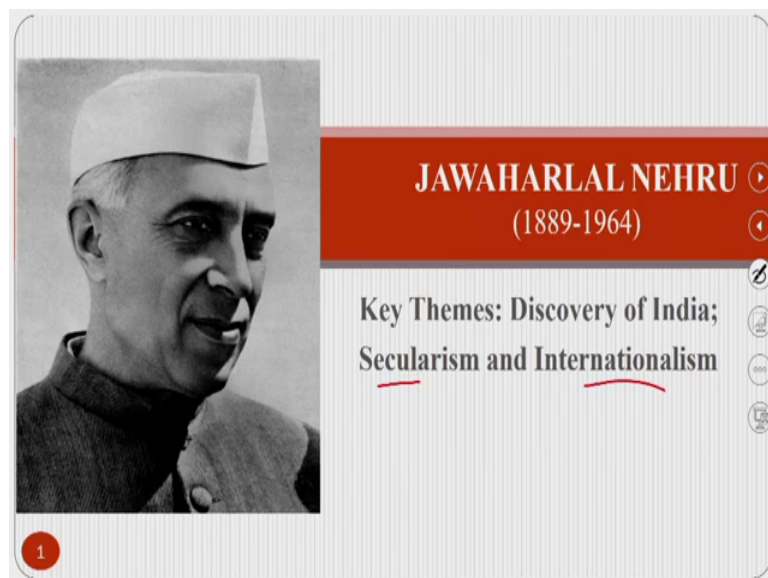


Introduction to Modern Indian Political Thought
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Lecture – 19
Jawaharlal Nehru: Discovery of India

Hello all and welcome friends to this lecture on Jawaharlal Nehru. And from Jawaharlal Nehru will focus on his major text called Discovery of India, his views on Secularism and Internationalism.

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Today, in this lecture we will focus mainly on Nehru his personal and political career, the kind of text he wrote, his involvement in the national politics and also we will discuss his views through discovery of India on socialism on science and rationality and also liberal democracy. So, these things we will cover today. In the next lecture we will discuss his views on secularism and following that we will discuss his views on internationalism or India's rule in the global arena.

So, to begin with to discuss Jawaharlal Nehru, he is someone whose shape the politics and society of independent India in its formative years. And for a very long time almost for two decades he developed a consensus, which we also called Nehruvian Consensus; and modeled a path for economic, social, transformation in society and politics, which had a kind of broader consensus across the parties, across the heterogeneous sections of

Indian society, and Nehru played a defining role in developing such consensus in post-independent India..

And prior to independency also have deep influence in shaping the course of India's national a struggle. And he was one who champion the cause of complete independence from the British rule or a kind of aggressive national politics to achieve such independence is something which remains dear to Nehru and he constantly for organize and mobilize public opinion around that. So, before he enter into this in there was different kind of debates going on about Swaraj or dominion status or complete independence or indianization of bureaucracy or administration within the British rule. Nehru was someone who began to articulate about the complete independence for India which he a certain, in one of this (Refer Time: 3:17) he passed this resolution about complete independence from them British rule. And also within the Congress there was a diverging opinion about social reforms on the one hand and political independence on the other hand, economic planning on the one hand and attainment of Swaraj one the other hand.

Nehru was very clearly articulated and asserted the need for political power to attain social reforms or also economic transformation of the society. And, he made it very clear or convincing to many of his followers and to the Congress that the attainment of Swaraj is necessary for social reforms and the economic transformation of India.

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Introduction

- Jawaharlal Nehru was the first and till today the longest serving Prime Minister of independent India for seventeen years who had a defining impact on politics and society of post independent India.
- Nehru was an unusual combination of an intellectual and a practical political leader. It also reflects in many of his writings and speeches. Nehru was the staunch critic of religious, metaphysical and revivalist politics which he regarded as the greatest impediments to the cause of national liberation. He wanted Indian nationalism to be constitutive of secularism, rational, scientific and international outlook.
- He venerated Gandhi and Gandhi in turn trusted him the most and therefore he is also regarded as the 'heir apparent' of Mahatma Gandhi. He was the president of Indian National Congress for four times and was made the vice-president of the executive council of interim government and later the Prime Minister of independent India. During his long years of Prime ministership, he had moulded the course of India both at national as well as at international level. He also kept foreign policy portfolio with him and had profound influence in shaping the foreign policy of free India. From the strategies for planning and development, to the making of foreign policy, he had an immense impact in the present and future of the country. And very rightly, therefore, he is regarded as the architect of modern India.
- At the international level, he was one among the most prominent leaders of Non-Alignment Movement. He also extended support to the freedom struggles in other countries in the third world and had consistently argued for the independent foreign policies of the newly emerging countries in Asia and Africa. Internationally, he was a known figure in anti-colonial, anti-imperial and anti-fascist struggles and movements.

We find in Nehru that he was the first and the till today the longest-serving Prime Minister of independent India for 17 years, and he had a defining impact on the politics and society of post-independent India.

In Nehru, we also have a kind of unusual combination of intellectual on the one hand and public practical political leader on the other hand. One has to make this distinction between an intellectual who in vision or who articulate the social problems and provide the remedies or solution for such problems or challenging. And a political pragmatic leader is someone who is immersed in the politics of his time and guided by the necessity of such times or requirements of such context.

So, intellectual in Nehru has a kind of vision for a state and society of modern India. A practical pragmatic leader in Nehru also realized the possibility or feasibility of certain goals and also the lacking or weakness in the Congress and also in the Indian society. And therefore, there is also a element of compromised or a kind of a pragmatic approach in his politics and his thought and also in his ideas on many of the issues.

