from end to end in the country. He travelled 25000 miles in all by air, train and even by boat. In the course of campaign he travelled more than he slept and talked more than he travelled. He addressed 300 mass meetings and spoke to about 20 million people directly. Almost at every place, city, town, village or wayside halt, people had waited overnight to welcome the nation's leader. The contemporary accounts describes people's love for him:

"Schools and shops closed; milkmaids and cowherds had taken a holiday; the Kisan and his helpmate took a temporary respite from their dawn-to-dusk programme of hard work in field and home. In Nehru's name, stocks of soda and lemonade sold out; even water became scarce... Special trains were run from out-of-the-way places to carry people to Nehru's meetings"...

His reputation was at its zenith. Nehru wrote in his *Autobiography*:

"My politics, had been those of my class, the bourgeoisie, indeed all vocal politics then were those of the middle classes."*

(*An Autobiography, p. 48)

Often he was called the Hamlet of Indian politics, but this was not a term of deroga-
tion. Nehru preferred to stay non-aligned in a (old war. His policy allowed a newly indepen-
dent and poor country to decide their own space. This independence also allowed India (and Nehru), to play an important mediating role in critical international conflicts such as Korea and Vietnam. His non-alignment policy gave India the rhetorical leadership of the newly independent nations.

Nehru's political philosophy was one through which individuals can be releled from economic and cultural bandage, in his own words:

"I suppose I am temperamentally and by training an individualist, and intellectually a socialist..."*

Walter Crocker takes note of his popularity:

"His relationship with it (Indian crowd) was quite unique, not equalled even by Gandhi's. His prestige with the Indian people had something of the magical about it. Here was the source of his power. Here was why over a dozen years or so he could have been a dictator if he had so desired, without guns or propaganda."*


In his "Will and Testament" he accepted this: "I have received so much love and affection from the Indian people, that nothing that I can do can repay even a small fraction of it,"....

He built India's political institutions with conviction and principle so that democratic process can go smoothly. A related distinctive feature of the Nehruvian legacy is secularism. Nehru was, by conviction and upbringing completely secular. In 1927 he wrote in a letter to his Muslim friend Syed Mahmud:

"I have no patience left with the legitimate or illegitimate offspring of religion."

So also one vital legacy of Nehru's economic planning was the creation of an infrastructure for excellence in Science and Technology. He was always fascinated by science and technology. When he address the Indian Science Congress in Calcutta on 26 December 1937, he admitted:

"...as a student I haunted the laboratories of that home of science, Cambridge. And though circumstances made me part company with science, my thoughts turned to it with longing."

However a fair assessment cannot miss his weaknesses. A sympathetic biographer Frank Moraes had to write:

"in India today there is no one to restrain or guide Nehru. He is Caesar, and from Caesar one can appeal only to Caesar."

The final blow came from China. After signing the Panchsheel agreement with China in 1954, he felt secured. He could not think of China embarking on war with India. The faith
was badly in a shambles in 1961. His stature as the leader of the newly liberated colonial peoples had a major blow. Shashi Tharoor describes it in these words:

"It is sometimes true that a person's greatest failures are born of his or her greatest passions. Foreign policy was Jawaharlal Nehru's favourite subject, his area of unchallenged expertise. China had been a source of intense fascination since his youth... and for whose leaders he had expressed great admiration ever since his speech the Anti-Imperialist Congress in Brussels in 1927."*

(Shashi Tharoor, Nehru The Invention of India. Penguin Viking, 2003, p.209)

Yet it was China that more than anything else, blighted his last years and contributed to his final decline. His critics have found the gap between the ideals he cherished and their implementation. In his last years he began to realize that he fell short of his promises. But it would be wrong to judge him in purely negative terms.

