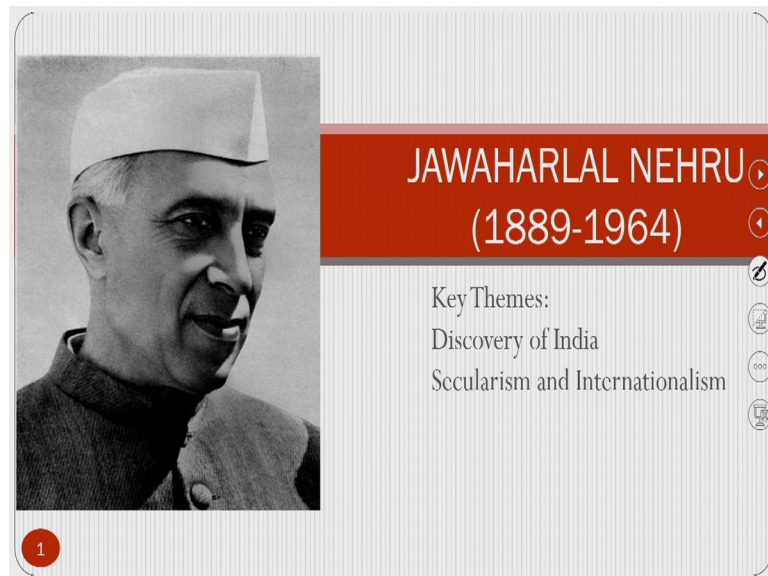


Introduction to Modern Indian Political Thought
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Lecture – 21
Jawaharlal Nehru: Internationalism

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Hello and welcome friends to this 3rd and concluding lecture on Jawaharlal Nehru. In previous two lecture we have discussed his thought on discovery of India and how through discovery of India, he was also trying to understand or make sense of India it is philosophy and it is past. We have also discussed his views on socialism, democracy, and secularism. And today in this lecture we will be focusing on his views on internationalism or universalism and how despite being himself a strong nationalist there is always a urge; there is always an urge to transcend the limits of nation and to think about world as a whole or humanity as a whole.

And this he says with many other thing is most significantly Rabindranath Tagore, Aurobindo Ghosh and also Gandhi. So, as we have discussing this point again and again when modern Indian political thinkers was also were engaged in the nationalist politics or the condition of India at the same time they were simultaneously engaged in articulating about the issues and concerns or challenges of the world as a whole. So, gandhian critique of modern civilization or Tagore's religion of a man or here in Nehru

also his views on Panchsheel non alignment movement and universal peace and harmony that he was trying to achieve; is something which shows us a kind of approach in Indian political thought towards understanding international politics or views on cosmopolitanism and internationalism.

So, it is no longer as it is argued by Eurocentric philosophers and scholars that philosophy or universal ideals are there only in western thought. And in India or in Asia or in Africa there is a culture or tradition and not really thought and philosophy. So, these thinkers were actually embedded in the nationalist politics at the same time reflecting upon or arguing about the challenges of the modern world and they try to resolve it and provide solution to such challenges. And Nehru was one such great statesman who also deeply engaged in the foreign affairs or the challenges of the modern world. And the idealism in Nehru which we have discussed that he was a political leader or a pragmatic leader. And therefore, did not consistently followed or blindly followed any creed or any ism that may have inspired him may have influenced his thoughts.

So, he developed his own thought and constantly reason out his positions or his decisions on any political social and economic matters. Even religion and secularism is something he constantly subject who is constant reasoning or working of the mind. At the same time he was also an intellectual in idealist who want to transform the social and economic relations in a particular fashion. And in international relations or in his views about internationalism, we find his idealism more expressed and holistically argued in his in his articulation of international challenges and how global affairs should be governed and what should be the rule of India or any particular nation in the formation of such global politics so that we are going to discuss today. And in the later part of today's lecture we will briefly access the political thought of Nehru and how far it is relevant even for our contemporary times.

