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Historical Survey

The term 'socialism' is derived from the Latin word 'Socius', which signifies a comrade, an ally, or a partner. It connotes equality in rank and status. Socialism is an economic system, a political movement, and a social theory. The socialist doctrine demands State ownership and control of the fundamental means of production and distribution of wealth. The doctrine specifically advocates nationalization of natural resources basic industries, banking, credit facilities and public utilities. Though the basis of socialism is economic, its implementation leads to complete change in political, ethical and technical institutions of society. Socialism symbolises the vision of a new society and believes in co-operation, equality and social justice. Socialists aim for a society based on co-operation and brotherhood, rather than competition and self interest.

There are many varieties of socialism and the term has had a long and complicated history. The idea of collective ownership or common ownership of property dates at least from the time of ancient Greece. During the Third Century B.C., the Greek philosopher Plato proposed that a ruling class own
everything in common, putting the welfare of the State above all personal desires. As far as it is known, the words 'socialism' and 'socialist' for the first time appeared in print in Italian in 1803. It came into use in Great Britain and France soon after 1825. Soon the word travelled from there to Germany and other European States and also to the United States. The term was first applied to the doctrines of certain writers who were seeking a complete transformation of the economic and moral basis of society by substitution of social for individual control and of social for individualistic forces in the organization of life and work.

During the early 1800's, several writers and reformers criticised industrialism as the cause of great hardship and suffering among working people. Socialism originated in Europe mainly as a reaction to these circumstances, which were the product of the capitalist system itself, an outcome of the Industrial Revolution. The early socialists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries realised these evils and injustices of capitalists and tried in their own way to eradicate them. These socialists were often called Utopians. A German economist and writer Karl Marx disagreed with the Utopian Socialists, and with him socialism entered a new phase. He believed that capitalist system would destroy itself and eventually all countries of the world would adopt of socialist system. To hasten the arrival of socialism, Marx said, the workers
should band together and overthrow by force of revolution, if necessary, the existing governments. This troubled many socialists and they began to doubt the indispensability of revolution and tried to revise the basic tenets of Marxism. They declared that socialism could be best attained by reformist, parliamentary and evolutionary methods. The revisionists came to be known as social democrats. Thus we see that socialism had travelled many paths.

During the later part of the eighteenth century, several socialist political parties were formed in Europe and North America. Between 1890 and 1914, the socialist movement grew strong and socialist parties nearly won control of the government in several countries. The great advance was scored in Great Britain. Many Nations newly emerged in Africa, Asia and Latin America adopted systems that were largely socialist in orientation. China established a communist government, as did Albania and Cuba. Socialism made progress also in India, Burma and Japan. The major impact of socialism today has shifted from the industrialized nations to the under developed countries.

Growth of Socialism in India

The success of the Russian Revolution in 1917 raised high hopes in the minds of socialists everywhere in the world and India was no exception. India could not remain aloof of or immune to the tremors created by the October
Revolution. Turning the pages of history, we find that the essential basis of Indian thought for ages past, fits in with the scientific temper and approach of socialism. It is based on a fearless search for truth, solidarity of man based upon the divinity of every living thing, and on the free and co-operative development of the individual, leading to greater freedom and higher stages of human growth. Thus, we see that India had a rich heritage of socialist thought in its ancient culture. This was further developed by the growth of the national liberation movement which stimulated the quest for a socialist ideal.

The famous Bengali writer, Bankim Chandra Chatterju was the first to recount socialist teaching in his Bengali work 'Samya' published in 1879. Rabindranath Tagore also wrote about socialistic ideas. According to him, "Socialism seeks to distribute wealth equally among all and thereby reunify society."¹ Probably, the first man in India who called himself a socialist was Swami Vivekananda. In a letter dated November 1st, 1896, Swamiji declared "I am a socialist not because I think it is a perfect system, but because half a loaf is better than no bread. The other systems have been tried, and found waiting. Let this one be tried".² Though these thinkers showed interest in socialism, they could not formulate any practical programme for attaining the goal.