So, Nehru has this unusual combination of an intellectual and also a practical political leader, which is reflected in many of his writings and his speeches. Nehru was the a staunch critic of a religious, metaphysical or revivalist politics which regarded as the greatest impediments to the cause of national liberals liberation.

So, during the National Movement an event in contemporary India, there are many kinds of politics guided by a particular identity be it religious, linguistic, regional, or circadian and there is also revivalists tendency or religious flavour in such politics. Nehru is someone along with Gandhi and he gave it a proper shape during the National Movement and for him the identities of religion, caste or language or region hardly matters in his conception of Indian or in India's struggle for freedom or the India he and his colleagues were in visioning. So, for him the organization or the parties who promote such religious metaphysical or revivalist politics is a greatest impediment to the national liberation. And therefore, he criticized Muslim leagues and other religious parties including Hindu Mahasabha and many other religious or (Refer Time: 07:39).

He wanted Indian Nationalism to be constituted of secularism rational scientific and international outlook for Nehru Indias liberation or Indias a struggle for freedom is necessary or inhabitable for India to play a great a role in the world politics. And to do

that he wanted Indian Nationalism to be constituted of not a narrow sectarian identities or evolves tendencies, but a secular which is free from any kind of religious identities of a person or a community.

So, he develop the conception of India which is free from any kind of a religious biasness or other kind of prejudices. And also nationalism should have a rational or scientific outlook with a international approach or international outlook as well where India cannot remain isolated from the larger politics. So, in the inter-dependent world and Nehru argued in many of his writings to think of independence is also a negative connotation. That means no country in the interdependent world can sustain itself in isolation from the other nations or other countries.

So therefore, he understood this negative connotation of independence and yet he fought and he believed in complete independence of India from the British rule. And he argued that a nation suppressed or ruled by a foreign country cannot contribute positively in the larger community of the nation. And therefore, he was first to understand and realize that India has to have a international outlook even when it is fighting for its on national liberation. So, he extended his solid directed to the freedom a struggles that is going on in different countries of Asia and Africa and also provided leadership in Non-Alignment Movement and other global politics or organization to assert the demands and articulate for a peaceful and harmonious world.

So, for Nehru Indian Nationalism also has a kind of international outlook in its constitute consecutive elements its not isolated, its not solitary or not confined to a particular religion or a particular territory. And, yet it continue to fight for the independence from the foreign rules. So, that is something which is there in many other thinkers we have discussed when they think or imagine about India, the global or the international politics or issues remain deeply embedded in their thought and thinking and Nehru is no exception to that..

In Nehru we also find that he deeply venerated Gandhi, and Gandhi trusted him the most and therefore he is also regarded as the heir apparent of Mahatma Gandhi. So, they deeply shared each other's concerns and mutual respect and also there service for the masses and not. So, power politics or independence for them to transformer or to uplift the millions of a starving or exploited or oppressed masses of India.

So, he was president of Indian National Congress for four times and was met the Prime Minister of the independent India. During his long years of Prime Ministership, he had moulded the course of India both had national as well as the international level for 17 years almost. And the he also kept foreign policy portfolio with him and had profound influence in shaping the foreign policy of free India. From the strategies for planning and development, to the making of foreign policy he had an immense impact on the present and future of the country. And very rightly therefore, he is regarded as the architect of modern India.

So, no personality no thinker has such a great influence or defining influence in shaping the destiny of a nation nationally or a nationally as Nehru did. And therefore, it is rightly said that Nehru is one of the greatest architect of modern India. One of the text to really understand the passion or the objective of Nehru and his struggles for a socialist transformation of society and economy along with a parliamentary liberal form of democracy and he was also great institution builder.

So, many Indian Institutes of Technology, Indian Institutes of Management, Academies are built by Nehru. So, for first formative years he played a very significant role in building the democratic institutions and shaping the democratic culture in independent free India. One of the text or a speech one can read about his passion for future India is his 'Tryst with Destiny'. And their he envision the long-cherished goal of many of the leaders of Nationalist Movement that was about whiting or tears from each eyes and that is connected with the idea of Sarvodaya or Antyodhaya in many modern Indian thinkers or political thinking which is to serve their masses; the serving the starving or the oppressed masses that is the goal of independence. And so long as that goal is not achieved the work is not complete as well.

So, he provided such objectives or sets such goals for free India to achieve and that help in developing, what we also called and the lecture I have begin with the Nehruvian Consensus; the land acquisition the centralized planning or mixed economy or institutions building is all to achieve certain objectives to his all agreed there was a consensus on that. Now at the national level in Nehru he was one among the most prominent leaders of Non-Alignment Movement which continues to play a greater role in the international affairs or a international relations. He also extended support to the freedom a struggles in other countries as we have discussed. And had consistently argued

for the independent foreign policies of the newly emerging countries in Asian Africa, and he played a leading role in the formation of Non-Alignment Movement. Internationally he was a known figure in anti-colonial, anti-imperial and anti-fascist a struggle and movements.

So, his humanistic or international outlook enabled him to understand the consequences or the evil consequences of the fascism, and therefore he accepted democratic parliamentary forms as a acceptable form for social and economic transformation as well and criticize all form of authoritarian rule and politics. He was equally critical of the imperial or the colonial power who who are fighting the fastest forces on the one hand and yet, legitimizing imperialism and subjugating colonial people to their oppressive authoritarian and exploitative rule on the other. Nehru developed a kind of critic to both fascism and also imperialism and colonialism, and he was prominent leader in the struggle against the imperial or colonial forces on the one hand and also a the critic of fastest politics on the other..