He had three-fold mission to fulfill, he made democracy a natural 'reality' for the last citizen in India, he brought science and technology and 'modernity' and connected this ancient land with the present world. True, in the words of Ramchandra Guha,

"He made mistakes, to be sure, but other people in his place would most likely have made bigger ones."*

(*Ibid. p.140)

A leader unchallenged, he was no good administrator. Given Jawaharlal's extraordinary stature, no one dared challenge him, probably, he was not in a mood to listen to opposed opinion. "The Light of Asia" has became the "Jewel of India". The first decade of power ended triumphantly but later on several problems popped up. The same Nehru could also be imperious and short tempered. Nor could he prevent the growth of the corruption and soon professional politicians replaced the self-sacrificing leaders in Indian politics.

But when all is said and done. The final image emerges in positive note. No wonder Gandhi choose him as his political heir, as his devotion to the national interest as he saw it and also his personal grace and charm the love of millions, the pride of having raised India to a position of dignity and respect among the nations of the world.
Mahatma Gandhi’s tribute to Nehru in 1929 is worth quoting:
"Jawaharlal Nehru is pure as crystal; he is truthful beyond suspicion. He is Knight Sans Peur-reproche. The nation is safe in his hands."
Shashi Tharoor describes him as a politician above politics.*
(*Nehru The Invention of India. p.ix)
Nehru himself admitted:
"In a way I represented a link between various sets of ideas so I helped somewhat in toning down the differences and emphasizing the essential unity of our struggle against imperialism."

(Eighteen Months in India. p.64)

As a leader he had Indian people’s extravagance of love, people idolized him, worshipped him, to the illiterate villagers he had become almost a god. People symbolized in him everything that is good and noble and beautiful in life. This is because he imparted dignity to the process of democracy that placed democracy above challenge from would-be tyrants. His Presidential address at the All India Convention of Congress Legislators in 1937 on 19 March at Delhi shows his strong faith in democratic welfare for all:
"We talk of Swaraj and independence, but in human terms it means relief to the masses from their unutterable sorrow and misery ...the relief must be for the millions, not for a few odd individuals....we cannot build any new social structure so long as Special Privileges and vested interests surround us."

Hiren Mukherjee, a member of the Lok Sabha, a member of the National Council of the Communist Party of India, who wrote impressive biography of Nehru The Gentle Colossus pays his tribute in this way:
"Whatever criticism, honestly felt, might be made of Jawaharlal’s life-work which is an
open book, here was a wonderful man who
did not give us in India all that we had asked
and expected of him, but he gave us "God's
Plenty".*

(*p. 139)

Michael Brecker rightly says:

"Nehru was the spokesman of the radical,
Westernized intelligentsia, bringing to the
Indian Scene the ideas of liberalism and
socialism, the faith in science and the vision
of a new society."*

*(p.93)

**Nehru & Mahatma Gandhi:**

At the end of the first world war, India was feeling frustrated as hope for self-govern- ment was far from horizon. The massacre of Jallianwala Bagh shocked people and poured fresh oil on the flame of discontent. At this point history took turn. In the words of Srinivas Iyengar :

"It was the Phonix hour, and Gandhi the
Mahatma gave the signal, and a whole nation
awoke from its suspended animation and felt
the blood stream of a new life coursing through
its veins."

(Indian Writing in English, Asia Publishing House, Bombay. p.248)

Gandhi, not only promised "Purna Swaraj" but provided the base for that i.e. fearlessness - 'Abhaya' and the precondition was 'Awake, arise, and realized the truth'. The Gandhi Wave changed everything – every segment of Indian national life – politics, economics, religion, social and public life, education, language and literature acquired a more or less an emphatic Gandhian echo. Many of the political leaders of the time, for example, C.Rajagopalchari, M.C.Kelkar, Rajendra Prasad, Abdul Kalam Azad, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Vinoba Bhave and Jawaharlal Nehru all were deeply influenced by Gandhi. His autobiogra- phy *Experiments With Truth* originally appeared week by week in Gujarati in *Navjivan* and in English in *Young India* and issued in book form in 1925, proved classic. As Gandhi grew in stature, the nation grew in self-consciousness and inner strength, realizing power
of non-violence. His chief principles was purity and righteousness of ends and means. The key word was 'Satyagrah'. It was the firm holding-of-the-self on Being, on truth. Nehru's young mind was bound to reflect the struggle, the spirit and sensetization of the time.