The Russian Revolution against the Czarist autocracy created a greater impression on the Indian patriots as an inspiring example of mass liberation struggle. The down-trodden masses started protesting against exploitation and particularly against colonial enslavement. They mobilised national liberation struggle and at the same time shaped an anti-capitalist tradition in the development of progressive socialistic thought in India. The progressive national leaders were also ready to work upon the main ideas of socialism. Yet another influence was the assimilation of the ideas of nationalism and socialism from England and Germany by the young Indians who went abroad either for training or for education. These factors detracted some radicals from the general programme of the Congress and urged them to pursue a hot line. This resulted in the formation of the Congress Socialist Party (CSP) in 1934, the goal of which was to gain full independence and establishment of a socialist society in India. Socialism according to CSP, was the ultimate destiny of mankind.

The revivalist movement in the country towards the end of the 19th century and beginning of 20th century also gave direction towards the growth of socialist ideology in the country. It criticised the ideologies of Western brand of socialism and tried to expose its unethical basis. Gandhiji's concept of socialism was ethical and was based on the possibility of reforming human nature. Pandit Nehru's conception of socialism had not only a humanitarian base, but also an
economic base. He was attracted towards socialism and tried to give a left slant to Congress even before independence. Thus we see that, socialist thinkers in India have approached socialism not only as a problem of improvement in the environment, but also as a means to reform the human nature.

**Jawaharlal Nehru and Socialism**

Jawaharlal Nehru was a great socialist with a pragmatic approach. Although he was not the first expounder of socialism in India, his uniqueness lies in the fact that he differed from other socialists, with his non-doctrinaire approach to the socio-economic problems of India. The love for the ideals of socialism and to built India of his dreams on a socialistic basis ran like a thread throughout Jawaharlal Nehru's life and thought. Being a continental polity and society, India had to accommodate its linguistic diversities, ethnic divergence and political pluralities. Nehru clearly perceived that the need was to integrate such diversities and he wanted to make a new State out of the old society. By socialisation and ideological make-up he tried to build such a political system which would take care of all these. He set forth three principles for that and applied them during the seventeen years of his Primeministership. They were Democracy, Socialism and Secularism.

Pandit Nehru evolved his own ideas about socialism and tried to give
them a practical shape. Socialism, for him was a vital creed that he held with all his head and heart. Realising the pathetic position of Indian people Nehru felt that the solution of these problems could be found by adopting socialism as a national goal. He was convinced that there was no other way of ending the mass poverty and sufferings of the Indians except through socialism. He openly acknowledged his faith in socialism and expressed his views at the Lahore session of Congress in December 1929 in these words "I must frankly confess that I am a socialist and a republican and am no believer in kings and princes, or in the order which produces the modern kings of industry, who have greater power over the lives and fortunes of men than even the kings of old, and whose methods are as predatory as those of the old feudal aristocracy . . . . India will have to accept socialism if she seeks to end poverty and inequality, though she evolve her own methods".3

Socialism appealed to Nehru as an adequate philosophy of life and he was drawn towards it from his younger days. Regarding the basis of his philosophy it may be said that he developed a deep faith in the ultimate success of socialism as the panacea for human ills. Nehru's line of socialism stemmed from his broad humanitarian outlook to liberate mankind from their miseries.

3 Jawaharlal Nehru, 'Glimpses of World History' (New Delhi, Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1982) p.816.
His socialist ideas cannot be understood save in the context of his deep belief in man and in the dignity of human existence. At the personal level, he explained his attitude with great clarity. In his Autobiography he wrote, "My roots are still perhaps in the nineteenth century, and I have been too much influenced by the humanist liberal tradition to get out of it completely". Thus, we see that he was a liberal and a democrat, a socialist and an individualist. But most of all, he was a humanist who affirmed his full faith in man.