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- Nehru a great nationalist was also like Aurobindo, Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi a great internationalist and humanist. For Nehru, India's struggle for independence was part of a greater and world wide movement against Imperialism and therefore he extended India's solidarity to the freedom struggles going on in different countries of Asia and Africa. His anti-imperialist attitude came out openly as early as in Feb 1927 when he took part in Brussels Congress.
- His socialist ideals and dislike for authoritarianism also had a tilt toward Internationalism. He writes: "I work for Indian independence because the nationalist in me cannot tolerate alien domination; I work for it even more because for me, it is the inevitable step to social and economic change. I should like the Congress to become a socialist organization and to join hands with other forces in the world who are working for the new civilization". And thus he recognized the urge in men for mutual cooperation for the progress of self and community. He regarded cooperation as the root of civilizational progress. He stated in this context that India "must be prepared to discard narrow nationalism in favour of world cooperation and real internationalism."
- Thus long before India's Independence, Nehru realized that in a fast changing world which is fast evolving as a unit national isolation is neither desirable nor possible. And therefore, he envisioned India playing a major role in democratic collectivism will result into economic and political internationalism.
- His contributions in Non Alignment movement and theory of Panchsheel helped in the shaping of foreign policies in a great many newly emerging countries in Asia and Africa.

Nehru a great nationalist was also like Aurobindo or Rabindranath Tagore or Mahatma Gandhi a great internationalist or humanist. So, this balance between a nationalist and internationalist and humanist is something which Nehru emphasized upon dealt with in his politics or in his relationship or in his understanding of foreign relation. And he said this concerned about combining the nationalism with internationalism with many of modern Indian thinkers such as Aurobindo Ghosh, Rabindranath Tagore or Mahatma Gandhi.

So, for Nehru India's struggle for independence was part of a much greater or worldwide movement against imperialism. So, he did not see Indian freedom struggle as a kind of isolator act or a kind of self limiting or self sufficient movement so to say. So for him India's struggle for freedom struggle is part of much greater or worldwide struggle against the imperialism. And therefore, he extended India solidarity to the freedom struggles going on different countries in Asia and Africa. So, he has so much before India's independence many leaders of Indian national congress certainly Nehru Gandhi and others also extended their solidarity to the freedom struggles that was going on in different countries of Asia and Africa.

So, this corporation the unity with the other countries to fight against a common enemy; that is the imperialism is something which is much which was there and we constitutive element of India's struggle for freedom. So, this anti imperialist and he argued about his

stands against the imperialism. So, even during the Second World War and much before that when he went to Brussels Congress in February 1927, he expressed articulated his thought on anti imperialism. And again during the Second World War, when India was included in the common fight against the fastest forces congress and many Indian leaders opposed it and Nehru prepared a draft where he argued that you cannot have this hypocrisy of maintaining colonial rule or justifying imperialism on the one hand and fighting (Refer Time: 07:42) in the name of democracy or liberal liberalism on the other.

So, he wanted fight against the (Refer Time: 07:49) or any authoritarian regime to be logically extended to fight against the imperialism. And therefore, he justified the demand of freedom struggling different countries. So, again in his socialist ideals and dislike for any form of authoritarianism, Nehru himself was very critical of many of his own personality traits. And he wrote about that in a pseudo name called Chanakya and in that he argued about the possibilities of such authoritarian tendencies in any personality. So, Nehru was someone who was more in favour of creating a culture of democracy of decentralization and participation of more rather than a cult or a personality cult to govern India or to bring about independence or transform social and economic relation.

So, he wanted participation and he wanted to achieve all those ideals through democratic participate manner and that becomes his article of faith. And he continue to believe and practice accordingly and he was the Prime Minister of India; so in his socialist ideals and dislike for authoritarianism also had a tilt towards internationalism. So, he writes “I work for Indian independence, because the nationalist in me cannot tolerate alien domination; I work for it even more because for me it is inevitable step to social and economic change. So, India’s freedoms struggle or India’s nationalist movement is not justified the alien rule which he cannot tolerate”.

But more than that it is a first step for social and economic change in a Nehru’s thought. So, I should like the congress to become a socialist organisation and join hands with other forces in the world not in isolation or not in any independent manner of dominating or bringing about change, but by joining the other forces that in the world who are working for a new civilization. So, his belief in socialism or social and economic transformation, which can be achieved only when India attained independence and with attainment of independence India join the forces with other countries or other nations to work for a new civilization where there will be a socialist pattern of socio economic life.