Nehru visualise free India but that was the starting point of his journey. His vision includes progressive, democratic, modern and secular India with International status. On 3rd June 1947, in a Broadcast to the Nation, Jawaharlal concluded his speech in the following words:

"On this the eve of great changes in India we have to make a fresh start with clear vision and a firm mind, with steadfastness and tolerance and a stout heart. We should not will ill to anyone but think always of every Indian as our brother and comrade. The good of the four hundred millions of India must be our supreme objective."

His vision became his action plan. His economic planning, international policy and framing the constitution of India shaped accordingly. His vision is drawn from Buddha and Gandhi. In *Discovery of India* he writes:

"The Buddha story attracted me even in early boyhood, and I was drawn to the young Siddhartha who, after many inner struggles and pain and torment, was to develop into the Buddha... His eyes are closed, but some power of the spirit looks out of them and a vital energy fills the frame. The ages roll by and the Buddha seems not so far away after all, his voice whispers in our ears..."

*(Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India* [1946] pp. 134–6)*

Perhaps the middle path of Lord Buddha must have attracted him. Equally strong impact of Gandhi’s idea of self-discipline and right means formed his ideals.

The very Constitution of India with its fundamental rights and directives promise equal rights. Due to the noble efforts of Jawaharlal Nehru, the principle of Co-existence has been adopted in India in the field of religion. Together with Ambedkar and the team of constitution architect, the constitution is made secular. The conception of secular state
owes not a little to the wisdom of Jawaharlal.

Gandhi's influence left an indelible mark and impression on his thought and vision. The methods proposed by Mahatma Gandhi for winning the freedom of India appealed to Jawaharlal, though initially he was not fully agree to non-violence principle. But the main principle of Mahatma Gandhi's ideal that a right cause can only succeed if the right path is pursued. He was always anxious to solve the problem of poverty in India.

As Chairman of the National Planning Committee Nehru had felt that "any effective planning must involve a socialization of the economic structure. As per the Directive Principles of State Policy included in the Constitution indicate the broadly egalitarian social and economic goals to be achieved in a democratic manner. It was his vision to work for the planned economy. More than any one man, Nehru laboured to bring congress round to the recognition of socialist society as India's goal. As a visionary he linked and 'bridged' what Nirad Chaudhari says "the governing middle-class and the sovereign people" of India as well as the 'bound between India and the world'. – (In Discovery of India)

Superstition, narrow mindedness and trivial things should not be there in Independent India. His global outlook and Western education wanted elite India. His reformer spirit wanted change in attitude:

"Let us do our bit to change this so that human beings may become worthy of their great inheritance and make their likes full of beauty and joy and the things of the spirit."*

*(Nehru : An Anthology, p.91)*

Democratic institution building and secularism were essential part of his vision, non-alignment was another equally clear subject close to his heart. He visualise India's nuclear and satellite programmes. He called the dams and factories the "new temples" of modern India. India should be a land of prayers and scientific programming. His vision of progress was how the quality of human beings are improving, how their lot is improving and how they are adapting themselves to modern ways and yet keep their feet firmly planted on their soil.