Before and after independence, the question before the nation and Nehru was how to solve the problems of hunger and poverty, insanitation and illiteracy, superstition and decaying customs and utilizing the vast resources turning waste in a rich country inherited by starving people. Pandit Nehru's concern for these problems led him to socialism. He saw no way of ending the poverty, chronic unemployment and sufferings in India, except through socialism. He held that socialism could save the society from the conflict created by capitalism and modern science. Panditji always talked of socialism and worked for the construction of a really socialist society. He laid emphasis on four important conditions for solving the problems of India through socialism, i.e., raising the standard of life of general masses, providing them better means

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of life, providing them opportunities for physical, cultural and spiritual development and ending the disparity gradually by non-violent means.

In 1936, when Nehru was the president of the Indian National Congress, he declared "I am convinced that the only key to the solution of world's problems and of India's problems lies in socialism. And when I use these words, I do not use so not in a vague humanitarian way but in the scientific economic sense. Socialism, is however, something even more than an economic doctrine, it is philosophy of life. And as such also it appeals to me. I see no way of ending the poverty, unemployment, the degradation and the subjection of Indian people, except through socialism. Socialism, is thus for me not merely an economic doctrine which I favour, it is a vital creed which I hold with all my head and heart . . . . That involves vast and revolutionary changes in our political and social structure . . . . In short, it means a new civilization, radically different from the present capitalist order".  

Thus, Nehru's fascination for socialism was born out of his deep concern for the suffering Indian masses and a strong will to better their lot.

The vague ideas of socialism which Nehru had nurtured during his

student days were subsequently revived and sharpened in the light of sweeping social, political and economic changes taking place throughout the world. His belief in socialism traversed a long road right from his student career in Cambridge when he was vaguely attracted to Fabian and Socialistic ideas to the Congress Session of Bhuvaneswar where he committed the congress as well as the nation to the socialist goal. If in the thirties Nehru believed in scientific socialism, after grappling with administrative problems during his Primeminstership he became more practical in his approach. Nehru's revised socialism thus involved two fundamental propositions: the socialist goal of economic democracy was thoroughly valid; and the trend towards a socialistic economic structure with an increasing amount of state ownership over the means of production was desirable.

**Socialistic Pattern of Society**

In November 1954, Nehru envisaged a socialistic pattern of society as the goal. He defined such a society in the following words: "We mean a society in which there is equality of opportunity and the possibility for everyone to live a good life. Obviously, this cannot be attained unless we produce the wherewithal to have the standards that a good life implies. 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. The essential thing is
that there must be wealth and production". He thus imagined a classless society with economic justice and equal opportunity for all. The objectives that inspired Nehru to adopt and ventilate socialist ideas were manifold. He considered socialism to be helpful first, in destroying imperialistic hegemony over India. Secondly, in broadening the outlook of those nationalists who thought in the 'narrowest nationalist term', thirdly, in eradicating the poverty and misery of the down-trodden and the 'have-nots' in the society, and finally, in providing a scientific and sociological base for the socio-economic aspirations of society. He had conceded that his interest in socialism was primarily due to his faith that poverty and socio-economic inequalities in society cannot be eradicated without it. Pandit Nehru had portrayed the type of society which he wanted to be established in India thus, "Our final aim can only be a classless society with equal economic justice and opportunity for all, a society organised 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, goodwill and love - ultimately a world of order".


Socialism should grow out of Indian conditions

Along with the clear-cut understanding of the method, theory and programme of scientific socialism, Pandit Nehru had an equally clear understanding that as far as India was concerned, if it was to be built up here, it should grow out of Indian conditions. He wanted to take into account the basic characteristics of India - its society, its people, the political forces and parties. He believed that the closest study of these conditions was also essential. India's own path to the goal of socialism had to be carefully charted, taking the specifics of India and the experience of socialist construction in other countries fully into account. Nehru was very much convinced that if socialism had to take roots in India, it must be adapted to the conditions in India and must be expressed in the language of India. He was prepared to shed off that which was incompatible with the Indian situation and to import only that which was beneficial for India. It was thus an attempt to build socialism in the living situations of India.