So, and thus he recognises the urge in men; for mutual cooperation which is the common traits of modern nation modern community if such mutual cooperation is for the benefit of both or for the benefit of the community. So, Nehru recognises this urge in men for mutual cooperation for the progress of their self or their community. So, he regarded corporation as the root of civilizational progress and he stated in this context that India must be prepared to discard narrow nationalism. Narrow nationalism is a kind of self limiting or a straining nationalism of a kind of isolatory in nature where or tarcy or such kind of ideas are there.

So, India in opinion of Nehru must be prepared to discard narrow nationalism in favour of World Corporation and real internationalism. So, even in the twist with destinies which as we have discussed in the previous class the idea is not just to serve the millions of starving population in India, but still the larger interest of humanity. So, that internationalist or humanist or part in a nationalist leader such as Nehru was always there always the constitutive element of their moral outlook or approach towards politics and role of India in the world.

So, thus long before independence Nehru realised that in a fast changing world, which is fast evolving as a unit as a single unit or becoming more and more interdependent world. National isolation is neither desirable nor possible in this world which is more interdependent happenings in one part of the world affects the rest of the world. So, in such a world to think about isolation is something which is for Nehru neither desirable nor possible. So, he envisioned India's playing a major role in democratic collectivism will result into economic and the political internationalism which is something that leads to domination of one country over the other one race over the other.

So, he wanted India's and it is role in the global arena to bring about a real transformation in the political and economic internationaliam. So, his contribution in then non alignment movement and his theory of Panchsheel help in shaping the foreign policy in a great many newly emerging country in Asia and Africa. So, these thoughts helped Nehru to make a balance between nationalism or national independence, on the other hand and the role of nation in the creation of a new political and economic international order on the other.

So, he had a clear idea of how India should play a role in the ever changing dynamics of international politics. And his later policy of nonalignment and anti colonialism had already found a space in the speech, that he gave on the 7th September 1946 as the vice president of the interim government. And he spoke it does we shall take full part in the in international conference as a free nation with our own policy and not as a satellite of another nation.

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➤ He had a clear idea of how India should play her role in the ever changing dynamics of international politics. His later policy of non-alignment and anti-colonialism had already found a space in the speech that he gave on 7th September, 1946; as the Vice-President of the Interim Government.

➤ He spoke: *We shall take full part in international conferences as a free nation, with our own policy, and not as a satellite of another nation. We propose as far as possible to keep away from the power politics of groups, aligned against one another, which have led in the past to world wars and which may lead again to disaster on an even vaster scale. We believe that peace and freedom are indivisible and the denial of freedom anywhere must endanger freedom elsewhere and lead to conflict and war. We are particularly interested in the emancipation of colonial and dependent countries and peoples, and in the recognition in theory and practice of equal opportunities for all races.*

So, dominion status or a colony represent in the world as a satellite or as a shadow of a foreign nation. So, he was arguing for full participation in international conferences as a free nation with our own policy and not as a satellite of another nation. We propose as far as possible to keep away from the power politics of groups, aligned against one another, which have lead in the past to world wars and which may lead again to disaster on an even vaster scale.

We believe that peace and freedom are indivisible and denial of freedom anywhere must endanger freedom elsewhere and lead to conflict and war. We are particularly interested in the emancipation of colonial and dependent countries and peoples and in the recognition in theory and practice of equal opportunities for all races. So, this is something which he has articulated much earlier before he acted upon some of his thoughts during his Prime Minister ship where he also kept the foreign policy portfolio.

So, for him then the role of India in for in the world affair is not for acquiring power or to join the power politics of different blocks, which already led to conflicts wars and certainly 2 world wars which he has seen. And then immediately after the world war there is a kind of polarisation of world into two power blocks led by soviet Russia on the one hand or American on the other capitalist and the source communist block.

Nehru wanted to avoid such blocks for him India's role in global world his to strengthen peace and freedom. And for him denial of freedom anywhere must and will certainly lead to endanger of freedom elsewhere and also a conflict and wars. So, for Nehru India's contribution or India's role in the global world is not for sharing power or joining the power politics of blogs, but to strengthen the peace or the freedom and certainly extending it to those countries which area colonized by the foreign power and to ensure the equal opportunities of all race races without preferential treatment nor the hierarchical relationship in the world order.

