CHAPTER – V
NEHRU’S CONCEPT AND PROGRAMME OF SOCIALISM

Nehru was not a systematic thinker, but an intellectual eclectic. Western liberalism had the greatest influence on him. Marxism and Gandhism also contributed to the development of his socialist thought. In addition, humanism and pragmatism also molded his ideas and actions. Nehru's ideas reflected the influence of the liberal tradition and the socialist thought of the West as well as the influence of Gandhi. Nehru's Socialism had three dimensions. It was founded on: (1) Western liberal influence, (2) Marxism philosophy, and (3) Gandhi an ethics. Nehru stayed in England for seven years and completed his formal education. His sojourn in England had a great influence on him. Nehru's basic outlook and his approach to life were greatly formed by the liberal influence which he imbibed as a result of his stay in England. Nehru was not a pioneer in the socialist field in India. Born in an aristocratic and wealthy family, there was nothing in his upbringing and association to prompt Nehru to accept the socialist creed. But as a student of Cambridge, he was first exposed to socialistic ideas.

Nehru attended lectures of progressive intellectuals like Bernard Shaw, Bertrand Russell and J.M. Keynes. As a result, he was drawn towards Fabian socialistic concept and became interested in the political movements of the day. Nehru visited Ireland in 1910 and was attracted by the Sinn Fein movement. But all these interests were academic. His general attitude to life in those days was a vague kind of cyre-naicism. Nehru was initially attracted to Fabian Socialism. Bernard Shaw and Bertrand Russell had an abiding appeal for him. This appeal was predominantly moral, humanitarian and altruistic. Speaking about the influence of Russell, Shaw and the Webs during his student
days, Nehru said, "I do not remember any special anti-colonialism in all that, except of course that I was against British rule in India, very strongly, so and perhaps there was some connection between their ideology and this (anti-colonialism)"\(^1\). Thus, social equality was at the root of Nehru's appreciation of Shaw, Russell and Keynes. Nehru further said, "I have always been interested in the French Revolution. I read some books and that excited me. This kind of vague, nationalism freedom movements aiming at some kind of equality, these broad things a kind of Utopian socialism"\(^2\). So the early appeal of Socialism was Utopian and humanitarian rather than scientific. Nehru's attraction of Fabianism remained for a limited time but Fabian methods of reformism, gradual progress and constitutionalism had a permanent impact on Nehru's thought and action.

**WESTERN LIBERAL INFLUENCE:**

Along with Fabianism Nehru liked the idea of English utilitarianism and favored the principle of organizing society on the basis of the greatest happiness of the greatest number as the basis of social and political policy. While at Cambridge he was greatly influenced by the 19th century European liberal tradition. Nehru stated, "My roots are still perhaps partly in the nineteenth century, and I have been too much influenced by the humanist liberal tradition to get out of it completely"\(^3\). Many of Nehru's ideas were based on liberal tradition. He was influenced by liberalism with its emphasis on individual rights, parliamentary system, free election, free press and freedom of speech. The impact of liberalism made Nehru a lifelong believer in democracy and individual freedom. The most precious thing for Nehru was individual freedom and he strove hard to establish a social order which would guarantee and preserve and maximize the area of freedom. Liberalism is a
complex European concept and includes three basic assumptions: (1) Individualism, (2) Rationalism, and (3) Universalism. Liberalism includes some basic beliefs and ideals.

1. Respect for the individual's personality, dignity and creativity.
2. Supremacy of the reason and law.
3. Perfectibility of man.
4. Inevitability of human progress.
5. Civil liberties.
7. Democratic government.

Nehru also believed, under the influence of Gandhi, that force could be eliminated as an arbitrator of human relations. Gandhi's influence also reinforced Nehru's belief that through time human beings would gradually progress towards increasing perfection. "I still do believe that there is something in mankind, some strength that makes us survive. And if mankind survives it will survive at each step at a relatively higher place". According to Ganesh Prasad Nehru represented colonial liberalism. This type of liberalism, imported into colonies, was not revolutionary but acted as an agent in the context of the Afro-Asian social and political environment. Nehru had imbibed most of the prejudices of Harrow, Cambridge and in his likes and dislikes he was perhaps more of an Englishman than an Indian.

The formative years of his life were spent in England. His receptive mind imbibed the very spirit of the British liberal tradition. This tradition included gradualism, adaptability, adjustability, peaceful progress and resilience. As an optimistic young man Nehru was inspired by a broad humanism. In his own words, "A vague kind of humanism appealed to me".
Nehru lived the humanist liberal tradition fully. Respect for the individual personality, dignity and creativity was the kernel of Nehru's thought and outlook. As a liberal thinker the real problems for him "were the problems of individual and social life, of harmonious living, of a proper balancing of an individual's inner and outer life, of an adjustment of the relations between individuals and between groups, of a continuous becoming something better and higher of social development, of the ceaseless adventure of man". Nehru was critical of the rigidity and the stagnant character of Indian society, but he appreciated that it allowed mental freedom to individualism. Nehru's education and early training brought him into contact with the scientific and technological advancement of the West. This impact of science and technology for social transformation of backward societies remained throughout his life. He was convinced that technological advancement would liberate Indians from feudalism and medievalism. Due to his fundamental respect for personality he felt that the State was not to act as benevolent despot.

Though benevolence might be called for in an unequal and underprivileged society, benevolence could be no excuse for despotism or even paternalism. The State was to function within the democratic set up and promote the value of individuality. What mattered, therefore, were the people. Nehru often repeated that people would go as far as you could take them. It was only vested interests which blocked the path of progress. Nehru was attracted towards socialism because he saw in it the fulfillment of his liberal ideals and of his faith in progress towards a more equal and better life for the community. Nehru always stood for liberal humanism, preservation of freedom and rejected regimentation.
THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION:

Russian Revolution of 191.7 had a special position in the evolution of Nehru's socialist thought. Although much information about the Revolution was still not available in India, Nehru sympathized with Russia and Lenin. According to Michael Brecher the Russian Revolution evoked some of his most emotional observations. To him it was the harbinger of a new age, an ideal worthy of emulation. Nehru found that in Russia the new system was transforming the lot of the underdog, equalizing people and removing vested interests. This new epoch he says, "Made me think of politics much in terms of social change". The Russian Revolution assumed significance for Nehru because of the social change, which it was bringing about. It was nationalist upsurge; it was an upsurge against the tyranny of Czarist rule. Nehru stated, "It meant more equality. The precise problems of democracy and authoritarianism did not trouble me; they did not come up before me. These developed in me only later".

Up to 1920 Nehru was totally ignorant of labor conditions in factories and fields and he accepted that his whole political outlook was entirely bourgeois. It was the Russian Revolution which turned Nehru's enthusiasm from liberal, bourgeois democracy into a passion for an equalitarian order of society. Ashoka Mehta one of the founders of the Congress Socialist Party minted out in his book "Reflections on Socialist Era" — "It was largely the impact of the Russian Revolution that shifted Nehru's allegiance from liberalism to socialism, from Mills to Marx".

VISIT TO PARTABGARH 1920:

It was the three day visit in 1920 to Partabgarh villages in the hottest season of June which profoundly affected his outlook and sympathies. Nehru
had seen peasants in Allahabad during meals in their religious abandon. But it was only during his visit to villages that he saw their real life and misery, living often below the margin of subsistence. Nehru narrates how about two hundred peasants had marched to Allahabad to meet leaders with their grievances. "I listened to their innumerable tales of sorrow, their crushing and ever growing burden of rent, illegal exactions, ejectments from land and mud hut, beatings; surrounded on all sides by vultures who preyed on them — Zamindar's agents, money-lenders, police; tolling all day to find that what they produced was not theirs and their reward was kicks and curses and a hungry stomach." The humanist in Nehru reacted very sensitively to the peasant’s tales. He was filled with shame and sorrow. "Shame at my easy-going and comfortable life and petty politics of the city which ignored this vast multitude of semi-naked sons and daughters of India, sorrow at the degradation and overwhelming poverty of India. A new picture of India seemed to rise before me, naked, starving, crushed and utterly miserable."

Nehru realized how urban people were cut off from rural areas, and was unable to understand what they meant to India. For the first time he became aware of rural India. Nehru stated, 'This realization came to me during these Partabgarh visits and ever since then my mental picture of India always contains this naked and hungry mass." The various incidents in Partabgarh, and the firing by the Police on Kisans created indelible impression on Nehru and he shed his reserve and shyness and began boldly to lend his powerful voice for the cause of the Kisans. Political freedom or Swaraj was significant only if it could ensure the economic betterment of the masses. Traditionally socialist thought was set in the background of industry.

But Nehru's experiences and contact with the peasantry enabled him to extend the scope of his socialist ideas to the have notes of the countryside. He
developed a bond of kinship with the peasantry. His public activity hardly left him time to ponder over such matters. He was busy in the non-co-operation movement and agitated over the issues of the Khilafat, the Amritsar tragedy and the Rowallt Act of 1919. In an undated article written under the title "Land Co-operatives" Nehru had suggested abolition of the Zamindari system and nationalization of the land for the betterment of the peasants in the United Province.16

VISIT TO EUROPE 1926:

Nehru's visit to Europe in 1926 proved to be an important step in the evolution of his socialist thought. After the First World War Europe had changed and nationalism had triumphed. The forces of imperialism were ranged against progressive, nationalist, socialist forces and Nehru realized that the freedom struggle in India was a part of this universal confrontation. Above all Nehru was impressed by the emergence of a powerful Russia under the Bolsheviks. Nehru visited Derbyshire after the historic strike of 1926 and witnessed in the mining area, the "haggard and pinched faces of men and women", and his sympathies for them were roused instantly. The Derbyshire visit was significant for two important reasons. It emphasized the urgent need for social justice.