Nehru did not favour the application of Marxian theory to the Indian situation. He outrightly rejected Marxian approach to achieve socialism in India. He disfavoured the idea of class-war revolution and dictatorship of proletariat. Nehru had been strongly influenced by Western socialist ideas and was deeply impressed by the efforts of the Soviet Union to bring about total change in the social life by planned methods after Russian Revolution. But he realised that
orthodox Marxism was incapable to understand the Indian masses and their problems. Awareness of the dangers and difficulties involved in following the Soviet path to socialism led Nehru more and more to appreciate the merits of Gandhian path. Panditji evolved his own concept of socialism which was different from the one which Russian people had established in their country under the inspiration of the teachings of Marx. He was emphatic on the need to maintain the Indian character of socialism.

Being an ardent democrat, Nehru believed in peaceful methods to transform society on socialist lines. He was not an uncritical admirer of Marxism. So though Nehru spoke of socialism and of a classless society, he was not a communist. He had complete faith in Gandhi. He totally disliked the communist totalitarian policy of ruthless suppression of political dissent and the whole-sale regimentation. He criticised the working of Soviet system and wrote: "Much in Soviet Russia I dislikes the ruthless suppression of all contrary opinion, the wholesale regimentation, the unnecessary violence (as I thought) in carrying out various policies". He came under the spell of Gandhi and so sincerely believed that it was possible to eradicate poverty and ensure a minimum standard of life for all without any violence and bloodshed. He considered violence as wholly unscientific, irrational and uncivilised methodology. Though

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8 Ibid., p.361.
he looked upon classless society as a noble ideal, he did not support violent methods for its realization. He wanted to realize it through peaceful and democratic means. He criticised the Indian communists for not having adapted the ideology of socialism to the peculiar Indian conditions. He admonished them against their blind following of the Western concept. On the other hand, he made his own attempts to adapt the western ideal of socialism to the Indian context with necessary modifications.

**Individual freedom and dignity preserved in Socialism**

Nehru's basic regard was for individual dignity and freedom, and he was not prepared to sacrifice it for the sake of economic development. The question of providing social justice without sacrificing individual freedom was uppermost in his mind. Hence, the freedom and dignity of individual was well preserved in Nehru's model of socialism. His socialism aimed at ensuring and promoting maximum freedom to the individuals. It appears that the foundation of socialist scheme in Nehru's thought had been laid on the rock belief that man and his individuality must not be surrendered to any kind of social order. The only consideration was that every action of an individual must be in harmony with and conducive to the well-being, health and growth of entire humanity. Its ultimate objective was to achieve individual liberty accompanied by equal
opportunities and equality among people, through the scientific theory of Marxism applied in accordance with the Gandhian techniques.

Thus, we see that Pandit Nehru under the influence of Gandhi, interpreted the Marxian socialism in the light of Gandhian Humanism. His Indian approach to socialism may be considered as a synthesis of the best elements of Western liberalism, symbolised by free elections, individual liberty and the rule of law; Gandhi's teachings, particularly his deep concern for the well-being of the masses and his emphasis on the right means and the desirability of avoiding recourse to violence; and Marxism, particularly its interpretation of history and its objective of a classless society. Nehru thus synthesised liberalism of West, socialism of Communist world and Gandhism of India to deal with the prevailing conditions and problems of his time. Although Nehru never claimed to have made such a synthesis, it can be very easily traced out from his writings and speeches.