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- Apart from being a political leader, he was also a leading intellectual of his time. There are very few individuals in the history like Nehru who embodied together the ability of efficient statecraft with intellectual thinking.
- He was the founder editor of the newspaper National Herald and wrote frequently in others national and international dailies and magazines. And it is through his writings that he conveyed to the world India's struggles for freedom and its unique methods of non-violence and Satyagraha to achieve it. He spent a considerable amount of time in jail – about ten years. And he wrote most his texts in the Jail. These are now published as Glimpses of World History (1934), An Autobiography (1936) and The Discovery of India (1946). These books, especially his Discovery of India, are still in print and are widely read.
- During his Prime Ministership, he wrote letters to the Chief Ministers of different states of India every fortnightly (from October 1947 - December 1963). These contained a range of topics concerning India's internal as well as external role – economic development, linguistic and religious politics, the ethics of governance, the cold war etc.. In 1980s, these letters were published in five volumes and stood as a proof of India's living history.

Apart from being a political leader he was also a leading intellectual of his time as we have discussed there is a combination of a political leader or a pragmatic political leader on the one hand or intellectual visionary on the other. And Nehru was a kind of idealist immerse in the politics of his time.

So, there are very few individuals in the history like Nehru, he embodied together the ability of efficient a statecraft with intellectual thinking or a intellectual vision. He was the founder editor of a newspaper called “National Herald” and wrote frequently in national and international dailies and magazines. And through which writings he conveyed the world India's struggle for freedom and its unique methods of nonviolence and Satyagraha to achieve it.

So, like Gandhi, Nehru also used his writings to convey to the world about India’s a struggle for freedom, India’s operation and the unjust rule of British in India. So, he is writings become also a tool for mobilizing national opinion as well as the opinion of the other countries in solidarity with India's struggle for freedom and also through that he extended his solidarity to the other freedom a struggles going on in different countries of Asia and Africa.

He a spent a considerable amount of time in jail about 10 years over a period of around 30 years from 1917 to 1947, and he wrote most of his text in the jail. And these are no published as ‘Glimpses of the World History’ which he wrote has a letters to his daughter Indira Gandhi, which is published in 1934, ‘An Autobiography’ in 1936 and ‘The Discovery of India’ in 1946. These books, especially his Discovery of India are a still in print and are widely read.

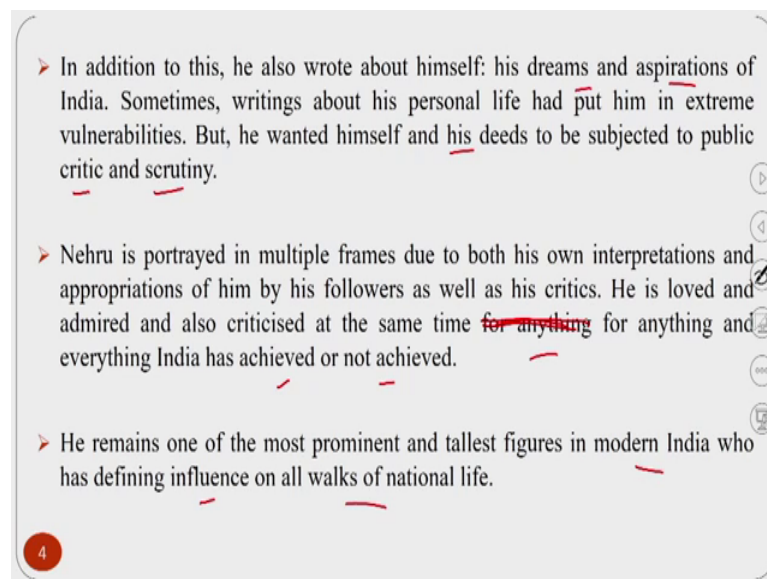
So, this text discovery of India is very profound, not just for Nehru for him it is a personal journey to understand and comprehend the nuisances the mystery or the timeless past of Indian civilization its philosophy and history. But, also for many nationalist, fellow colleagues and even for future generation this text remain a reference point to understand there different personalities, different phases of Indian history.

And remarkably when he was deeply involved in the politics of his time, he wrote such text in incarnation when he was in jail and that shows the profound ability of Nehru to grass or to understand not just education he had in West in England, but also the ancient philosophies and history of India; and this text remain widely read text and most referred text even today. During his Prime Ministership however, he also wrote letters to the Chief Ministers of different a states of India every fortnightly he make made it a point to right to the Chief Ministers who were suppose to governed the states in different parts of India. And he continuously wrote every fortnightly from 1947 to 1963..

And in these letters, which contained a wide range of topics concerning India's internal as well as the external role from economic development to linguistic and religious politics, the ethics of governance, and the cold war or India's place in the global world, the role of nuclear energy and etceteras institutions and all. So, Nehru was a prolific writer also and had a deep sense of the requirements of the time or a country or the contacts and how to solve it and he was equally efficient in a statecraft. So, there is a kind of unusual mix in Nehru as a successful political leader equally prolific writer and also in intellectual visionary.

These letters of Nehru later in 1980s published in five volumes and each volumes contain more than 500 pages and which is the living history, proof of India's living history during the time of Nehru's Prime Ministership..

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➤ In addition to this, he also wrote about himself: his dreams and aspirations of India. Sometimes, writings about his personal life had put him in extreme vulnerabilities. But, he wanted himself and his deeds to be subjected to public critic and scrutiny.

➤ Nehru is portrayed in multiple frames due to both his own interpretations and appropriations of him by his followers as well as his critics. He is loved and admired and also criticised at the same time for anything for anything and everything India has achieved or not achieved.

➤ He remains one of the most prominent and tallest figures in modern India who has defining influence on all walks of national life.