"One reads often about class justice and in India nothing is commoner than this, but somehow I had not expected to come across such a flagrant example of it in England. It came as a shock"17. It also revealed that the miserable conditions of workers in imperialist British were not exclusive to British but were the expression of universal Phenomenon. The workers were in an Identical manner exploited everywhere by the capitalists and terrorized by the government. The Brussels Congress of 1927 was another landmark in Nehru's mental development.
THE BRUSSELS CONGRESS:

Towards the end of 1926 Nehru was in Berlin and learnt about the forthcoming Congress of the oppressed nationalities which was to be held at Brussels in February 1927. Nehru attended it as a representative of the Indian National Congress. The chief organizer of the conference was Willi Muenzenberg and Mr. George Lansbury was its president. This conference was a strange medley of European communists, trade unionist, pacificist and nationalists from Asia, Africa and Latin America. Nehru was aware that communist elements in this conference. But here for the first time Nehru met George Lansbury, Fenner Brockway, Ernst Toller, Mohammad Hatta and Roger Baldwin, apart from a large number of delegates from China, Africa, Mexico and Latin America. Nehru stated, 'The Brussels Congress, as well as the subsequent committee meetings of the League, which were held in various places from time to time, helped me to understand some of the problems of colonial and dependent countries. They gave me also an insight into the inner conflicts of the Western labor world. I had read about them, but there was no reality behind my knowledge, as there had been no personal contacts'18.

Nehru for the first time realized the basic problems of colonial and dependent countries, and found that the basic problems of oppressed communities were the same, and that such people should co-operate together in their struggle for liberation. Nehru was appointed one of the members of the presidium. At the plenary session of the Congress Nehru delivered an address on India's exploitation, and expounded how India was maltreated and plundered. In tone and language this speech was a typical radical socialist pronouncement and an angry criticism of imperialism and all its misdeeds. The resolution on India drafted and moved by Nehru declared that: 'This Congress further trusts that Indian national movement will base its programme on the
full emancipation of the peasants and workers of India, without which there can be no real freedom”19.

The Brussels Congress concluded with the release of a manifesto based on the Marxist-Leninist theory of imperialism. Nehru does not seem to have taken an active part in drafting this manifesto but by this time he had come close to the Marxist viewpoint, there was evidence of a marked socialist outlook in his speech. He agreed that imperialism and capitalism went hand to hand and neither would disappear until both were crushed. He considered that Indian nationalist concept of political freedom was too narrow and that it should include socio-economic emancipation in its programme. Nehru was appointed an honorary president of the league as well as member of the Executive Committee. Michael Brecher has said of the Brussels conference, "It was there that he first came into contact with orthodox communists, left wing 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 conception of future political strategy”20.

'The Brussels proved to be a milestone in the development of Nehru's political thought, notably his espousal of socialism and a broad international outlook”21. Nehru's participation in this Congress not only sharpened his socialistic ideas, but he was attracted towards communism. It seems he was himself aware of such a transformation. Writing to Gandhi he said, "I am afraid that we are terribly narrow in our outlook and the sooner we get rid of this narrowness the better, our salvation can of course come only from the internal strength that we may evolve but one of the methods of evolving such strength should be study of other people and their ideas”22.

Nehru for the first time came into contact with the communists at Brussels. It was also at the Brussels conference that Nehru got irritated with the
British socialist attitude and approach towards Indian Independence. Nehru accepted that it was not so much communist doctrine but the tremendous social, economic changes which were taking place in Russia which attracted him towards Communist Russia. Nehru was aware of India's pivotal role in the Afro-Asian world and felt that unless India became independent, Asian countries would not achieve their freedom. However, it was New Russia which dominated his mind. He read books about the developments and conditions in that country and found much to admire and felt that Soviet Russia would be no threat to free India. He was led to think of politics much more in terms of social and economic change.

VISIT TO SOVIET RUSSIA 1927:

While Nehru's participation in the Brussels Congress strengthened his conviction about socialism, his brief visit to Russia deepened his conviction. Nehru along with his father visited Soviet Union in 1927. Though it was a brief visit, it was worthwhile. On his return he wrote articles on Soviet Russia which contained his impressions and appreciation of the new society. Nehru felt that it was difficult to be indifferent towards Russia, and difficult to judge her impartially. Russia made a deep impression on him and he felt fascinated by this strange Eurasion country. Although he knew, that they were on a conducted tour, yet he was convinced that the Soviet Union had made rapid progress in agriculture, prison reform, and the eradication of illiteracy, the treatment to women and in solving the problem of minorities.

He was sure too that Russia could teach India in all these respects. "Russia thus interests us because it may help us to find some solution for the great problems which face the world today. It interests us specially because conditions there have not been, and are not even now very dissimilar to
conditions in India"²³. What impressed Nehru was that sharp contrasts between luxury and poverty and hierarchy of class were not visible in Russia. Status was not judged by wealth or by salary. Not only did the Soviet system offer a solution for India's basic problems but Russia and India shared a common antipathy to Britain. The basic attraction of the Soviet system was its egalitarian society, a classless society without any privileges. After all Russia was an Asian country. "In Moscow, Asia peeps out from every corner"²⁴. Nehru admired Lenin as the greatest man of action and as a most selfless person. Dr. Gopal emphasizes that it is very essential to remember that the Russia which Nehru visited was very much the Russia of Lenin. "So Jawaharlal saw the Soviet Union in the last days of its first, halcyon period. If his reaction was idealistic, it was partly because there was still some idealism in the air. The grounding in Marxism, which he had received at the Brussels conference and after, was followed by a near conversion to communism by practical testimony. Jawaharlal had been particularly impressed by Lenin's leadership, by his realism, resilience, and above all by his insistence on professional full time revolutionaries"²⁵. Nehru realized that the need for such workers was more essential in India. This visit brought a transformation in Nehru's attitude; he became a self-conscious revolutionary and a radical. Nehru's preference of socialism began to take concrete shape through his sympathies towards new Russia, and communism.

Thus, when Nehru returned from Europe in 1927, he was a different man. Nehru stated, "My outlook was wider and nationalism by itself seemed to me definitely a narrow and insufficient creed. Political freedom, independence were no doubt essential but they were steps only in the right direction; without social freedom and a socialistic structure of society and the state neither the country nor the individual could develop much"²⁶. It is necessary to note here
that for the first time Nehru accepted a definite social ideology. Till now his fascination with socialism was mainly academic, Utopian and vague. The Bolshevik Revolution had drawn Nehru towards socialism. His visit to Europe and Russia strengthened this attraction further. As a result of the influence of Bolshevik Russia and of his contacts with Europe and the socialist world, Nehru's concept of nationalism underwent a change. He realized that nationalism was a narrow and insufficient creed. From 1927 onwards socialism became basic and nationalism had to be made to sub serve the cause of socialism. Nehru became more and more progressive in his outlook.

**MARXIAN INFLUENCE ON NEHRU:**

It was due to his visit to Europe and Russia that Nehru was attracted towards Marxian philosophy. Yet he "knew very little at the time of the theory of communism, and to his ears dialectical materialism sounded an exotic phrase"\(^{27}\). The enforced leisure of prison life afforded him scope for studying Marxist literature, and he was attracted by Marx's scientific attitude to history. Nehru found that, "If there is one thing that history shows it is this, that economic interests shape the political views of groups and classes"\(^{28}\). Marxism provided a rationale for Nehru's socialism. Marx's scientific justification of socialism and absence of dogmatism helped Nehru in understanding social phenomena and pointed out a way of action. Nehru stated, 'The whole value of Marxism seems to me to lie in its absence of dogmatism, in its stress on a certain outlook and mode of approach and in its attitude to action. That outlook helps us in understanding the social phenomena of our own times, and points out the way of action and escape"\(^{29}\).

From Marx Nehru borrowed:
1. A philosophy of history of which economic determinism was cardinal point.
2. A scientific approach to social and economic problems.
3. A concern for the down-trodden masses.
5. A critical attitude towards capitalism.

Nehru considered Marxism as way of interpreting history, politics and economics. It was a theory as well as a call for action. Nehru accepted much in the Marxist philosophical outlook its monism, non-duality of mind and matter, the dynamics of matter and the dialectic of continuous change by evolution as well as evolutionary leaps. Nehru, however, rejected the basic ideas of Marxism, namely class struggle, proletarian dictatorship and revolutionary violence. Nehru accepted the Marxist analysis of the past but always rejected coercive methods. Nehru's liberalism and scientific outlook seemed to find satisfaction in Marxian theory. Writers on Nehru have differed about the degree of his attachment to Marxism. Dr. Gopal felt that for Nehru "Marxism was not a unitary logical construction but primarily an intellectual impulse based to a considerable extent on sympathy".

Michael Brecher has asserted that Nehru was never a blind follower of Marxism but was always skeptical especially on the question of means. Nehru became sympathetic to communism in the early thirties because the choice was between Fascism and Communism but he was never a blind Marxist.... To the degree that he accepted Marxism, Nehru found that the only solution for the exploitation, misery and poverty of the Indian people lay in Socialism. Nehru had faith in the progress of man. Two world wars, economic crisis and the rise of fascism shook the faith of many liberal thinkers. It was during this period
that Marxism sustained his faith. Nehru felt that Marx's theory of history was a dynamic conception.

There was no fixity in it. It was a method if applied to past history or current events, helped in understanding social, political phenomenon. Marxism provided him a vision and a programme of action. "Marx's general analysis of social development seems to have been remarkably correct, and yet many developments took place later which did not fit in with his outlook for the immediate future". Nehru asserted that the rapid growth of technology and its application and vast developments in the field of science had changed the world and created new problems such as were unknown in the time of Marx. Marx's teaching was required to be adapted to the new context. Speaking to R.K. Karanjia in 1960 Nehru expressed that Marx had no doubt dealt with the problems of production and historical change but it was necessary to reconsider them in the context of our times and natural conditions. "What is important is that although the logical reasoning of Marx was correct, other factors have intervened, two features I have mentioned, of political democracy and technological advance — have produced a new set of conditions and Marxism must be reviewed in this context. They bring new problems and demand new solutions, completely new problems and solutions which Marx did not think of." The coloring of Nehru's thought was Marxist but his mind was modern and independent not imitative but imaginative. Nehru's Socialism was born out of a deep attachment to the values of social justice, equality, social and economic freedom. As has been already pointed out, Nehru's repeated criticism of the western political system was mainly Marxian in tone.

Political democracy had given every man one vote. But that had produced superficial equality since the poor man's vote did not protect him from economic exploitation. Nehru criticized capitalism for its avarice and its
tendency towards monopolies and concentration of economic power. But in later years he felt that capitalism too had changed and recognized that the urge for social justice was there in the capitalistic system too. While Nehru appreciated practical achievements in Russia under scientific planning and felt that it laid the foundation of a new civilization, he was critical of the ruthless suppression and wholesale regimentation which characterized the Russian regime.