Walter Crocker says :

"Nehru had a vision of India in which getting the British out of it was merely the preliminary stage. What he concerned with was a modernized
India, with an industrialised economy and an egalitarian society..."*
Further he says:
"We go down if we can not keep pace with these technological developments and indeed try to go ahead of other countries."
(*Speeches [1953–57], p.424)
His faith in future was his firm conviction in integrity and unity: he spoke:
"The past holds us together why should the present or the future divide us in spirit?"*
*(An Address at the Aligarh Muslim University, 24 January 1948)
(Nehru : An Anthology, p.207)
He had pride for the past but more than that he had hope for the brighter and better future. He said:
"We are now at a stage when we can go forward in our journey with great assurance..."
(Nehru : An Anthology, p.213)
He was essentially a man of the future. He visualized Modern India free from narrow wall of class creed and language.
S.Gopal in his most comprehensive biographer puts it aptly:
"...To a whole generation of Indians he was not so much a leader as a companion who expressed and made clearer a particular view of the present and a vision of the future. The combination of intellectual and moral authority was unique in his time."*
As a Prime Minister of India for seventeen years he succeeded in overthrowing the old order and establishing a new order which was better than the old. He designed modern democratic India.
Hiren Mukerjee pays tribute to him as:
"For in spite of a certain detachment he gave to his people, without reference to caste or class or colour or creed, not only his heart but his hand and every other faculty of service. To the world he offered his understanding and his friendship, but to India he gave his all."*


It is this aspirational idealism of Nehru that is truly inspiring. Despite grappling with large number of issues in a new born independent nation, with no easy answers, he still saw himself as an active instrument of change. His was a tortuous spiritual and political journey, kept alive by his inner faith and effort.

His nationalism was not narrow but having rapport with the whole world. He, therefore, initiated Asia centered statemenship and compel the western world to accept the third world identity.

Hiren Mukerjee notes :

"Jawaharlal, unlike Gandhi was an intellectual who needed a broad world-view in order to be able to see his immediate practical involvement in its proper perspective"

(*p.220 The Gentle Colossus)

Shashi Tharoor notes :

"On his desk, Jawaharlal Nehru kept two totems – a good statette of Mahatma Gandhi and a bronze cast of the hand of Abraham Lincoln, which he would occasionally touch for comfort. The two objects reflected the range of his sources of inspiration: he often spoke of his wish to confront problems with the heart of the Mahatma
and the hand of Lincoln.”


He was in a hurry to give the best, to achieve the best, he could not forget his promise for a moment. It was not just political vision, it was his humanist desire and dream. In his writing he mapped India's past, in his career as a leader he visualised India's future.

Like the eternal craving of truly Indian soul to move from darkness to light, Jawaharlal Nehru beautifully expresses his vision while describing the Himalayas:

"...the close communion with these high peaks and mountain regions, where silence ever dwells and human beings come out of their little shells and have glimpses of some of the deeper mysteries of nature!

Nehru and Gandhi

Michael Brecher praised his vitality and positivity,
"Despite the strain of recent years, Nehru retains a zest for life and an abundant supply of energy. He retains, too, his love of nature, his fondness for animals and his interest in games."

Gandhi’s Influence:

Brecher writes: "At the end of January 1923, he walked through the prison gates of freedom. Only four years had passed since Gandhi had unfurled the banner of Satyagraha. But in Nehru's life this was a crucial period, a phase of mental and emotional growth. (p.58) He came under Mahatma's influence which profoundly shaped his future as a man with vision.

Nehru first saw, Gandhi in 1910 and soon became his captive. He found Mahatma, a man of peculiar charm and of hidden reserve of power. Of course the difference was there in their ways of thought. Nehru was a rationalist who preferred the necessity of a clear statement of goals and the ideology from which they emerged. Gandhi, by contracts arrived at decision intuitively. Hiren Mukherjee aptly describes it:
"Over and over again, in subsequent years,
Jawaharlal would differ sharply from Gandhi,
Write to him anguished letters, sometimes not mincing his words, but then, over issues of great moment, would yield to his master, rejoicing, as it were, in a spiritual Haraldom that he could not always entirely justify to himself."*

(*The Gentle Colossus, p.30)

Nehru, in his autobiography frankly admits how to some extent he resented Gandhi's pre-occupation with non-political issues and "could never understand the background of his thought." Nehru felt angry with the Mahatma at his religious approach to a political issue and his frequent references to God in connection with it." but later he was deeply impressed by his curious knack of doing the right thing at the psychological moment leading to great results. At certain point, the crisis between mentor and protege became serious but soon Nehru repaired the matter and the Mahatma forgave him. In fact Gandhiji wanted to take the issue of freedom beyong the party concludes, to the people at large and in doing so he wanted Jawaharlal Nehru by his side. True, Jawaharlal and the Mahatma often spoke different languages but Gandhi stressed, language is no bar to a union of hearts. Gandhiji has realized Nehru's potential and said:

"...when I am gone he (Nehru) will speak my language."