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In addition to this, Nehru was also a self-critic and also wanted himself subjected to popular and public a scrutiny and critic. So, he wrote about himself, his dreams and aspirations of India and sometimes writing about his personal life had put put him in extreme vulnerability. But, he wanted himself and his deeds to be subjected to public critic and scrutiny.

So, this is something a deeply democratic trades in Nehru's personality when throughout the freedom a struggle, certainly after Gandhian phase of 1920s. He was second in terms of popularity to Gandhi and after the independence he was the unrivalled leader except

for brief freedom between often coated rivalry between Patel and Nehru. So, despite of their differences or approach to politics they were also collaborators and they help in shaping the destiny of modern India. But after the death of Patil, Nehru remain unrivalled leader. And yet deeply democratic trades in Nehru a lord him to subject himself and his deeds to popular and public critic and he believed in that democratic culture which he wanted India to poster or which he wanted in India to be a strengthened.

So, there is one a strength is when he wrote to the famous cartoonist Shankar and he told him Shankar do not a spare be. So, that is a democratic trades which Nehru had and he wanted that to be built and strengthened in Indias political life or political culture not the cult worship or blind following of a leader or a person, but subjective hims him and his deeds to public and popular a scrutiny and critic.

So, with Nehru we also find in he is portrayed in multiple frames due to both his own interpretation and also appropriation of him by his followers as well as his critics. He is loved and admired and also criticize at the same time for anything or; there is a mistake. So, at the same time for anything and everything India has achieved or not achieved. So, he was there at the helm of affairs for a very long time. So, anything that India has achieved and not achieved Nehru is considered responsible for that. And as I was saying there was a kind of Nehruvian Consensus, but when there was disillusionment with such Nehruvian Consensus, he is regarded as the villain of all the missed opportunity, which India missed and India could not achieved. So, he is loved and admired for many of his deeds, for shaping certain cultures establishing certain institutions and also modelling India in a path of parliamentary democracy with a centralized economy and planned development. And for many unachieved which India would not achieve he is considered responsible for that too as well.

However, he remains one of the most prominent and tallest figure in modern India who has defining influence on all works of national life. In with we continue to discuss event in our contemporary politics.

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Nehru and his times

- Much like his contemporaries, Nehru belonged to a middle class English educated family. He was born into a Kashmiri Brahmin family in Allahabad in 1889. His father, Motilal Nehru was a successful lawyer and also had a cordial relationship with the moderate sections of Indian National Congress. He was sceptical about religious matters and disregarded the caste practices and also followed inter-caste dining. Nehru's future philosophy was to a great extent influenced by his father.
- He was educated in Harrow and in Trinity College, Cambridge, where he studied science. After studying law at Inner Temple in London, he returned to India in 1912. He practiced law for few years without much enthusiasm and finally committed himself to India's national movement.
- In his initial years after returning to India, Nehru did not like the approach that was taken by the moderate groups and was more in favour of the radical politics of the extremists like Tilak. Although he was emotionally attached to the aggressive nationalism of Tilak, it had religious underpinnings which Nehru could not support.

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Now, to look at Nehru and his times much like his contemporaries. Nehru belong to a middle class English educated family and he was born into a Kashmiri Brahmin family who migrated to Allahabad, and he was born in 1889. And his father Motilal Nehru was a very successful lawyers and he was closely associated and sympathetic to the moderates method of politics. Nehru had a very progressive views and was skeptical about religious matters and disregarded the caste practices, and also followed inter-caste dining in his personal life. So, he was again such politics or revalues politics.

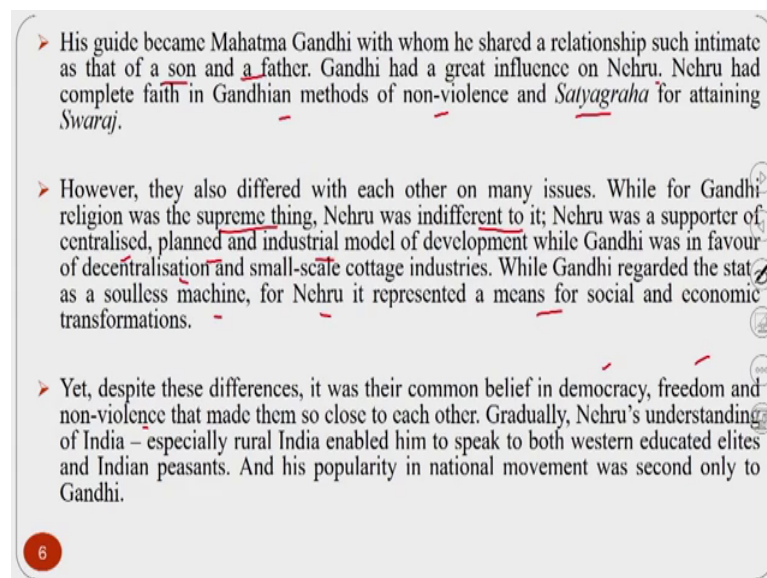
Nehru's future philosophy to a great extent was shaped by this progressive views and ideals of his father Motilal Nehru. And Motilal Nehru played a very significant role in later years and Nehru again played a very significant role in bringing Motilal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi together. And, Motilal Nehru played a very significant role in the making of all party constitution which we also called Nehru report in later years. So, Nehru had a great influence on him from many of his ideals and the beliefs of his father Motilal Nehru.

After his home tutoring or private tutoring he was educated in Harrow and in Trinity College, Cambridge in England. And in Trinity College, he studied science. And after a study studying law at inner temple in London, he returned to India in 1912 just before the beginning of First World War. He practice law for few years, but he did not had much passion or enthusiasm for the profession and he therefore, jumped or committed himself

to the India's a struggled for freedom. In his initial years after returning to India. Nehru did not like the approach that was taken by the moderate groups and was more in favour of the radical politics of extremists like Tilak.