He felt that it was absurd to copy Russia in all respects. On the whole the Marxian diagnosis of modern society made a deep impression on his mind. He accepted the Marxist analysis of the past but did not agree with its diagnosis and prescription to a future. Nehru had always entertained reservations about Marxism. Nehru was not prepared to swear by everything taught by Marx and Lenin. His own mind was exposed to the free air of democracy, democratic thought and learning and hence he rejected the rigid formula of every ideology. This was his strength and "weakness both. With his innate dynamism he found that even Marxism was reduced to a hard and static creed and was therefore an outdated philosophy. This realization came to him especially in his later years. Speaking at Madras in 1936 he said, "I am not a believer in dogmas. If you accept a dogma there is a sort of compulsion which I hate whether in religion or in politics. People accuse me that I am not definite. I am definite so far as today and tomorrow are concerned. But I am definite about the day after. I am not definite because I want to adapt myself to the changing conditions. I do not want preconceived ideas and formulas to influence me. I want you also to adapt that attitude of open mind. It is not entirely a logical way of thinking but I feel that way".

The study of Marx convinced Nehru of the inevitability of Socialism. He came to believe that capitalism had played out its role and was no longer
suited to the present methods of production. The capitalist system had outlived its utility and had perpetuated class-conflict. "The last class-struggle between the capitalist bourgeois society and the working class was now taking place"34. Capitalism had solved the problem of production only. For Nehru the vital question was economic and social equality, hence Socialism was the inevitable solution to the problem of distribution. Marx, Nehru insisted did not preach or create class-conflict, this was endemic in human society. Nehru appreciated Marx as a dynamic revolutionary. His appreciation for Marx emanated from the fact Marx started without mental predilections or prejudices. "This new clear cut and cogently argued Socialism of Marx was therefore called "Scientific Socialism" as opposed to the vague, "Utopian" or "idealistic" Socialism which had so far prevailed"35.

Under the inspiration of Marxism Nehru was able to interpret India's struggle as a part of the universal struggle of the oppressed for emancipation from hunger and want. For him freedom had no value unless it was freedom for the lowest and most deprived in the land. Though the Marxist strain was strong in Nehru's thought in the early years that is during the twenties and thirties he did not become a total convert to Marxism because of his commitment to freedom of thought and individuality. Hence, Nehru felt that India should not copy others but should find her own solutions according to her genius, social conditions and cultural background. Nehru was not ready to accept any ideology which at any stage suggested dictatorship and authoritarianism. He was radical in outlook but to him Socialism was a broad tendency and not a rigid ideology. "Nehru acquired, and maintained throughout his life, a half liberal, and half Marxist position.

He was a libertarian Marxist, whose idea of Socialism encompassed at every stage a large and irreducible measure of civil liberty. He rejected any
mechanical view of human nature and looked forward to a socialist society which, by removing economic and social inhibitions and obstacles, would provide greater scope for individual freedom. Like Marx, Nehru advocated the inevitability of Socialism but at the same time he was pragmatic in his approach to Socialism. His faith in liberalism and individualism was never uprooted. As Ganesh Prasad stated, 'Thereby he became the greatest non-Marxist salesman of Marxism and the Soviet system.' During the phase of Marxism, Nehru propagated Socialism and were a socialist and republican but even in those days his Socialism was not of the revolutionary type. Socialism which he dreamt of was to be brought about by democratic means. He spoke of India evolving her own methods and adjusting it to her traditions. It was Gandhi who modified the influence of Marxism on Nehru. Nehru asserted that Socialism could be established by democratic means, provided such means were available. Nehru issued a statement, his reply to critics of Socialism in 1936, in which he clearly states his ideas on Socialism. "What I seek is an elimination of the profit motive in society and its replacement by a spirit of social service, cooperation taking the place of competition, production for consumption instead of for profit. Because I hate violence and consider it an abomination, I seek therefore a more enduring and peaceful system from which the roots of violence have been removed, and where hatred shrivels up and yields place to nobler feelings. All I call Socialism."

**GANDHIAN INFLUENCE ON NEHRU:**

A major change in Nehru's life and philosophy was brought about by Gandhi. Following the massacre of Amritsar in 1919, Gandhi emerged as the sole leader of the Indian National Congress. His non-violent method of Saryagragha had proved its efficacy in South Africa and he was to practice it in
India also. Nehru met Gandhi in 1916 at the Lucknow Congress. Though Nehru admired him, he seemed to be indifferent to him. On his own admission: 'There was only one major change in my life, one which came almost like a bolt, it was Gandhi... After that the changes have been gradual and imperceptible that I could not say that they have really happened, in time.\(^39\)

Gandhi's first impact on young Nehru was strong indeed. Gandhi completely revolutionized Nehru's thought process. It was because of Gandhi that Nehru, in spite of his aristocratic background and upbringing, could understand the problem of the masses.

What impressed Nehru most of all was the fact that Gandhi wiped out fear and slavishness from the minds of the Indians. Nehru always admired Gandhi's courage, and his readiness to rebel against injustice and oppression. Gandhi appeared to him as a true revolutionary. Nehru stated, "Political freedom took new shape then and acquired a new content. Much that he said we only partially accepted or sometimes did not accept at all. But all this was secondary. The essence of his teaching was fearlessness and truth and action allied to these always keeping the welfare of the masses in view. It was against all pervading fear that Gandhi's quiet and determined voice was raised: Be not afraid\(^40\). Nehru shared with Gandhi a great concern for the downtrodden and a common revulsion against the use of force. To the vast majority of Indians Gandhi was a symbol of free India, of militant nationalism and defiance of British imperialism. "Through nation-wide action he sought to mould the millions, and largely succeeded in doing so, and changing them from demoralized, timid, and hopeless mass, bullied and crushed by every dominant interest, incapable of resistance into a people, with self-respect and self-reliance, resisting tyranny and capable of united action and sacrifice for the cause. He made them think of political, economic issues\(^41\).
Gandhi was the symbol of peasant India and it was through contact with Gandhi that Nehru first realized the misery of the masses and to work for their betterment. His experiments in non-violent and peaceful revolution started with the organization of agricultural laborers in Bihar and Gujarat. Nehru stated, "Gradually other issues began to color our political horizon. Gandhiji spoke about the peasantry; he led strong movements in Champaran and Kaira. Why did he go about speaking of the terrible poverty of the people? This was new talk, new orientation, likely to change the centre of gravity of our movement. He knew this well and deliberately he worked for this economic orientation of our political problem. All of us began to talk of the under-dog, and the sorely tried and crushed under-dog turned to us with relief and hope. Gandhiji persisted in his stress on the poverty of India's millions."42

The agrarian bias of Nehru's Socialism and its emphasis on non-violent and democratic means has its origin in Gandhian philosophy. To Nehru Gandhi was a man full of paradoxes. Gandhi believed in reforming society not through the coercive power of the state but through self-reform of the individual. Gandhi was a perfect individualist and considered freedom as the indispensable condition for the development of human personality. Gandhi's basic principles were non-possession, non-violence, decentralization of socio-economic power, truth, trusteeship, purity of means and ends. If Socialism means collectivism, state controlled economy, or Socialism is considered as the abolition of private property, Gandhi can hardly be called a socialist. But if Socialism means support for social justice, development of individual personality, a society free from oppression and exploitation, Gandhi was a socialist. For him civilization does not consist in increasing needs but in reducing them. The fewer the wants the happier would one's life be according to Gandhi. But Nehru believed in
raising the standards of the masses by providing them in an increasing measure
the amenities and goods of modern and comfortable living.

Nehru regarded Gandhi as a philosophical anarchist who used the word
Socialism not in its economic sense but as a call for service to the people.
Much of what Gandhi preached to Nehru was medieval and revivalist. Nehru
confessed that Gandhi was a difficult person to understand. Nehru did not like
and did not accept the idea of trusteeship and glorification of poverty and had
doubts about the effectiveness of non-violent methods against the oppressive
British regime. But Gandhi's advocacy of individual dignity, and his insistence
on the state as an instrument of service to the individual and society was in
tune with Nehru's ideas of liberalism. Nehru admired the moral and ethical side
of Gandhi's personality and leadership. 'The spiritualization of politics, using
the word not in its narrow religious sense, seemed to me a fine idea. A worthy
end should have worthy means leading to it. That seemed to me not only a
good ethical doctrine, but sound, practical politics, for the means that are not
good often defeat the end in view and raise new problems and difficulties"43.
Nehru, however, considered and made clear that non-violence was not an
imperative ethic but a suitable technique for India. Coercive, revolutionary
methods appeared to him neither worthwhile nor inevitable. Mass violence
against the British seemed impractical but he equally felt that time might come
when recourse to arms could not be ruled out. It was through contact with
Gandhi that Nehru realized the efficacy of the Gandhian technique of peaceful,
non-violent methods. Nehru's attraction towards Marxism came to be modified
by Gandhian humanism. However, Nehru's adherence to Socialism was not
displaced by his allegiance to Gandhi. The influence of Marx and of Gandhi
seemed to blend in the democratic and humanistic socialism of Nehru.
There were basic differences between Gandhi and Nehru. Nehru himself admitted that Gandhi was a curious phenomenon — "a person of the type of a medieval catholic saint, as Mr. Verrier Elwin has called him — and at the same time a practical leader with his pulse always on the Indian peasantry."\(^44\) Nehru was a rationalist with a western mind and a scientific attitude to life. Especially in his earlier phase, when the appeal of Marx was fresh and direct, his enthusiasm for Socialism and equality was uncompromising and he would, if that were possible, uproot all social and economic disparities. Gandhi's principle of Socialism was mainly based on sacrifice, service to the people and the source of guidance in thought and action was the inner voice.

In 1928 Nehru was reported to have told Gandhi: "Bapu, the difference between you and me is this: you believe in gradualism; I stand for revolution". 'My dear young man', Gandhi retorted "I have made revolution, while others have only shouted revolutions"\(^45\). As Ashoka Mehta pointed out "Nehru had turned to Gandhi as the opener of a new epoch — the great innovator enmeshed in traditions. The call of action from Gandhi was twofold. There was of course the action in challenging and resisting the foreign rule, there was also the action that led to fight our own social ills"\(^46\). Nehru's heart remained with Gandhi, while his mind sought for Socialism as he had understood from Marx. It was really an enigma that two individuals with different intellectual and temperamental differences could come together and work together to fight against imperialism, and colonialism. As Arjun Sengupta has remarked that, "It is an historical accident that Gandhi and Nehru formed a close personal relationship for it is difficult to think of two more dissimilar personalities. If Gandhi had opposed him, Nehru could hardly maintain his leadership"\(^47\). Under the impact of Marxian revolutionary technique, Nehru talked about revolutionary plans to solve the problems of land and industry. He admitted
that a slower tempo, and the adoption of democratic methods might be more desirable but felt, nevertheless that radical change and quick results could be achieved by more resolute and energetic means. In the final analysis, however, Nehru preferred to adopt the non-violent and peaceful technique for the socialist transformation of India.