**Democratic Socialism**

In a statement issued to the Press on February 22nd 1939, Nehru clarified his stand with regard to the approach which he wanted to use for establishing a socialist society of his own conception in our country. He said "I have been a convinced socialist and a believer in democracy; and have at the same time
accepted whole heartedly the peaceful technique of non-violent action which Gandhiji has practised so successfully during the past twenty years. I am convinced that strength can come to us from the masses, but that strength either for the struggle, or for the great work of building a new world must be disciplined . . . " Socialism, he believed, should not be imposed from above with the help of dictatorial government, but must emerge out of a change in the consciousness of the people at large and all peaceful efforts should be made to bring about such a change. Nehru's liberal democratic views convinced him that the brand of socialism which he advocated could only be achieved through democratic process. Revolutionary socialism was not feasible because the human values of a free society had to be preserved. His concept of socialism could be achieved only through a fully democratic process, through the consent of the majority. He honestly believed that it was possible to liquidate poverty and ensure a minimum standard of life for all without any violent overthrow of the existing order. It was Nehru's political conviction that India would have to march gradually in the direction of such a socialism.

Pandit Nehru was a realistic leader and he knew how to move towards the goal. He understood the mind and mood of the nation and followed a

peaceful and non-violent method to change the centuries old traditions and outdated outlook of the people. He accepted whole-heartedly the peaceful technique of non-violent action which Gandhiji practised. Nehru realised that "the vast changes that socialism envisages cannot be brought about by the sudden enactment of a few laws. But some basic laws are necessary to give the direction of advance and to lay foundation of the structure". This attitude was based on his profound disbelief in violence as a solvent for social evils. He understood well that Indians were peaceful by nature and disliked overturns and sharp reversals. So he repudiated the ideas of violence in changing the social order. He knew that Indian situation and psychology were ill-suited to violence. He had deep faith in the message of peace and non-violence of the philosophies, Buddha and Mahavira, whom he often quoted while he heralded his message of new democracy in India.

Jawaharlal Nehru believed that it was possible to establish socialism by democratic means and thereby allow sufficient freedom for the development of individual. He did not think that socialism and individualism were opposed to each other. His concept of social democracy had no conflict with the personal liberty. Even if State intervention was introduced, it was only in the individual's
own interest. Individuality was not killed or suppressed, but was well preserved in his model of socialism. He thus based socialism on democracy, dignity of individual and social justice.

**Congress made an instrument for the attainment of the goal**

Pandit Nehru was convinced that the real solution to India's economic problems lay in socialism. But he had no intention either of forming a new party or group in order to carry out his socialist objective. He was, therefore, determined not only to work for that cause, but also to make the Congress Party an effective instrument for socio-economic change. In all his speeches and writings, Nehru repeatedly stressed the need for 'Swaraj and socialism as the joint objectives and firmly believed that India could not have one without the other. He travelled a great deal and addressed many gatherings. Everywhere he spoke on political independence and social freedom. "I wanted to spread," he said, "the ideology of socialism especially among Congress workers and intelligentsia; for these people who were the backbone of the national movement ......"\(^\text{11}\)

As early as in 1929, the Congress under the influence of Nehru committed itself to the principle of socialism. At his own instance the Congress

\(^{11}\) Ibid., p.182.
took a more definite step by adopting an economic programme at the Karachi session. He constantly kept his pressure on the organization in favour of socialism and consequently, a number of vague socialist resolutions were adopted by the Congress from time to time. As he had occupied a high position in the Congress, he had the advantage of making his influence felt much more than others. Thus he injected socialist philosophy in the programmes of the Congress party while it was still fighting the battle of political liberation.

Nehru combined the fight for national liberation with the fight for socialism in India and sought the unity of the progressive forces all over the world to bring about a victorious end to this two-fold fight. He was of opinion that if socialism had to succeed, it should finally be an international socialism. For him, there was no contradiction between nationalism on the one hand and socialism and internationalism on the other. He thus looked socialism in a wider context and opined that "the world is essentially international to-day, although its political structure lags behind and is narrowly national. For socialism to succeed finally it will have to be international world socialism". Nehru described his objective as the establishment of a socialist order first within the

12 Jawaharlal Nehru, 'Glimpses of World History' (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1982) ;p.905.
national boundaries and eventually in the world as a whole. This indicates the universal outlook of his socialist vision.