He, thus, nurtured his protege's leadership claims. No wonder in his own Independence Day message to the nation Jawaharlal could not help thinking of the Mahatma. Gandhiji had faith that Nehru could bridge the growing gap between Socialism and Gandhism.

"On this day, our first thought go to the architect of freedom, the Father of our Nation, who embodying the old spirit of India, held aloft the torch...not only we but the succeeding generations, will remember his message and bear the imprint in their hearts."

For Nehru Gandhi was not as the scribes but had some authenticity above the merely political. A product of Harrow and Cambridge, Jawaharlal Nehru became the staunch disciple of the Mahatma. There were matters on which Jawaharlal did not see eye to eye with his master but the whole pattern of his life changed when he accepted the principles of Ma
hatma Gandhi – i.e. means needs to be equally just and right as the end, – and actively put them into practice in his own life.

Particularly, Nehru believed in Modern technology and industrial progress, while Gandhi's faith in basic cottage industry is well known. There were divergences of opinion but they were in accord in trusting and accepting the twin principles of Truth and Non-violence as basic ethics. In his Autobiography he accepts:

"What I admired was the moral and ethical side of our movement and of Satyagraha ... it was right policy for us .... the means which satisfied my moral sense and gave me a sense of personal freedom". *(Nehru, p.73)*

He never appreciated Gandhi's anti-science and anti-rationalist outlook yet highly respected him for his moral quality. Yet spiritually Gandhi was his mentor. He was ethical tuning with him. One can not study Nehru without accepting Gandhi's influence and spell.

Nehru was introvert and extrovert at the same time.

**Nehru as Visionary**

At the age of 58 Nehru became Prime Minister of India. It was in August 1947. He was remained Prime Minister for eighteen years without interruption, a performance exceeded in very few Parliamentary regimes. Nehru's Prime Ministership was in a country containing over 350 million people who grew in this period to nearly 500 million, a revolutionary change in itself; and it carried through a series of revolutionary changes of its own dividing. The breakaway of Pakistan posed problems. In addition to having settle millions of refugees, Nehru had to deal with working out a Constitution, with seeing that the Republic was made a Secular State. With organizing and carrying out General Election covering 150 to 210 million voters in 1952 in 1957, and in 1962, another remarkable feat, as the elections were both efficient and fair, with drawing and redrawing the boundaries of the states, with working out plan for economic development; with working out social legislation, often bitterly resisted, dealing with women's rights; children's protection, education, outcasts, and the non-Hindu tribes; with coping with crop failure and famine, with working out and executing a foreign policy.
Churchill and Nehru had their own challenges and promises and they fulfilled them with utmost insight and efficiency. Both makes it clear that nations tend to produce visionaries at their birth and in moments of crisis. The observer of the Indian scene since sixteenth century might have seen that politically and socially the country was in decline. Conflict, confusion, uncertainty were to be found. They had lost sovereignty. Again this backdrop, Nehru dreamt of modernization, socialism and parliamentary democracy. He was the master of the congress and so the master of India. In the words of Percival Spear:

"His ideal was a society Indian in sentiment and social habit, secular in its outlook, and democratic in its working."


Nehru set up the National Planning Commission in 1950, established universities and technical institutions. Nehru's concept of the individual was that of the western liberals and he wished to extend to the people of India legal rights on those lines. He led India to the path of anti-colonialism, internationalism, neutralism or non-alignment, non-involvement towards the great powers.