So it was the Gandhian influence which decided the choice of methods for Nehru. Gandhi's method of persuasion, emphasis on consent and patient handling of human affairs without any coercion but without any compromises of essentials, attracted Nehru towards Gandhi. While Nehru did not consider non-violence as a religion or an unchallengeable creed or dogma, he felt that, "It could only be a policy and a method promising certain results, and by those results it would have to be finally judged". Nehru was convinced that by the use of non-violent methods Gandhi was able to produce revolutions in the minds and hearts of the people. Speaking about his own adherence to the Gandhian ideology Nehru said, "I would call ours the authentic Gandhian era and the policies and philosophy which we seek to implement are the policies and philosophy taught to us by Gandhi. There has been no break in the continuity of our thoughts before and after 1947". Nehru also stated that new technological advances have made us to re-think in some ways and adapt our policies according to changing times. Thus, Gandhi's influence was the dominating factor in the determination of Nehru's philosophy. Nehru asserted, the most important thing he insisted upon was the importance of means; ends were shaped by the means that led to them, and therefore the means had to be good, pure and truthful. That is what we learnt from him and it is well we did so. Thus, Nehru brought about a synthesis of western liberalism, Marxism and Gandhian humanism. Gandhi made Nehru's humanism more meaningful. The basic similarity of Marxism and Gandhism is in respect of their hostility to
the prevailing exploitation of man by man. While they differed in theory about method and technique, their ultimate objective was the same — end of all exploitation, and removal of inequality.

Like Marx, Nehru advocated the inevitability of Socialism. But Nehru was scientific, non-dogmatic and pragmatic in his approach to political and economic problems. His acceptance of non-violent methods, of purity of means and ends was due to Gandhian inspiration. Nehru's belief in Fabianism was evident from his emphasis on gradualism, constitutionalism and reformism. Above all up to his end, Nehru remained a humanist and an individualist and did not allow these basic commitments to be side-tracked or whittled down by any of the diverse influences which shaped his thought and action.

NEHRU'S CONCEPT OF SOCIALISM:

Nehru was not a theoretician of socialism but a fine intellectual with liberal mind which was exposed to democratic, Marxist and Gandhian philosophies. While the impact of Socialism on Nehru was overpowering, it was surprising that Nehru never defined socialism in precise terms. In the early period of the freedom struggle, Nehru emphasized socialism as an economic theory.

(1) Socialism as an Economic Theory:

Nehru never defined socialism, though he consistently spoke about it. Socialism, he considered as a dynamic, growing, developing idea which eludes definition. It was a way of life, a way of thinking and functioning. His approach to socialism was scientific and pragmatic. His main emphasis was on the economic aspect of socialism. Dr. Gopal suggests that "Nehru's socialism was a broad tendency and not a precise body of rigid beliefs". Nehru considered socialism as a system which was inevitable for social economic change.
in India. Looking at the poverty and misery of the Indians he could think only of socialism as the remedy. "I am convinced that the only key to the solution of world's problems and of India's problems lies in socialism. I see no way of ending the poverty, the vast unemployment, the degradation and the subjection of the Indian people, except through socialism."52

For Nehru socialism was the vision of a new civilization and the science of a new society. Nehru considered socialism as a method which would allot benefits to members of society in proportion to their services to society. Under such an order of society, a distributive justice would be ensured and unjustifiable inequalities eliminated. Socialism would thus mean that rewards would be in proportion to one's contribution to social welfare. Nehru was a democratic socialist and believed that socialism could be achieved only when India was ready for it and the great majority of the people accepted it. However attractive and urgent socialism might be, it was not to be forced on the people. The democratic method of convincing the people was an essential part of Nehru's socialist programme. Nehru in his speech repeated same point. "I look upon it as a growing, dynamic conception, as something which is not rigid, as something which must fit in with the changing conditions of human life and activity in every country. I do not see why I should be asked to define socialism in precise, rigid terms. What I want is that all individuals in India should have equal opportunities of growth, from birth upwards and equal opportunities for work according to their capacity."53 Nehru agreed that socialism was the alternative to the exploitation of men and materials for the benefits of the few in society. The vital point of socialism was the end of exploitation and the belief in co-operation. He insisted that in a socialist society the tendency of acquisitiveness must be replaced by the spirit of co-operation. Socialism believed in human welfare and development. Nehru
emphasized that material development was necessary for raising the general standard of living of the people and for the cultivation of higher types of individuals.

For Nehru the quality of human personality was equally, if not more, important than the material welfare of individuals, though material prosperity was the basis for the development of man's creative spirit and energy and spirit of adventure, and individuality. "A rising standard of life or material welfare as it is sometimes called is of course not an end itself. Essentially it is a means to a better intellectual and cultural life". Nehru felt that we should aim at higher production, equal distribution and employment so as to promote the equality of individuals in the community. Socialism was also a way of life for the all round development of society and the individual. Nehru asserted, "To say that we want greater wealth, higher standards of living and greater production will, I take it, not be contradicted. We have to achieve these objectives, not merely mechanically but also in a social sense which is very important. I have been driven almost against my will to the conclusion that material well-being is just as important in human life as anything else." Economic freedom was a pre-condition for the good society. Nehru supported socialism on rational grounds as a means for human development and also as a means of attaining greater equality. Nehru explained that different countries at different stages of economic development would have different techniques for the attainment of socialism. Socialism of highly developed countries would therefore differ from the socialism of an agriculture country. "Socialism in a highly developed Industrial community may be of one type, while in an agriculture country it may be of a somewhat different type." Socialism may differ also in industrially advanced countries, because of their different historical background. English socialism developed on evolutionary and constitutional
lines, whereas in other leading industrial countries in Europe, Germany, France, socialism developed differently according to the character and the strength of working class in each country. Nehru was firm that unless India's basic economic problems (food, housing, and clothing) were solved her freedom would be incomplete Nehru asserted, "Our approach, being socialist is primarily an economic approach which has made politics revolve around economic policies"57.

(2) **Nehru's Faith in Individualism, His Socialism was not contradictory to Individual and Freedom:**

Nehru's whole philosophy of life revolved round the individual. He believed in individual freedom and attached great importance to the growth and all-round development of individual in society. For Nehru socialism and individualism "were not contradictory terms. In his correspondence with Subhas Bose in 1939 April 3, Nehru was faced with the question whether individual freedom could be reconciled with socialism? He wrote: "Am I a socialist or an individualist? Is there a necessary contradiction in the two terms? I suppose I am temperamentally and by training an individualist, and intellectually a socialist. I hope that socialism does not kill or suppress individuality; indeed, I am attracted to it because it will release innumerable individuals from economic and cultural bondage"58. Nehru's socialism was based upon individual personality fully expressing itself. The individuality of men was preserved. Though a staunch socialist he respected the individual man as opposed to mass man. In June 1956 he told his biographer Michael Brecher, "I do believe that ultimately it is the individual that counts. Therefore, no individual is trivial. Every individual has an importance and he should be given full opportunities to develop-material opportunities naturally, food, clothing,
education, housing, health, etc. They should be common to everybody."59. Nehru believed that socialism provided greater freedom to individual. He felt that the good of individual could be possible under socialism. So whatever might be form of the state, he was not ready to sacrifice individuality. Nehru asserted that history always showed the eternal struggle of man for freedom. Nehru advocated good life for individual.

According to him good life consisted in the satisfaction of essential economic needs which freed him from oppression and provided him chance for creative development. Nehru's idea of freedom was very comprehensive; it consisted of social, economic and religious freedom. Basically he believed that it was dangerous to suppress the freedom of thought and expression. The development of individual and his freedom was the kernel of his thought and the state was the instrument for the realization of the end. Nehru asserted, "Freedom itself is a means, the end being human well-being, human growth, the ending of poverty and disease and suffering, and the opportunity for everyone to live the 'good life', physically, and mentally. For every restriction and inhibition stops growth and development and produces, apart from economic disorders, complexes and perversions in the nation and individuality."60. On the same basis Nehru asserted that communism in spite of its many triumphs crushed the free spirit of man. Nehru had complete aversion to regimentation and suppression of the individual and his freedom. But with his regards to individual freedom, it appeared to him natural that in complex society individual freedom had to be limited. "I am too much of an individualist, and believer in personal freedom to like overmuch regimentation. Yet it seemed to me obvious that in a complex social structure individual freedom had to be limited and perhaps, the only way to real personal freedom was through some such limitation in the social sphere. The lesser liberties may
often need limitation in the interest of the larger freedom." Nehru felt that freedom demanded self-discipline. Good of the society and good of the individual were inter-dependent. Real progress was possible when equal opportunities were provided to all. Nehru was careful enough to stress that the good of the individual were inter-dependent. Real progress was possible when equal opportunities were provided to all.

Nehru was careful enough to stress that the good of the individual belonging to a privileged class would not lead to social good. Individuals were supposed to develop themselves in a way which would serve the larger interests of the community. Nehru insisted on the individually, dignity, and the importance of human personality for the progress and betterment of society as a whole. A broader consideration of social relations and social interests was advocated by Nehru as the means towards social equality. Nehru was pained to see that with the development of modern civilization, with its tendency of centralization, individual was submerged and various encroachments were made on the freedom of the individual. Nehru believed that for the protection of the individual there should not be misuse of law. Though Nehru kept the individual uppermost in his thought he equally remembered that individual and society were inseparable. Rights of the individual must be balanced by his obligations; without obligations there could not be real rights. In the ultimate analysis Nehru aimed at the growth of the individual as well of the State. Nehru's faith in the individualism resulted in his faith in democracy and aversion for any form of authoritarianism. Vast social, economic and revolutionary changes attracted him towards Russia, but he also saw the suppression of the creative spirit, human value. The liberal Nehru revolted against it. Nehru asserted, "Our approach to socialism or anybody else's takes — the important thing is that every individual should be given equal
opportunity in a more or less egalitarian society with no great inequalities or disparities at any rate none so far as opportunity is concerned"^62. It was interesting that Nehru could combine his socialism with individualism and freedom. Nehru considered he free to examine the claims of every ideology which served the social purpose. He always revised his ideas in the light of new experiences, new influences.