Nehru's vigorous campaign for socialism continued for long. Even after independence, the Congress under his undisputed leadership, adopted official resolutions to that effect. He was solely guided by the practical considerations of Indian society and its concrete situation, as it appeared before him. After independence, Nehru's approach to socialism took a concrete step. The Indian constitution contained some socialist flavour in the chapter on Directive Principles of the State policy. In its Preamble, reference was made to equality and justice, both economic and social. This was not very far off from the objectives of socialism and it was considered as a milestone on the road to its achievement.

**Socialism and Democracy**

As a humanist, Pandit Nehru had a great faith in the people and so for the construction of Indian society on the basis of equality, social justice and security, he tried to evolve a social philosophy. He closely connected socialist system with the idea of political democracy. He wanted socialism to be adopted within the political framework of democracy so that the advantages of individual freedom could be retained along with the socio-economic justice achieved.
through socialism. In order to achieve the goal of classless society, he emphasized the need of total transformation of social life through democratic methods. He wanted to remove the evils of capitalism from democracy by adopting socialistic principles. While he provided for the working of political democracy through the constitution and the law, he aimed at making socialism work through policies and actual government administration. Political democracy, for Nehru was only a way to his goal of democratic socialism.

Jawaharlal Nehru thought that both socialism and democracy meant removal of disparities or the establishment of social and economic equality in society. To him, democracy and socialism had to go together since they were mutually reinforcing elements. He strongly believed that democracy and socialism were not contradictory but complementary to one another and held that the brand of socialism he advocated could be achieved only through democratic process. Nehru was aware that socialism could not be separated from democratic values because for the proper development of human personality democratic values were indispensable. So he combined the socialistic philosophy with democratic values and this combination was popularly described as 'democratic socialism'. Socialism, according to Panditji, should follow democratic lines and keep itself away from any kind of authoritarianism. Thus his concept of social democracy did not amount to any
serious infringement of individual freedom and civil liberty. It largely meant for him the addition of economic democracy to political democracy.

In the thirties, Nehru had full faith in scientific socialism. It was only after realising the realities of the context in which he had to work it out, he became a pragmatist. So he opted both socialism and democracy. Democracy meant to him an attempt to the solution of problems by peaceful methods. He believed that civil liberties and democracy were basic to socialism. Democracy was essential for socialism and there can be no real democracy without socialism. Nehru wanted to develop a form of democratic socialism based upon our peculiar cultural and historical traditions, so that we could move forward boldly and rapidly to the new goals. The task before Nehru was to continuously educate the people in the spirit of democratic socialism in order to win them over to that cause. He fully realised that his democratic method would take longer span of time compared with short-cut methods to socialism by imposition, but on the other hand the results of the former would be more enduring. In 1963, at its Bhubaneswar session, the Congress adopted the goal of democratic socialism. It implied three things, i.e., the substitution of co-operation in the place of acquisitiveness, equal opportunities for development of personality for everyone, and the democratic process of peaceful and legitimate methods to achieve these two goals.
Socialism and Secularism

Both secularism and social equality were equally emphasised as the essential ingredients of democratic socialism. Secularism and socialism are two inseparable concepts and so in Nehru's democratic socialism there was no place for religious politics. He was critical of those who approached politics through religion. Nehru was very much disturbed by caste system, communalism and the dogmatic and religious beliefs of the people of India. He held that in a country like India which has many faiths and religions, no real socialism can be built up except on the basis of secularism. So Nehru vehemently criticised casteism and its role in Indian society. He considered it as antagonistic to the principles of equality and social justice and to the growth and development of socialism. Socialism does not merely signify economic changes in the society. It involves fundamental changes in the social structure, in the ways of thinking and in ways of living. Old ideas about privilege on the basis of birth or class or caste or money are discarded in a socialist order and hence class and caste have no place in it. Thus Nehru provided enough space for socialism also in his concept of democratic socialism. He progressed with the aim that all individuals in India should have equal opportunities of growth and equal opportunities for work according to their capacity without regard to their caste and religion. This led him to say that "I look upon it (socialism) 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".13