He wanted an aggressive politics against the foreign rule or foreign yolk on India and did not like the practitioning or the constitutional methods followed by the moderate groups in the congress. Therefore, he find himself more closer to the Tilak modes of politics or the extremist methods of politics. Although he was emotionally attached to this aggressive nationalism of Tilak, it had some religious under opinioning which Nehru would not support.

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- His guide became Mahatma Gandhi with whom he shared a relationship such intimate as that of a son and a father. Gandhi had a great influence on Nehru. Nehru had complete faith in Gandhian methods of non-violence and *Satyagraha* for attaining *Swaraj*.
- However, they also differed with each other on many issues. While for Gandhi religion was the supreme thing, Nehru was indifferent to it; Nehru was a supporter of centralised, planned and industrial model of development while Gandhi was in favour of decentralisation and small-scale cottage industries. While Gandhi regarded the state as a soulless machine, for Nehru it represented a means for social and economic transformations.
- Yet, despite these differences, it was their common belief in democracy, freedom and non-violence that made them so close to each other. Gradually, Nehru's understanding of India – especially rural India enabled him to speak to both western educated elites and Indian peasants. And his popularity in national movement was second only to Gandhi.

And therefore, he grew closer to the Gandhian modes of politics. So, his guide became Mahatma Gandhi with whom he said a relationship such intimate as that of his son and a father. So, he refers to Gandhi as a “Bapu”. So, both the leaders the tallest leader of a National Movement was also sharing a intimate relationship between them. And Gandhi had a great and deep influence on Nehru and his ideals and his politics.

Nehru had intern complete faith in Gandhian methods of nonviolence Satyagraha for the attainment of Swaraj. However, and also the two leaders share this common belief in politics for the service of masses and not for the attainment of power or position. So, Nehru also has an independent appeal which allow Gandhi to reach or in Nehru Gandhi

find it trusted lieutenant or a for a leader who can inspire the millions in this nonviolent a struggle for India's freedom.

But however, despite of their similarities and mutual respect or trust they also differed with each other on many issues. While for Gandhi such as, while for Gandhi religion was the supreme thing Nehru was indifferent to it. In fact, Nehru was agnostic to any religious beliefs and faith, but Gandhi was a deeply religious person and for him religion is the supreme think; and there is a different interpretation in Gandhi about religion and role of religion in the politics. Nehru was in different and agnostic to any religious beliefs and faith.

Nehru was a supporter of a centralized planned and industrial model of development, while Gandhi was in favor of decentralization and a small scale cottage industries. Again, while Gandhi regarded the state as a soulless machine, and therefore he was a skeptical of a state power; Nehru thought of a state as a means for social and economic transformation and therefore he argued for a interventionist state. And in modern India the state that emerge or the many policies or it Nehru formulated is in line with the role of a state and central role of the state in social and economic transformation. So, they differ a lot on many issues despite the share a lot of views or mutual respect or admiration to each other's capability and also their service to the motherland or especially the million of oppressed masses..

And in Gandhi and Nehru we also find Nehru be more pragmatic or more political and realizing the role of political power for the attainment of Swaraj and also for social-economic transformation, but Gandhi remain more a kind of moralistic or ethical leader with a very ethical views on politics. So, many methods that Gandhi applied Nehru thought of its relevance as most appropriate in the condition of India for the attainment of its Swaraj. So, he do not have a kind of moralistic or ethical views on those ideals or the methods, but for Nehru it is helpful in attainment of Swaraj, and therefore he thought it as most appropriate method for politics.

However, at this part this differences it was their common belief in democracy, freedom and nonviolence that made them so close to each other. Gradually Nehru's understanding of India, especially rural India which he learned and which he undertook from Gandhi methods or through Gandhian advice. So, when he began to understand the rural India

this enabled Nehru who has western education or the ideals which is very different from the rural India or in the words of Gandhi; the real India is in the rural India. So, Nehru had the first hand experience of the lives of the rural India, their challenges, their concerns and it enabled Nehru to a speak to both the western educated middle class on the one hand and Indian peasants on the other. And this gave him the popularity in National Movement which was certain only to Gandhi.

Now, to look at discovery of India we find in the text western educated Nehru often find himself at loss with the vast plural and timeless India.

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Discovery of India

- Western educated Nehru often find himself at loss with the vast, plural and timeless India. Through his involvement with the national movement he came closely in contacts with millions of Indians, their cultures, languages, civilisation and philosophy. His *Discovery of India* in many ways was his own journey to understand and comprehend this timeless India. He acquired a deeper appreciation of Indian history and philosophy which has profound impact on his thought and politics
- With the arrival of independence and that too in the turbulent period marked by partition and internal challenges such as integration of the princely states; envisioning the future India was a matter of urgency. Nehru had a great and defining role in this entire debate of modelling India.
- His ideal India was to be a secular, democratic, socialist country with the existence of social equality and Individual freedom. For it, he advocated a welfare state with centralised planned economy. In the international sphere, he wanted India to be an anti-colonial and anti-imperial voice living in mutual cooperation and harmony with other nations.
- Since his ideal of secularism and India's role in the international sphere will be discussed separately in the following lectures, here, the focus will be on his vision of Socialist, Democratic and Scientific India.

In discovery of India on many occasions, he find himself at loss in this vast nation and he was unable to find himself fit in the larger politics that was unfolding in India. And he was trying to connect his own self with the history philosophy culture and moulds of India and its people. So, discovery of through his involvement with the National Movement, he came closely in contacts with millions of Indians, their culture is languages civilization and philosophy. His Discovery of India in many ways was his own journey; his own personal journey to understand and comprehend this timeless India.