(3) **Socialism and Democracy:**

Democracy was a basic principle of Nehru's thought. Nehru's democratic thought was the expression of his humanism and liberalism. Nehru's faith in the individual was the basis of his faith in democracy. For Nehru, democracy was a dynamic concept, not a narrow or static idea, he remarked, "Democracy is not only political, not only economic, but something of the mind. It involves equality of opportunity to all people, as far as possible, in the political and economic domain. It involves the freedom of the individual to grow and to make the best of his capacities and ability. It involves a certain tolerance of others and even of other's opinions, when they differ from yours"^63. Nehru considered democracy as a scheme of values applicable to the resolution of all political, and economic problems. Basic faith in the dignity of men, both in their totality and in their individuality, led Nehru to lay faith in the democratic system and democratic methods. Democracy to Nehru was a state of mind as well as quality of living. He regarded state as democratic in which the individual was free to realize higher values of life. "Because we think that in the final analysis it promotes the growth of human beings and of society; because, as we have said in our Constitution, we attach great value to individual freedom, because we want the creative and the adventurous spirit of man to grow"^64. Nehru developed his democratic ideas under the inspiration of
the West and was strongly committed to democratic rights such as freedom of the press and civil liberty and felt that every restriction on these rights was a hindrance to the growth of the individual and society. Nehru held that equality along with liberty was an indispensable component of Democracy. Freedom for the individual meant not only the freedom to live but to grow according to his capacities and ability. Nehru also considered it essential to balance the two ideas of freedom and equality. He was aware that if equality was pressed as an abstract principle, the liberty might be endangered. It was necessary to use them as complementary bases for a good life.

Nehru was also not in favor of unlimited freedom. During a debate in the parliament Nehru laid down that: "In a democratic society, the concept of individual freedom has to be balanced with social freedom and the relations of the individual with the social group. The individual must not infringe on the freedom of other individuals". For Nehru the state was an agency and instrument for protecting the freedom of the individual. He felt that freedom and democracy need limitation lest they should become self-defeating. He did not appreciate violence in the name of freedom and did not mind the use of coercive methods by the government for suppressing such violence. Nehru held that it is necessary to strike a balance between the freedom of the individual and the security of the state. In the same manner the individual’s right of freedom has to be balanced by obligation and duty. Rights and duties go together. However, precious as the democracy is, it is not an end in itself but a means to achieve a higher end. Nehru elaborated this idea in a speech at a seminar on Political Democracy. "Democracy is a means to an end. What is the end we aim at? The end is the good life for the individual. Good life certainly must imply a certain satisfaction of the essential economic needs, which will release him from continuous oppression and which will give him a chance to
develop his creative faculties". For Nehru, democracy meant removal of disparities. He insisted that political democracy or liberty was not enough. For a starving man, liberty and formal equality had little use. Nehru felt therefore that economic democracy, and equal distribution of goods was essential. 'The good things of life must become available to more and more people and gross inequalities must be removed'. Nehru believed in parliamentary system, in which people were consulted and their attitudes, wishes were respected. The parliamentary system allowed free discussion and rested on the consent of the people.

Nehru favored parliamentary democracy but felt that it demanded ability, devotion to work, co-operation, self-discipline and restraint: Nehru favored the democratic methods of discussion, argument and persuasion. Nehru considered that to awaken the masses the establishment of democracy and universal adult franchise was necessary. It was essential that people should be made partners in shaping their own destiny, to elect or reject their own leaders and representatives. The 'ballot' box could become the instrument of socioeconomic transformation. Nehru had complete faith in democratic method of people's participation. Long back Nehru rejected violent methods as he was convinced about the superiority of the democratic method for India. He said, "We believe in democracy. Speaking for myself, I believe in it, first of all, because I think it is the right means to achieve ends and because it is a peaceful method. Therefore, democracy means to me an attempt at the solution of problems by peaceful methods. If it is not peaceful, then to my mind, it is not democracy". In Nehru's thought democracy and socialism were inseparable. He repeated that political democracy would be meaningless if it does not embrace economic democracy. Socialism was the inevitable outcome of democracy. The problem before Nehru "was to combine democracy with
socialism, through peaceful and legitimate methods". Nehru asserted that it was necessary to take people into confidence and to win their goodwill and cooperation. Though Nehru realized some of the drawbacks of the democratic method he felt that in the ultimate analysis it was of lasting value because it was built on firm foundations. Though its method was slow it was sure. Nehru felt that any reversal of the democratic method would lead to disruption and violence in India. "Indeed in India today any attempt to discard democratic methods would lead to disruption and would thus put an end to any immediate prospect of progress".

Nehru was not ready to sacrifice democratic methods for speedy progress and was firmly committed to democratic socialism. According to Dr. Gopal, this was a flaw in the thinking of Nehru. Nehru felt that democracy and socialism were equal partners and could not be divorced. "But Nehru, although a radical in the European tradition, set out with confidence to work for this unprecedented, almost superhuman experiment of democratic socialism in a setting of Asian tradition and economic backwardness". Nehru represented a unique type of socialism in his time. It is believed that Marxism and authoritarianism always go together. But in the words of Frank Moraes, "A Marxist by intellectual conviction who wishes to bring in the socialist millennium by democratic means and methods. In this process he carries both Marxism and democracy a step further, hoping to prove in another favorite phrase that they can co-exist as partners in a politico-economic revolution". Nehru always remained a socialist wedded to democratic practices. He made the Indians aware of the value of the parliament as an instrument of social change. As a leader of the majority party Nehru tried to act as far as possible on the basis of consensus. Communists have criticized Nehru bitterly (R.K. Das Gupta, H. Mukerjee) for having failed to be the leader of the true socialist
revolution. Nehru was, according to them, torn between socialism and Gandhism and sacrificed socialism in his devotion to democratic norms and the value of liberalism and individualism. But they are unable to appreciate that Nehru laid primary stress on democracy and the freedom of the individual for fear that a revolutionary equality might annihilate the individual. It is essential that assessment of Nehru's concept of socialism should be based on the fact that Nehru always wanted to achieve a socialist reconstruction of society by democratic means rather than by violent revolution. His conviction was that socialism without democracy would be tyranny in any, and especially in the Indian context.

Further, according to his estimate, radical solutions were impossible in the Indian situation, where super-situation, fatalism, ignorance, and class distinctions were age-old features. In such a situation socialism could be brought about by gradual, peaceful and democratic means, by a steady conversion of the people and by enlisting their support and participation. Nehru advocated a rapid progress towards radical socialism before independence. After 1947 he adjusted himself to the Indian circumstances and problems. Though he was flexible about tactics, he was rigid about goals. Nehru always considered democracy and socialism as means to the end, not the end itself.

(4) Nehru on Equality:

Nehru contended that liberty and democracy had no significance except in the context of equality. In his presidential address to the Indian National Congress at Lahore in 1929 Nehru declared, "Today politics have ceased to have much meaning, and the most vital question is that of social and economic equality". Laying stress on the importance of equality Nehru asserted, "Democracy means equality and democracy can only flourish in an equal
Nehru realized that political liberty brought the vote but was of little use when society was riddled with poverty and economic inequality. Long back Nehru stated, 'There cannot be ups and downs and social inequalities in this country. These must be got rid of. We have to build up a new social order in which everyone will have the fullest opportunity for development, no exploitation, and in which there will not be merely political democracy, but economic democracy, which means economic equality without which political democracy will be a hoax. What does it matter to one whether he has a vote or not, when he is hungry and starving'.

By equality, Nehru did mean equalization of all persons and groups. Though he realized that all human beings were not equal in capacity or ability, he felt that no one should be denied opportunities — educational and economical — for full development. Nehru's concept of equality was not one of violently leveling down distinctions. Its emphasis was on the provision of equal opportunities to all, and on enabling all to utilize such opportunities equally. Nehru stressed that honor and merit should come from ability and hard work and not because of caste, wealth or birth. He had always in his mind the transformation of the Indian social structure into a classless and casteless and fraternal society. Nehru consistently insisted on the removal of special privileges and vested interests.

Democracy would not last without a strong and just economic structure ensuring a certain standard of living for the common man. The ultimate aim of democracy was to put an end to all the differences between the haves and the have-nots. Nehru remarked, "A socialist state with equal justice and opportunity for all, a planned society which can only come into existence with the abolition of most of the privileges and property rights that exist today". Nehru realized that there may be conflict between political freedom and
economic freedom but he observed that real freedom ultimately came from economic freedom. People were more interested in economic betterment. Nehru emphasized that a genuine democratic structure could be established only by granting adult franchise ensuring free and fair elections encouraging the establishment of political parties and providing civil liberties and the rule of law. Nehru believed that political democracy was a step towards the goal of real equality and not the final objective. He stated, "If there is economic inequality in the country, all the political democracy and all the adult suffrage in the world cannot bring about real democracy". Nehru believed that the basis of capitalism was cut-throat competition and exploitation, based on the motive of private profit.

Nehru held the opinion that capitalism had failed to solve the problems of society, that capitalism had indeed created problems for free societies. Nehru realized that capitalism has failed to meet the greater challenge of distribution. It was inevitable because its basic inequalities and faith in the blind forces of the market made it impossible to organize equitable distribution of wealth and purchasing power. Nehru was firmly convinced that socialism was the only way to end inequality and poverty and to save human beings from utter degradation, to provide equal opportunities in order to remove social distinctions. Like Gandhi Nehru emphasized that especially in underdeveloped countries there was an almost impenetrable vicious circle of social and economic inequality, social unrest and social conflict. While each of these maladies was casually linked with the other, each could reinforce the other, if not create the other. In independent India Nehru felt that equality could not be brought about so long as the principal instruments of production are privately owned. Hence, Nehru insisted on a state-controlled economy. He realized that real economic progress could not be achieved by any other methods except by
an integrated scheme of planning. The Congress Working Committee in 1950 endorsed Nehru's resolution on the economic programme which set forth the Congress objective. 'That objective is the establishment of a welfare state wherein there is economic democracy, a national minimum standard in respect of the essentials of physical and social well being, a rise in the standard of living of the people, full employment, elimination of exploitation, the progressive narrowing down of disparities in income and wealth so that there may be equality of opportunity to all for self development and the growth of personality’79.