**Mixed economy as an economic policy to achieve Socialism**

Pandit Nehru agreed with the Marxists that capitalism made the rich richer and the poor poorer. Economic inequality and the maldistribution of wealth, which capitalism promoted progressively, made it impossible to bring about equality. It also resulted in the increase of exploitation of man by man and group by group. It was necessary, therefore, that economic equality should be aimed at; and in order to achieve this, the control of the means of production by society as a whole, and severe restriction of private property were necessary. To Nehru, the capitalist system did not provide this equality of opportunity. It also failed in proper distribution of wealth. Hence, poverty was appalling and unemployment rampant. In Nehru’s political thought, the worst enemy of mankind was poverty. As a socialist, he held that since inequality is the root cause of poverty, its removal would bring about socialism. The objective of our economic policy must be the establishment of an egalitarian society, free from the scourge of exploitation and poverty, and providing full scope for all-round

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development of all its members. Such a society can come about only through the establishment of socialism.

Nehru’s socialism as revised in 1955 shunned the idea that there can be no middle path between capitalism and socialism and the world has to choose one or the other. According to him, any method which can deliver good to people could be something between these two ideologies. This something is the middle way or the mixed economy. It is drawn from of the ideals of both the socialistic and the capitalist economies. Nehru’s ideal of mixed economy involves the recognition of two main divisions in the country's economy - the public and the private sector. The former includes all the State owned and the State controlled industries while the latter includes all things under the private ownership. He aimed at State control of all those industries which were concerned with defence production and all the basic heavy industries. In regard to the rest, private enterprise was to be permitted. But there should be an adequate control over the private sector. It is expected to accept the broad principles involved in the National Plan and function in unison with the public sector. It must accept the objectives of National Planning Commission and adjust itself with it. The role of private sector is to be guided by social purpose. The public and private sectors were to co-exist and were required to play their part in modernizing the Indian society. Nehru believed that both the public and
the private sectors were indispensable in India's economy. The public sector is essential because Indian private capital is not sufficient to carry out huge projects. The less vital industries would remain in the private sector and this would be advantageous for the economic development of the country. In Nehru's opinion, the private sector performed a definite and important function in the transitional period of our economy. Likewise, the public sector was indispensable in meeting the requirements of the then existing conditions in India. With the elapse of time, the extent of private sector is apt to shrink and that of public sector is bound to grow. The policy of mixed economy enabled the government to start building upon the existing economic structure without a sudden break. Nehru also urged the nature of mixed economy must be flexible and capable of being adapted to the changing conditions.

Mixed economy is the economic system which India still follows and that is one of the most significant contribution of Jawaharlal Nehru. We find that Nehru's approach to the problem of economy was also pragmatic. His concept was based on the realities of the Indian situation and regard for individual dignity and freedom. India, thus under the leadership of Nehru was trying to combine parliamentary democracy, fundamental rights of the individual, private property and private enterprise with a large public sector, planned economic development, social justice and concern for the abolition of mass poverty. The
combination of socialism, a planned economy and parliamentary democracy was considered incompatible by many political thinkers from capitalist as well as the communist countries. But it represented a middle path and a harmonious combination best suited to the Indian aspirations and requirements.

**Economic Planning as a method to bring about socialism**

Nehru was one of the first men in India to recognise that planned development was the solution to overcome the economic backwardness of India, and cautiously introduced socialism in Indian planning. For bringing about a social change in India, Nehru not only took advantage of his newly propounded idea of mixed economy, but used the weapon of planning to accelerate the economic development of India. He put forward planned economic development for establishing socialistic pattern of society in India. He adopted democratic planning as a method of solving the problems of Indian people. Thus the goal of socialistic pattern of society found expression in the Five Year Plans of our country. Nehru was convinced that it was only through a planned approach on socialistic lines that steady progress can be attained, even though it was to take a considerable period of time.