He acquired a deeper appreciation of Indian history and philosophy which has profound impact on his thought and politics. So, a western liberal educated Nehru, who find himself at many times a misfit in Indian context was trying to connect with the history or philosophy of India, and this discovery of India is such text which enables him or which

allow him to understand the nuances or the unfolding or revolution of Indian history and philosophy.

So, with the arrival of independence and there too in the turbulent period marked by partition and internal challenges, such as integration of the princely states the future of India was a matter of urgency. So, what should be the future of India, what should be the nature of a state in future India, what should be the objectives or aims of future India? And Nehru had a great and defining role in this entire debate of modeling India or modelling future India. His ideal India was to be a secular, democratic, socialist country with the existence of social equality and individual freedom. So, we will discuss his views on socialism.

So, he was committed to socialism and he wanted restructuring of Indian society and economy according to the socialist path and yet, he was the believer in individual freedom or parliamentary form of democracy. He wanted India to combine the secular democratic ideals of parliamentary form of democracy and the socialist principle of restructuring the society and economy. So, for it he advocated a welfare state with centralized planned economy. In the international sphere he wanted India to be an anti-colonial and anti-imperial voice living in mutual cooperation and harmony with other nation. So, we will discuss more on this and we will discuss and Nehru as a internationalist or his views on global politics; and some of the principle like *poorna swatantra* and non-cooperation.

So, since his ideals of secularism and India's role in the international sphere will be discussed separately in the following lecture, here the focus will be on his vision of socialist democratic and scientific India. And this, we will discuss one by one.

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Socialism

- Nehru was the most influential proponent of socialism in India. He did not only give socialism a central place in the working of Congress but also had a decisive impact in advocating for the Indian state to have a socialist outlook and agenda.
- He regarded the capitalists and landlords responsible for the impoverishment of people and considered socialism as the most appropriate way of reducing poverty and suffering in India.
- Socialism for Nehru was not merely an economic doctrine but hold the position of a vital creed.

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To look at the socialism, Nehru was greatly inspired by socialism. He was also inspired by the Marxist interpretation or the communist views on politics, but he was never a convinced communist. He regarded economics as the basis of social or economic changes and he derived a lot of insights from the Marxist interpretation of history, but he was never a convinced Marxist or communist. He was influenced by the Fabian modes of socialism during his a stay in England and he was influenced by Bernard Shaw or Russell also..

So, unlike many socialist Nehru was also somewhat compromised understanding the nature of Indian National Congress, which has a representation from different sections of society who would not necessarily share common interest. So, there is a kind of conflicting interest between the peasants and workers on the one hand and landlords and Indian capitalist on the other hand. And Congress as a party claim to present the interest of every section of society. So, socialism in Nehru was a not a kind of consistent socialism like in any other any leaders who was committed to or avoided by the socialist philosophy. None the list, his belief in socialism and role of socialism remain a strong. And he gradually moulded congress to accept the socialist path of economic and social transformation.

So, Nehru was the most influential proponent of socialism in India. And he did not only give socialism a central placed in the working of Congress, but also had a decisive

impact in advocating for India or Indian state to have a socialist outlook and agenda. So, the Nehruvian Consensus was deeply influenced by the socialist ideals as well. So, he regarded the capitalist and the landlords responsible for the impoverishment of people and considered socialism as the most appropriate way for reducing poverty and suffering in India.

So, socialism for Nehru was then not merely an economic doctrine, but held the position of a vital creed to uplift the poor and the marginalized in India.

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Nehruvian socialism is distinct in two ways:

- Firstly, he did not support the theory of class war and ruthless suppression of dissent. For him, democracy and socialism was complementary and only in the presence of individual freedom, socialism becomes meaningful. Secondly, he did not think that application of socialism should be imitated from the West. Because, for him Indian context was different and it requires a specific kind of socialism, suitable to its own contexts.
- He added to the idea of socialism a moral concern. He wanted socialism with a humane face. Socialism is possible, he thought, even without a violent overthrow of the existing system.
- His distinctive method of socialism is signified in the provision of a welfare state, land reform, planned economy for development, co-operative farming; etc.

However, Nehruvian socialism is distinct in two ways. Firstly, he did not support the theory of class war or ruthless suppression of dissent as in many socialist countries. For him, democracy and socialism was complementary and only in the presence of individual freedom socialism becomes meaningful. So, there is a kind of combination of a strong faith in and belief in individual freedom with the collective politics or social socialism on the other hand. So, for the Nehruvian brand of socialism there is a combination of democracy as a form of governance, which believes in individual freedom and socialism as the common ownership or state ownership of economy and industry. So, Nehru was trying to combine the two.

Secondly, he did not think that application of socialism should be imitated from the West, because for him the Indian context was different and it requires a specific kind of socialism suitable to its own contexts. So, he was against the blind imitation of the

socialism followed in the western country. So, many marks western socialist which tries to be study India from the text written in Western contexts or in some other countries, unable to fail, unable to understand the Indian realities and its requirement and a specificities. And therefore, their moods of politics remain in effective or not as effective as Nehruvian model of socialism was for a very long time.

So, he added to the idea of socialism a moral concerned which is the humanist in Nehru. So, he wanted socialism with a human face, and socialism is possible he thought even without a violent overthrow of existing system. So, the peaceful transformation through planned economy or centralized economy is something what Nehru was looking for without a rupture, without a violent overthrow of existing system of operation and suppression. So, his distinctive method of socialism is signified in the provision of a welfare state, land reforms, planned economy of development or cooperative or community development programs that he initiated.