Thus, Nehru considered that economic equality was just as necessary as individual freedom for the development of human personality. He believed in co-operative effort in place of competition. His idea of socialist society was based on the principal of co-operation and the fundamental transformation of social, economic structure allowing fair and equal distribution of political and economic power to all. Nehru realized that socialism involved a profound transformation and change of habits, opinion and character.

He ultimately came to the conclusion that a good society must include important elements of democracy, as well as socialism, mainly equality and socio-economic justice. In his Autobiography he asserted, "Our final aim can only be a classless society with equal economic justice and opportunity for all, a society organized on a planned basis for the raising of mankind to higher material and cultural levels, to a cultivation of spiritual values of co-operation, unselfishness, the spirit of service, the desire to do right, a goodwill, and love, ultimately a world order’80."
SOCIALISTIC SOCIETY AND SOCIALISTIC PATTERN OF SOCIETY:

Nehru's concept of socialism assumed the form of a socialistic pattern of society in independent India. In January 1955 at Avadi, Indian National Congress adopted a resolution moved by Nehru himself. It said, "Planning should take place with a view to the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society, where the principal means of production are under social ownership or control, production is progressively speeded up and there is equitable distribution of the national wealth"\(^{81}\). Nehru made a distinction between the welfare state and a socialist pattern of economy. He explained that without increasing national income a welfare state was not possible. Enough wealth must be created before we decide to distribute wealth.

Nehru admitted that the socialistic pattern of society and socialism in content were the same and that there was no distinction between them. By a socialistic pattern of society, "We mean a society in which there is equality of opportunity and the possibility for everyone to live a good life. We have; therefore, to lay great stress on equality, on the removal of disparities and it has to be remembered always that socialism is not the spreading out of poverty"\(^{82}\). Nehru mainly believed in raising the standards of living, enlargement of opportunities, and the direct responsibility of the state for the development of industries. Socialist pattern of society was to be classless and casteless. Nationalized industry would be an important limb of such a society and its aim would be increase of production to meet the demands of a formula of just distribution.

This would also provide higher employment opportunities and help to provide for a more egalitarian type of society in India. Nehru had the firm belief that socialism without democracy would not produce a socialist society. He
believed in democratic socialism. He recognized the principle of parliamentary
democracy, a democratic constitutional system, uncoercive and gradual
transformation, extending the democratic principle to all walks of life. Dr.
Frank Parkin in his book "Class Inequality and Political Order" has made an
analysis of democratic socialism and he distinguished between two types of
socialism.

1. **Meritocratic:**
   In which inequality is understood as lack of fairness in the competition
   for well-rewarded positions and socialist reform as, putting the race for
   privileges on a more equitable footing.

2. **Egalitarian:**
   Here socialism means the eradication of these privileges altogether. Dr.
   Parkin felt that the rich and poor would continue to exist in meritocratic
   socialism because rewards would be determined by occupational functions and
   market skill. Dr. Parkin argued that the failure of social democracy to bring
   about any progress towards economic equality was due to its preference for a
   "meritocratic" socialism as opposed to the egalitarian.\(^{83}\)

   On the basis of this distinction it will be easy to define the features of
   socialist society as visualized by Nehru.

1. Socialism means a just society. The essence of socialism lies in the
   ideal of sharing the material benefits of society, and sharing in the
   making of important decisions in society. Socialist state believes in co-
   operation and altruism rather than competition. In order to avoid any
   economic exploitation it believes in state controlled, planned economy.
   Its basic motto is maximum production and equal distribution of
material benefits. Socialist society asserts the socialization of the means of production as a step towards the attainment of social justice.

2. The dream of equality, equal rights and opportunities for all people, in short, socio-political, economical equality is the basic principle of socialist society. Removal of all disparities is the kernel of such society. It reposes faith in sharing of opportunities as means to develop one's full potential. Hence, it rejects class domination and individual self-aggrandizement at the expense of others. It totally rejects the idea of special privilege to any individual or group.

3. Socialist society is dedicated to the realization of socioeconomic justice. It takes the responsibility of providing the basic necessities of food, clothing, shelter, education and medical facilities to all its citizens. According to Michael Brecher author of the article 'The Socialist Alternative', Socialism is more than a set of human values, it is a process. Socialism means democratic, decentralized and participatory control.

4. Socialist society is based on a concept of secularism. Most religions in their original form reject the injustices. Socialism according to Roy A. Medvedev, "Socialism presupposes the complete freedom to practice any religion or none at all. Neither socialism without democracy or democracy without socialism can produce a genuinely just social order".

5. In socialist society production is determined by the social needs of the community and not by individual interests. It enforces control on prices and incomes and provides employment, or guarantee of employment. In a socialist society public interest takes precedence over the interest of private profit.
6. Socialist society's basic feature is the decentralization of economic and social power. Socialist society believes in social welfare, social security and a wider concern for those who are in need. It aims at the realization of a casteless and classless society and raising the standards of the people to higher cultural, economical levels.

7. Socialism, its method and technique vary from country to country. European socialism is different from Russian socialism. Private enterprise may be permitted without allowing any scope for the exploitation of the community by private interests. Socialism in a highly developed industrial community would be different from socialism in an agricultural country. Socialism calls for social consciousness of all men and women to create conditions for free and rational development of all, and creates a community in which free men work together as equals in a spirit of fraternity.

NEHRU'S SOCIALIST PROGRAMME

Socialism in India was the creation of the intellectuals and was not the product of a working class movement. It developed concurrently with the national movement and many nationalists were also ardent socialists. With the progress of the Soviet Union along the road of communism and its insistence on an egalitarian, planned society many of the nationalists and intellectuals were attracted towards it and Nehru was prominent among them. As Ashok Mehta pointed out — "In the thirties men of intelligence were either socialists or fascists. We were socialists". Nehru was not the founder of a socialist party or of a socialist state in India. He was not a member of the socialist party "which was formed in 1934. But it was Nehru who worked hard to place the country on the road towards Socialism and made Socialism a political issue by
linking it to the national movement, inside the country and gave an international perspective to it. Socialism entered India as a body of ideas providing economic content to the Congress movement. It was originally an influence among the intellectuals, an outlook rather than a political ideology. It is true that Nehru's Socialism was influenced by his Marxist reading and his visit to Soviet Russia. Nehru was aware of the poverty of the masses, their psychology of dependence, feudalism, superstition and general backwardness and was firmly convinced that the only remedy was the reconstruction of society on socialist lines. On his return from Europe in 1927 Nehru embarked upon a campaign to convert the Congress to a more radical ideology. The formative period of the Indian National Congress movement offered Nehru an excellent opportunity to develop his talent for leadership and to propagate his radical ideas. In the thirties, his role in the Congress was to direct the leftist opinion that had grown among the members.

He became the spokesman of young radical Congressmen and of socialist ideas. Nehru was the champion of the young radicals and westernized Indian intelligentsia. Most of the important resolutions of the Congress were drafted by Nehru. In 1929, the All India Congress Committee passed an important resolution stressing the need for revolutionary changes in the economic and social structure of society for removing the gross inequalities that existed. The first formal introduction of the socialist faith from the Congress platform was made by Nehru when he presided over the famous Lahore session of the Indian National Congress in 1929. Nehru stated, 'the philosophy of Socialism has gradually permeated the entire structure of society the world over, and almost the only points of dispute are the pace and methods of advance to its full realization. India will have to go that way, too, if she seeks to end her
poverty and inequality, though she may evolve her own methods and may adapt the ideal to the genius of her race⁸⁷.

The three important points which Nehru emphasized were: (1) Inevitability of the adoption of the socialist goal for India. (2) The need for modifying socialist methods according to the Indian conditions. (3) To be flexible in practice and policy, taking into account the mixed, heterogeneous character of the Congress and keeping them [Congressmen] together in the fight for independence. Nehru insisted that the congress needed an economic programme oriented towards the improvement of the condition of the peasants and workers. Nehru persuaded the Congress to recognize that the poverty and misery of the people were not only due to foreign exploitation but also to the outdated economic structure of our society. Nehru believed that India's independence was only a prelude to the transformation of Indian society. It had to be followed by social and economic reforms directed towards bringing about radical changes in the system of agriculture and industry, in the distribution and ownership of land as well as the different forms of economic power. In 1929, Nehru declared himself as a socialist and republican and urged the Congress to adopt a socialistic programme. Nehru was firm in his socialist faith and determined to make the country socialist.

In his Lahore address Nehru declared: "We have to decide for whose benefit industry must be run and the land produces food. Today the abundance that the land produces is not for peasant or the laborer who work on it, and industry's chief function is supposed to be to produce millionaires. However golden the harvest and heavy the dividends, the mud huts and hovels and nakedness of our people testify to the glory of the British Empire and our present social system⁸⁸. Nehru advocated a minimum wage for labor, abolition of intermediaries in the rural economy and changes in land laws. Nehru was at
the same time restrained in the expression of his socialist views lest there should be a rift in the ranks of the Congress. Nehru was convinced that Swaraj should be synonymous with political and economic emancipation. So far congress had thought mainly on nationalistic lines and had not adopted a pronounced stand on social and economical problems. As Dr. Gopal pointed out, "His mild tactics on behalf of socialist strategy were committing the Congress to positions which no amount of pressure within or outside could have secured" 89. In 1931 at the Karachi session the Congress adopted and approved Nehru's resolution on fundamental rights and economic policy, for the first time pledging itself in favor of economic change. There was however nothing novel about it and the Karachi resolution was not a declaration of socialist faith, but it did bring in the concept of economic freedom and took special note of the economic interests of the masses in the picture of India after independence. The resolution stated about the end of the exploitation of the masses and economic freedom for starving millions. This programme included a basic democratic character, nationalization of basic key industries and transport.

It provided freedom of expression, religion and thought, equality before the law, protection of regional language and culture, a living wage, decent conditions of work, employment and old age insurance, the right to form an association, unions, and abolition of untouchability, adult franchise, free and compulsory education. It advocated a secular state, a reduction of land revenue and rent and progressive taxation. Nothing was said about the abolition of landlordism or socialization of land. Nehru himself was not satisfied with this mild programme and considered it "as no socialism at all.