**Industrialization and Socialism**

To establish a socialist society, the foremost aim of Nehru was the
removal of poverty with all its attendant evils. This called for rapid economic development. The slow growth of our economy, according to Nehru, was due to our inability to make full use of our manpower and natural resources and this was due to our failure to take sufficient advantage of the advance of science and technology. So Nehru's another major concern was for science, technology and industrialization. As a lover of socialism and with a strong desire to build India of his dreams on a socialistic basis, he pleaded for the industrialization of the country. He wanted to raise the standard of living of the people by providing them with the amenities of modern civilization. This concern was also rooted on the ground realities that existed in India. He wanted to develop a modern society in India, free from traditional superstitions, customs, religious conservatism, dogmatism, casteism, untouchability and other social evils which were major obstacles in the path of socialism.

Land Reforms

Nehru recognised that there could be no real change in a socialist direction in the Indian country side without land reform, ceiling on the land holdings, and distribution of the resultant surplus land to the landless. The abolition of land-lordism in contravention to the 'right to property' which was sanctified by the highest tribunal of the country clearly reflects Nehru's intense desire to extend his concept of socialism to this area. He advocated co-
operative farming and the establishment of service co-operatives. He firmly believed that the service co-operatives and co-operative farming had their important roles in bringing socialism to the villages of India.

Nehru championed the cause of socialism and strove for its enforcement and advancement in the Indian economic programmes through the inclusion of its basic concepts in the Indian planning, the constitution of India and the policies which guided the establishment of major industries. He emphasized that socialism should not be considered as an end in itself but as means to the end of providing greatest good to the largest number in the shortest possible time through persuasion. S.B. Gupta makes it clear when he states, "Nehru thus succeeded to a great extent in making socialism a practical slogan to which the nation as a whole responded enthusiastically .......... The three Five Year Plans have succeeded in laying the foundations on which a stable edifice of socialism can be attained. His faith in democratic methods was in itself a contribution to socialism, since it helped in creating a stable polity wherein it was possible to channelise the energy of the nation towards the programme of national reconstruction. Political stability in this country, for which the credit goes to a large extent to Nehru, has been the greatest asset to those at the helm of affairs and enabled them to implement the ideal of socialism. He emphasized the importance of science and technology and laid the firm basis for their growth by
establishing a number of national laboratories which have been doing useful work. He was a modernist and although he had great faith in Gandhian concept and thus encouraged cottage industries and Khadi movement, he worked for the establishment of heavy industries in the public sector. Vast irrigation schemes were part of his attempts to modernize agriculture. Socialism, according to him, had no meaning for the people, if they could not participate actively in planning their own future. Panchayati Raj or democratic decentralization, was for Nehru an essential step in the direction of modernization, without which socialism could remain only an ivory tower concept in India. Above all, his great contribution to the cause of socialism in India was his constant and continuous endeavours in the cause of world peace. His deep involvement in the problems of the world, seemingly even at the expense of national problems, was deliberate because he had realised that peace in the world was essential for the under-developed and developing nations in order to make progress and provide the minimum necessities of life to their citizens.14 Here we see that to materialise his concept of socialism, Nehru had certain concerns and that concerns were concerns for democracy, planning, science and technology, industrialization, social reconstruction and

modernization. In the chapters that follow, attempt is made to understand and appreciate these concerns separately.

Thanks to the strategy outlined by Nehru that since then, India has moved in the direction of socialism. Our national leaders and the successors of Nehru has to uphold Nehru's line of socialism to remould India in a quick march forward, so that we will not lag behind other nations. This will also protect our nation from all crises and problems, both national and international.