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Liberal democracy

- Nehru envisioned India as a liberal democratic nation in both its principle and practice.
- Democracy is essential for the development of both individual and society. While, individuals cannot develop in the absence of rights and freedom, society too cannot prosper if it lacks the democratic environment.
- Nehru had a shift in his conception of democracy. In his initial years, he regarded democracy as synonymous with swaraj that is the self-rule and responsible government. From this political strand of democracy, he later developed a much broader understanding of democracy which entailed the economic and social dimensions of freedom.
- His conception of democracy was also related to equality. It is only with the presence of equality that the individual and social dimensions of freedom can co-exist and help democracy sustain.

His views on liberal democracy: Nehru envisioned India as a liberal democratic nation in both its principle and practice. And he says with many liberal a scholars and thinkers the belief in the individual capacity to transform his life and the rule of such transformation in the life of community and nation. And the path that he wanted India to follow is a liberal path of parliamentary democracy. And therefore, he also believed in the form

institution or development or social economic transformation through the parliamentary method of negotiation discussion and debate.

So, for Nehru democracy is essential for the development of both individual and society, while individuals cannot develop in their sense of rights and freedom, society cannot prosper if it lacks the democratic environment. So, Nehru had a shift in his conception of democracy. In his initial years he regarded democracy as synonyms with Swaraj; that is self rule and responsible government.

So, from the political a stand of democracy, he later developed a much broader understanding of democracy which entailed the economic and social dimensions of freedom. So, much like Ambedkar which we will discuss separately Nehru also in his conception of democracy was not limited to the institutional legal or the political definition of democracy which enabled everyone equality in terms of political rights to vote and get elected or the legal rights, but also included the social and economic rights to exercise such political and legal rights. So, this is more closer to Ambedkar's understanding of democracy which we will discuss separately.

So, he wanted India to follow a path of parliamentary liberal democracy, but that should not be limited to the political and legal equality alone, but it should also include the social and economic transformation or freedom to the million of the poor or marginalize especially. So, his conception of democracy was also related to then the equality. It is only with the presence of equality that individuals and social dimension of freedom can co-exist and help democracy sustain.

So, there is a kind of causes approach to Nehruvian understanding of democracy. And here, it is also perhaps useful to connect with the Granville Austin definition of Indian Nation or Indian Constitution not as a legal document or a text of governance, also a text of social revolution, so which way to social revolution. So, a nationalist leaders or many parties wanted India to follow a path of social and economic revolution, but what should be that path of social and economic revolution that path is the parliamentary form of liberal democracy, which Nehru also promoted and wanted India to follow.

So, his conception of Nehru liberal democracy with parliamentary form of democracy is about individual freedom, his legal political rights along with the social and economic rights. Without the coexistence of social economic rights political and legal rights alone

cannot make more sense. And Nehru was constantly trying through his welfare programmes, through a centralized planning, through community development programmes and many other policies of the state to address this social and economic needs of the people as well. We will discuss more on this when we will discuss Ambedkar.

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Science and rationality

- Nehru regarded the science and technology as a means to modernize India. It is through rationality and scientific temper that India can overcome her dogmas, superstitions and degrading state of existence.
- Science is the basis of revolutionizing human life in every society. But in addition to fulfilling the individual requirement, science should be used to serve the greater needs of community. He illustrated it thus:
It was science alone that could solve these problems of hunger and poverty, of insanitation and illiteracy, of superstition and deadening custom and tradition, of vast resources running to waste, of a rich country inhabited by starving people.

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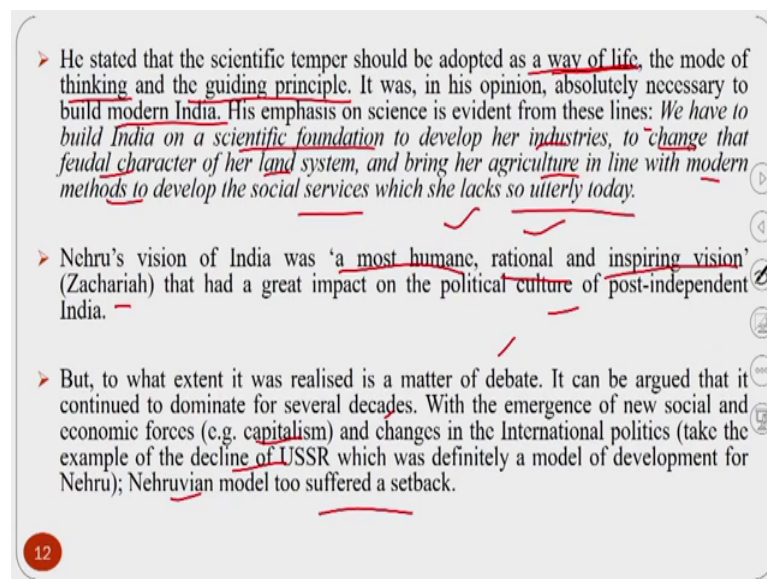
Now, finally to science and rationality: Nehru regarded science and technology. As a means to modernize India, he also differs from Gandhian modes of politics and approach and his religious views on many of the modern industries and technology. Nehru considered big dams as the temple of modern India. Nehru regarding the science and technology as a means to modernize India. It is through rationality and scientific temper which he developed during his stay in England and he studied science there in Trinity.

So, he believed at rationality and scientific temper alone can overcome the dogmas that is there in India along and superstitions and degrading a state of existence, poverty sub-human condition of life, and many irrational beliefs and practices that India has which is impediment to its growth. And many much of the resources is a spent on such a rational or superstitious beliefs and practices can be used for the progress or the upliftment of the masses, and for that to happen he wanted India to follow a rationalist or scientific temper and outlook.