Nehru's socialist mission thus led the Congress to the first step towards Socialism not perhaps so much on the ideological side but towards the
formulation of a few concrete measures for the economic emancipation of the masses. In any case the Karachi programme gave new look to Congress and brought it nearer to Socialism. This could be considered as one of the major contributions of Nehru towards Socialism during the freedom struggle. National freedom and Socialism were the goals he was seeking simultaneously. Nehru's sympathetic biographer, Michael Brecher feels that the "inauguration of national planning in 1951 and, more particularly, the Avadi Resolution on a 'socialist pattern of society' in 1955 may be traced to the Karachi resolution of 1931"\textsuperscript{90}. Nehru saw millions of Indians suffering under poverty and misery. Nehru realized that once economic problems were solved, other like the communal problem and religious problem would lose their weight. In 1936, as the president of the Indian National congress at Lucknow, Nehru pleaded for the adoption of socialistic policies. Nehru stated, "I am convinced that the only key to the solution of the world's problems and of India's problems lies in Socialism, and when I use this word I do so not in a vague humanitarian way, but in the scientific economic sense. Socialism is, however, something even more than a economic doctrine, it is a philosophy of life and as such also it appeals to me. I see no way of ending the poverty, the vast unemployment, the degradation, and the subjection of the Indian people except through Socialism. That involves vast and revolutionary changes in our political and social structure, the ending of vested interests in land and industry as well as the feudal and autocratic Indian states system.

That means the ending of private property, except in a restricted sense, and the replacement of the present profit system by a higher ideal of co-operative service\textsuperscript{91}. Nehru was aware that he was talking more of the future than of the immediate present. He stressed that India could not escape this choice if a better order society without exploitation of man by man was the
goal. Nehru was sure that unless the economic problems were solved and basic necessities were fulfilled, no polity could have stability. Major economic changes were a pre-condition for the development of real democracy. Hence, he advocated radical changes in social and economic policies, and this could be done only by the elimination of vested interests in India under Socialism. Nehru was far ahead of his contemporaries in his vision of an egalitarian society. The trade union movement and the youth leagues were attracted by Socialism and Nehru's speeches and writings helped to spread the message of socialism in India. Nehru said in a speech in Bombay in 1936, 'There cannot be ups and downs and social inequalities in this country. These must be got rid of. We have to build up a new social order in which everyone will have the fullest opportunity for development, no exploitation, and in which there will be not merely political democracy, but economic democracy, which means economic equality without which political democracy will be a hoax. What does it matter to one whether he has a vote or not, when he is hungry and starving. Nehru's participation in the national struggle brought him into close contact with the serious problems of the socioeconomic structure of those days. The advent of Gandhi on the political scene and his various campaigns for solving peasant grievances had focused public attention on the acute poverty of the masses. But some of Gandhi's economic ideas did not appeal to the intelligentsia including Nehru.

Nehru was not much attracted towards Gandhi's Khadi development programme though he recognized it as useful for the time being. If Gandhi made the Congress popular among the masses and secured their participation, Nehru's socialist appeal brought the intelligentsia and the younger generation into the national struggle and into the mainstream of a socialist movement in India. Nehru's bias towards Socialism was unacceptable to the right-wing of
Congress including Sardar Patel and Rajendra Prasad. Nehru believed that the very purpose of the national movement would be defeated if he did not strive for the betterment of the poor and exploited.

Nehru's significant role in the national movement was that he gave an economic and socialist orientation to it. Till the thirties the Congress was mainly a political organization without a definite economic programme although from time to time it emphasized the need to encourage the Swadeshi movement and develop cottage industries. The Karachi Congress for the first time provided such a systematic programme and this was due to Nehru's vision and leadership. Nehru was ahead of the nationalist movement in having a clear conception of 'Swaraj'. He wrote in "Wither India" that India was to reach the greatest human goal of social and economic equality, national freedom, the ending of all exploitation of nation by nation and class by class. Nehru emphasized that without basic economic transformation freedom or Swaraj would be a mere shadow. This conception is basic to Nehru's thought and achievement and consistent with this he projected an integrated view of the freedom movement as a struggle for political freedom, on one hand, and for economic emancipation on other. In all his presidential addresses to the Congress in 1929, 1936, 1937, 1946 and in his writings and speeches, he dwelt on the theme of Socialism and prepared the way for a socialist state in free India.

It was due to Nehru that the impact of Socialism was felt inside the Congress and became respectable and understandable. Nehru symbolized the hopes and aspirations of the younger generation, he reacted the minds of the younger and progressive generation and created in them a consciousness of the urgency of a political as well as economic and social transformation in the country. In this respect Nehru made a tangible contribution to the
transformation and refashioning of the Congress Party as an instrument for bringing about the many sided change which India needed? Nehru's pledge of socio-economic reforms and putting an end to vested interests appealed both to the urban and rural classes. Nehru's call for Socialism acted as an alternative to the ultra-radical call of communism.

Although, the latter did make its appeal to extremist sections, it could not progress beyond these limited circles. Nehru was primarily responsible for winning Indian opinion on the whole towards Socialism by adapting the appeal of communism to the social and cultural context of India. Nehru not only provided social and economic philosophy to the cause of national freedom but also created a progressive consciousness among the educated urban people and acted as a bridge between urban and rural India. He made urban people conscious of the plight of rural folk. He defined the goal of national movement in terms of the uplift of rural masses and as president of the Trade Union congress he tried to bring the workers into national movement. The greatest contribution of Nehru was that he encouraged the millions in India to continue their struggle for a better and equal society. Even in 1930 Nehru was convinced of the need for planned socialist approach as essential for the country's prosperity. He wrote, "In India, only a revolutionary plan could solve the two related questions of the land and industry as well as almost every other major problem"94.

The main question was how to apply this approach to Indian conditions. But Nehru was sure in those days that if Socialism was to be realized in India, it had to grow out of Indian conditions. According to Arjun Sen Gupta, "Nehru made the greatest contribution to the process of socialist development of our country. He set his country in the mainstream of socialist development, made Socialism in India a vital force that counts. Socialism together with democracy
has" seeped through the authoritarian structure and the ideology of irrationalism of the Indian society has reached the broad masses of our people and no one has played as great and as effective a role in that historic process as Nehru. To deny this is to deny the reality of the Indian situation". Nehru's great achievement was his adaptation of the western ideas of Socialism to the Indian context. India's complex agricultural system has been characterized by inequalities of ownership, insecurity of tenure, fragmented landholdings and intermediaries between the state and the cultivator. Primitive methods of production, conservative outlook of peasant's made this problem even more complicated. Nehru was aware of this problem from 1926. In 1926 the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee declared that — 'The existing land system must go and that there should be no intermediaries between the state and the cultivator". In those days it was a new and a bold idea. Nehru was always against vested interests. In 1928 in his address to the United Provinces Congress Conference, he asserted that the Zamindari system should be abolished and land be distributed to the tenants. In his presidential address to the Congress in 1929 Nehru declared, "Real relief can only come by a great change in the land laws and the basis of the present system of land tenure. The ownership of large estates by individuals, which is the outcome of a state resembling the old feudalism of Europe, is a rapidly disappearing phenomenon all over the world". But even in those days Nehru talked of giving compensation for the land instead of confiscating it as some later day socialists would have it. Dr. Gopal feels that though Nehru talked of revolutionary methods of Socialism, the Socialism he envisaged was of a mild variety, best described as Utopian, Gandhian Socialism. His loyalty to the Congress was very deep and it was to preserve party unity that he did not include socialists in his working committee in 1936.
Gandhi knew that discipline and political freedom were more important to Nehru and took precedence over revolution or violent social and economic change. Dr. Gopal states, "During the next ten years no single individual did more to build in the Congress an awareness of economic issues, but Jawaharlal was also the best shield of the Congress against left-wing groups and organisations." Nehru would never weaken collective organization and action or break with Gandhi on the question of Socialism.

**PLANNING:**

Nehru was not interested in economics as such, but was eager to plan development and modernization in free India. For planning is a part of Socialism, the indispensable way of creating a socialist economy within a democratic set up. Nehru became a planner long before he formed the government in free India. From the middle of the twenties, Nehru became interested in economic problems. It was his contacts with the oppressed and naked peasantry which revealed to Nehru the miserable life of Kisans. It was through this discovery that Nehru realized that the ultimate solution of the agrarian problem lay in the abolition of landlordism, feudal socio-economic structure and intermediaries. This was the basic element in Nehru's thought. It was his deep study of Marxism and socialist literature and his visit to Soviet Russia in 1927 which attracted Nehru towards Socialism and Planning. He reached this stage of thinking once he realized that socio-economic content was essential for political freedom. Nehru was fascinated by the concept of planning as an approach towards achieving socio-economic equality and justice.

Soviet Russia was the first country to initiate planned development; Nehru regarded the First Five Year Plan of Russia as a "struggle against the backward conditions of Russia, against the remains of capitalism, against the
low standards of living”99. Socialist programmes were to be achieved through planning. Nehru was quite clear about this even before Independence. Nehru stated, "We could not then plan for Socialism as such. Yet it became clear to me that our plan, as it developed, was inevitably leading us towards establishing some of the fundamentals of the socialist structure. It was limiting the acquisitive factor in society, removing many of the barriers to growth, and thus leading to a rapidly expanding social structure.

It was based on planning for the benefit of the common man, raising his standards greatly, giving him opportunities of growth, and releasing an enormous amount of latent talent and capacity. And all this was to be attempted in the context of democratic freedom and with a large measure of co-operation of some at least of the groups who were normally opposed to socialist doctrine. That co-operation seemed to me worthwhile even if it involved toning down or weakening the plan in some respects"100. Nehru's idea of planning had the support of intellectuals. It reflected some of the ideas of industrialists who favored large-scale industrialization. It was at his instance in 1929, that the All India Congress Committee passed a resolution, emphasizing the need for making revolutionary changes in the economic and social structure in order to remove the inequality, poverty and misery of the people. Nehru's objectives were a planned development creating economic equality, equal opportunities and an adequate minimum standard of life. Nehru's admiration for Russia lay in the fact that its leaders boldly adopted scientific planning as the key to progress and prosperity. At the Karachi session of the Congress in 1931 resolution on fundamental rights stated that basic and key industries such as railways, mineral resources, shipping and other measures of public transport should be controlled by the State. It was Nehru who drafted this resolution. Nehru described the resolutions as a step in the socialist direction.
It was an important decision on economic matters and as Mr. Brecher pointed out "a broadening of the Congress programme beyond the purely political goal of complete self-government"\textsuperscript{101}. Nehru was convinced that the economic backwardness and poverty of the Indians was not only due to alien rule, but also due its outdated socio-economic structure. The only solution he could think of was to increase production by applying technology and scientific methods to Indian agriculture and by adopting industrialization on a sufficient scale. Nehru was aware that industrialization and agricultural development envisaged by him needed careful economic planning. Thus, in the interview, which he gave to "News Chronicle" in 1937 Nehru said, "It seems to me that the only way to solve outstanding Indian problems is to have an all embracing planned system of Indian economy, dealing with land, industry—big scale and village social services etc. Such a system can only take effect when obstructions in the shape of big vested interests have been removed"\textsuperscript{102}.