So, science is the basis of revolutionizing human life in every society, but in addition to fulfilling the individual requirements science should be used to serve the greater needs of community. And Nehru illustrate it thus: that 'it was science alone that could solve these problems of hunger and poverty of insanitation and illiteracy of superstition and deadening custom and tradition, of vast resources running to waste of a rich country inhabited by a starving people'. So, such contradictions where the starving masses suffer even when the national resources is wasted on superstitions, dogmas or irrational beliefs and practices the widely prevalent illiteracy or sub human condition of life can be overcome when a country or a state or a community follow this rational scientific outlook.

He stated that the scientific temper should be adopted as a way of life.

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- He stated that the scientific temper should be adopted as a way of life, the mode of thinking and the guiding principle. It was, in his opinion, absolutely necessary to build modern India. His emphasis on science is evident from these lines: *We have to build India on a scientific foundation to develop her industries, to change that feudal character of her land system, and bring her agriculture in line with modern methods to develop the social services which she lacks so utterly today.*
- Nehru's vision of India was 'a most humane, rational and inspiring vision' (Zachariah) that had a great impact on the political culture of post-independent India.
- But, to what extent it was realised is a matter of debate. It can be argued that it continued to dominate for several decades. With the emergence of new social and economic forces (e.g. capitalism) and changes in the International politics (take the example of the decline of USSR which was definitely a model of development for Nehru); Nehruvian model too suffered a setback.

So, the mode of thinking and the guiding principle: so science and technology for Nehru is not just to construct some project, some dams or some tools, but it should be adopted as a way of life as a guiding principle or as a way of thinking. Only then, it can rebuild individual and it his or her character and also the character of the community animation. So, it was in his opinion absolutely necessary to build modern India. So, the modern India he envisioned should be built on the basis of science and rationality and note on the basis of religious otherworldly or a spiritual superstitious thinking.

So, his emphasis on science is evident from these lines, where he writes that we have to build India on a scientific foundation to develop our industries to change that feudal character of her land system and bring her agriculture in line with modern method to develop the social service which she lacks so utterly today. So, the economic or social transformation of India that it should follow should be guided by this modern science and technology and in which can resolve many of the tensions or contradictions that exist in Indian society of that time.

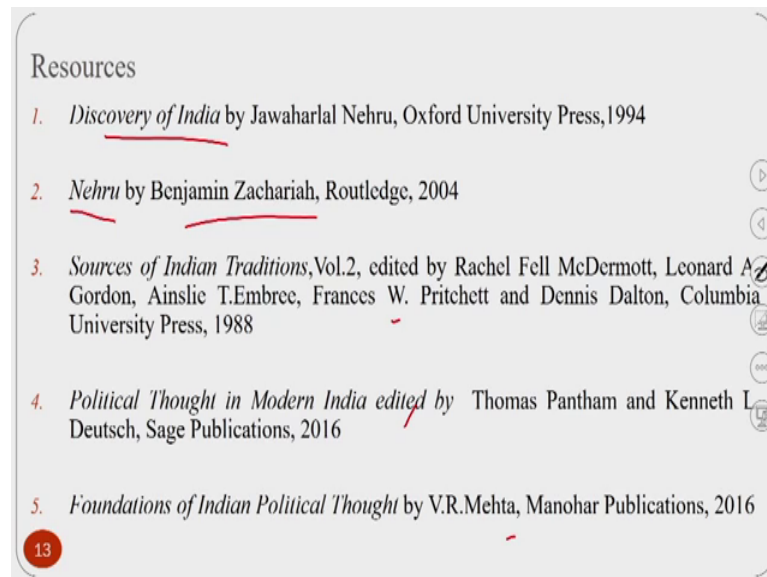
So, in Nehru's vision, we find a according to Benjamin Zachariah that Nehru's vision of India was a most humane rational and inspiring vision that had a great impact on the political culture of post independently. For a very long time his consensus was acceptable to different parties, different groups and all all the sections of Indian society which we called Nehruvian Consensus. So, he combined socialism with liberal democracy, liberal democracy with humanism, nationalism with internationalism, and that give Nehru a popularity and its acceptance not as a leader of India, but also as a global a statesman.

So however, but to what extent it was realized is a matter of debate. So, as I was saying that many thing India has achieved or not achieved Nehru is considered responsible for that and there is a divided opinion on that. So, it can we argue that it continues to dominate; his ideals continue to dominate or shape the politics in free India for many decades with the emergence of new social and economic forces. Certainly the capitalism especially after the liberalization or privatization of economy or what we also called globalization and changes in the international politics, especially the decline of USSR which was kind of influence on Nehru, and many of his ideas on social and economic transformation was influenced by his visit to Russia.

So, with the decline of Russia, Nehruvian model has certainly suffered a setback, but Nehru was not just a socialist. But a democratic institution builder in Nehru and his ideals remain relevant in contemporary times as well when we find many institutions succumbing to the pressure of all kinds. So, a democratic trades or ideals in Nehru and his views on liberal democracy and his respect for institutions and development for a democratic cultural and subjecting authority or himself to public political, a scrutiny something which will remain relevant for Indian politics for times to come and certainly in our contemporary times as well.

So, his views on scientific temper or rationality or considering India's role in the global politics is something which will again we were irrelevant for Indian politics in many years and decades to come.

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So, we will have two more lecture on Nehru, where we will discuss his views on secularism and internationalism and then we will conclude.

So, on this lecturer we can look at some of these texts, especially his discovery of India by Jawaharlal Nehru and this biography of Nehru by Benjamin Zachariah, and the other texts which we have we using like, 'Sources of Indian Traditions', 'Political Thought in Modern India' and also 'Foundation of Indian Political Thought' by V. R. Mehta. So, these text you can refer to for this lecture on Nehru.

Thank you. Thanks for listening.