To Nehru planning was not an end itself but a means to achieve the well being and development of the people as a whole, providing equal opportunity to all. It was essentially an integrated approach to development. Planning was essentially linked with industrialization and self-reliance of the country. Nehru upheld the idea of modernization of Indian society and economic progress through planning. The development of large-scale industry was necessary for removing want and providing a strong base of economic independence. Nehru, however, also conceded a place for village industry, because of scarcity of capital and unemployment especially rural employment. In this respect, Nehru made a sharp break from Gandhian economic ideology with its emphasis on Khadi and small industry, idea of trusteeship and disfavor of economic and material progress on modern and scientific lines. Nehru regarded development
of Khadi and hand-spinning and weaving as transitional and temporary measures.

But Nehru realized that the main drive in future will have to be a complete overhauling of the agrarian system and the growth of the industry. Nehru also advocated the promotion of lighter industries. He believed that planning would benefit the common man providing great opportunities of development and a higher standard of living. For Nehru even in the earlier phase democracy and planning were not incompatible. According to him a society based on the obsolete concept of laissez-faire was unable to provide real freedom to the individual. Nehru asserted that the acquisitive economy based on the grab motive was harmful to democracy.

**Nehru wrote in Discovery of India:**

'The idea of planning and a planned society is accepted now in varying degrees by almost every one. But planning itself has little meaning and need not necessarily lead to good results. Does the plan aim definitely at the well being and advancement of the people as a whole, at the opening out of opportunity to all and the growth of freedom and methods of co-operative organization and action? Increase of production is essential. An attempt to preserve old established privileges and vested interests cuts out the very root of planning. Real planning must recognize that no such special interests can be allowed to come in the way of any scheme designed to further the well-being of the community as a whole'\(^{103}\). Nehru aimed at a fundamental transformation of the economic structure, and a society which was not dominated by private profit and individual greed but a society in which there was fair distribution of economic power, based on a co-operative spirit. Nehru with his sense of history was one of the few national leaders to grasp the significance of science
and technology for Indian development. He was also one of the few to conceive very clearly that a country like India would not achieve economic development without a planned approach. Nehru was firm on three points.

1. Nationalization of instruments of production and distribution.
2. Ending of the profit and acquisitive motives.
3. Co-operative basis of industry and land.

Nehru insisted that nationalization of production and distribution was inevitable. Even before Independence Nehru was very clear about the methods of India's transformation into a modern nation. Nehru was the principal force behind the idea of planned development for the promotion of equality and social justice. Nehru linked planning with purpose. Up to 1938 Nehru's interest in economic development, planning and socialism was primarily theoretical and intellectual. Nehru persuaded the Congress to set up a National Planning Committee to study the problems of development, and was made the chairman of the committee, and he attended to its work seriously and prepared the blueprint for the future. In 1940 Nehru had come into contact with Prof. Mahalanobis and this was to be fruitful in the discussion and formulation of the five year plan in India. The National Planning Committee did useful work, and prepared 16 final and 10 interim reports on various aspects of the economy. This provided Nehru an opportunity to study India's economic problems, and prepared him for the task of planning the future Indian economic development.

The main object of planning was self-sufficiency. As Nehru put it, "As far as the world is concerned the problem of production has been successfully solved. It may be that in India, due to foreign domination and other causes we have not been able to solve the problem of production successfully but even so the problem of distribution should receive our attention in the main. Distribution
has to be planned. This is the main idea before the National Planning Committee.\textsuperscript{104} Nehru was sure that planned economy would inevitably lead to the fundamentals of the socialist structure. There was no other way except a socialist economy to correct the irregularities of the existing economic system.

The main aims of planning according to Nehru were:

1. To develop self-generating economy.
2. To provide employment, removal of poverty.
3. To increase per capita income.
4. Development of industry.
5. To increase agricultural production.

29 Sub-committees for various subjects such as agricultural, industry, and for social, economic, financial problems were appointed, so as to produce a scheme of planned economy for India.

The key elements of the economic policy as worked by the committee were as follows:

1. State ownership and control of key basic industries.
2. Scope for functioning of private enterprise, but under restriction and regulation.
3. Abolition of land intermediaries and introduction of peasant farming as a transitional step towards the development of collective and co-operative farms.
4. A socialized system of credit and control over export and import trade.

Nehru believed in democratic planning, planning by consent and discussion of priorities and resources. He considered that planning was not opposed to the essential freedom of man, and asserted: "If we adhered to the
democratic state structure and encouraged co-operative enterprise, many of the
dangers of regimentation and concentration of power might be avoided" \(^{105}\). By
the forties the idea of economic planning became popular in the country. It was
realized that planning was essential for the development of the country. A
scheme was prepared in 1944 by a team of businessmen and industrialists
which came to be known as the Bombay Plan — a plan for the economic
development of India. Nehru laid emphasis on an egalitarian society with equal
opportunities of work for all.

Later he spoke of socializing and controlling large-scale industry and
building up large-scale industry as a public sector. "Nehru chose the pragmatic
way, of making the Congress and Indian middle classes generally talk socialist
prose without their knowing it" \(^{106}\). Nehru believed that there was direct
relationship between economic activity and the development of human
character. Nehru had the sense of planned approach toward life. 'Thus, by the
time India attained her freedom, there was an increasing appreciation in the
country of the fact that economic progress could not be achieved by fits and
starts but only by an. integrated scheme of planning, and Nehru had
contributed most to the evolution of this idea" \(^{107}\).

INTERNATIONALISM:

Nehru's distinctive contribution to Indian Socialism was that he made
Indians aware of the world, preventing national movement from becoming
narrow and egocentric. None of 'Nehru's colleagues including Gandhi, attached
so much importance to the events abroad and attempted to understand Indian
problems in a world perspective. As a socialist, it was natural for him to be an
internationalist. Nehru considered every major event in terms of its impact of
India, and had firm belief that no country or people could remain isolated from
the rest of the world due to the revolutionary methods of communication and transport. Dr. Gopal wrote, "Jawaharlal put the Indian problem in its international context. The whole world was one vast question mark, and every country and every people were in the melting pot. It appeared to be a dissolving period of history when the world was in labor and out of her travail would give birth to a new order. In this Asia and even India would play a determining part"108.

Nehru accepted that his nationalism was based on internationalism. "But the internationalism that I look forward to is not one of common subjection, imposed from above, but a union and a co-operation of free nations for the common good. It is this kind of world order that will bring peace and progress to mankind ... But I want them to develop at the same time the international habit of mind and to develop contacts with other countries and peoples". Nehru's education in England and his frequent visits to Europe helped him in developing an international outlook. Nehru appreciated the gains of Russian Revolution, "a tremendous event unique in world history"109. He realized that politics and economics were interconnected. Nehru's strong antagonism to imperialism and colonialism found its logical conclusion in the demand for equality and for a socialistic order. Mere patriotism was not enough for him. His internationalism embraced all humanity. He supported freedom movements in Asia, Spain and Africa. Nehru believed that oppressed and subjected peoples should come together in their common struggle for freedom. He asserted the freedom of all without any geographical distinctions. Nehru had capacity to see beyond India and to place the national problem in the wider context. "His patriotism was poised on the broader platform of internationalism. He was perhaps the first of the new growing band of futurologists
in world affairs, and showed, even in the twenties, what can only be termed an astounding grasp of long-term trends”110.

At the Lucknow Congress in 1936 Nehru made a comprehensive survey of the national and international situation, reiterated his faith in Socialism and suggested the inclusion of workers and peasants in the Congress for the common struggle against the government. Nehru emphasized the need for Congress to take a wider view of things and to understand the organic link between India's struggle for freedom and the struggle of other people for independence. He visited China and Spain and established close contacts with freedom struggles in those countries. He saw two forces in confrontation, fascism and imperialism on one hand and nationalist socialist forces on the other. He drew India's attention to the Spanish civil war.

The various Congress resolutions on foreign policy passed during the period of 1927-1945 were largely the handiwork of Nehru. He consistently made Indians aware of the world context of Indian events and always reminded them that they were part and parcel of the wider struggle for liberation. As Gandhi said in appreciation, "Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is Indian to the core but, he being also an internationalist, has made us accustomed to looking everything in the international light, instead of parochial”111. Through his frequent visits abroad and his contacts with leading figures of the world, he could explain in a better way India's case for freedom and the basic issues involved in it. Nehru had the courage to refuse the invitation to meet Mussolini. Nehru wrote, "Soon afterwards a far-away occurrence, unconnected with India, affected me greatly and made me change my decision. This was the news of General Franco's revolt in Spain. I saw this rising, with its background of German and Italian assistance, developing into a European or even a world conflict. India was bound to be drawn into this. More and more I came to think
that these separate problems, political or economic in China, Spain, Central Europe, India or elsewhere, were facets of one and same world problem. There could be no final solution of any of them till this basic problem was solved. Two world wars and the economic crises which followed shook the faith of many liberals.

But Nehru found a ray of hope for mankind in Socialism. Nehru believed that Fascism stood for racialism, totalitarianism, exploitation, imperialism and dictatorship. His life in prison taught him that freedom had no meaning unless it was the freedom for the lowest and most exploited.

Nehru insisted that the Congress should restate its objectives clearly especially in view of breakdown of the capitalist order. 'Whither India', published in 1933, stated Nehru's outlook in unambiguous terms. Nehru viewed the national struggle, in the changing world situation, and this led to his emphasis on socio-economic freedom in the programme of the Congress. Nehru realized the significance of advance of technology and industrialization in Europe and Russia, and saw the necessity of introducing planning and industrialization in independent India, for all round development of the country. Nehru asserted that it was the socialist order which alone was the answer to the ills of India and the world.
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