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➤ And therefore when constitution was framed Nehru wanted to incorporate within it some guidelines for India's foreign policy. Such as 'country's foreign policy shall be directed with a view to promoting international peace and security. The state should strive for maintaining just and honourable relations between nations, by fostering respect for international law and treaty obligations, and by encouraging the settlement of international disputes by arbitrations'. These provisions are included in the Chapter - 4 of Indian constitution on Directive Principles of State Policy. These provisions - which also reflects India's civilizational heritage and philosophy, by and large have shaped the foreign policy of independent India.

➤ These provisions became the foundations or principles of many of Nehru foreign policy initiatives and continue to guide the foreign policy of India even today.

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On the basis of such thoughts therefore, when constitution was framed Nehru wanted to incorporate within it some guidelines for India's foreign policy. And such guidelines are countries foreign policy shall be directed with a view to promoting international peace and security. The state should strive for maintaining just an honourable relation between the nation by fostering respect for international law and treaty obligation and by encouraging the settlement of international disputes by arbitration.

So, these are some of the guiding principles which is (Refer Time: 17:47) in chapter 4 of Indian constitution which is about directive principle of a state policy. These provisions which also reflects India's civilizational heritage of non aggression a striving for peace or the idea of Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam world is one family.

So, this philosophy or civilisational heritage is also reflective in some of this guiding principle of foreign policy which is there in the chapter 4 of Indian constitution. And these guidelines by and large have shaped the foreign policy of independent India and remained a very relevant or a guiding force in shaping the foreign policy in contemporary India as well.

So, these provisions became the foundations or principal of many of Nehru's foreign policy initiatives and continue to guide the foreign policy of India even today. Certainly it is initiative reward naam or Panchsheel or his support for peaceful coexistence or role of a nation or a world polity to stabilise a peace or to strengthen peace or to expand the freedom in every part of every part of the world or to maintain equality of all races equal opportunities of all races which will lead to everlasting peace and harmony.

So, these ideals he says as we have discussed with Tagore Aurobindo Ghosh to transcend the limits or the boundary of a nation and should be guided by the collective interest of the whole humanity. So, the humanism the idealism in Nehru is most articulated in many of his foreign policy initiatives. Now if you look at some of his responses to the contemporary forms of internationalism we find he also responded to some of the initiative such as Woodrow Wilsons and the league of nation which was established after the First World War to maintain global order or global peace and arbitrate the conflicts through peaceful negotiation and the.

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Nehru's response to contemporary forms of internationalism

- Woodrow Wilson and League of Nations: Through his famous 14 principles, Woodrow Wilson advocated peaceful coexistence among nations. He offered collective security as the means of this and took a decisive role in the formation of League of Nations. Nehru had a favourable opinion of Wilsonian internationalism but he criticized League of Nations for its weak foundations.
- American scholar Clarence K Streit proposed the idea of Union of Democracies. He stated that 15 North Atlantic nations including USA, Britain, France; etc. should form this union which will deal with the matters of their common interest (ex: citizenship, defence).
- Nehru criticized this union on two grounds: Firstly it excluded other nations such as China and India and limited itself to a few nations. Secondly, it has included some nations which were imperialist and fascist in character.
- Nehru held that without ruling out imperialism and colonialism, no democratic union is possible.

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So, the ideals of maintaining the global peace or resolving conflict through a peaceful negotiation is something which began to be seriously articulated after the First World War. And Woodrow Wilson took the initiative and his famous 14 principles Woodrow Wilson advocated peaceful coexistence among nations. And he offered collective security as the means of this and took a decisive role in the formation of league of nation.

Nehru had a favourable opinion of Wilson internationalism, but he criticized league of nation for it is week foundation as there were most countries with a especially in Asia and Africa which were a still colonized. So, you cannot have everlasting peace when many parts of the world are under colonial subjugation or a political subjugation of the foreign countries.

So, therefore, he criticized this league of nation which is founded on a very weak foundation. So, again American scholar Clarence K Street proposed the idea of union of democracy, he stated the 15 North Atlantic nations including us Britain and France should form this union which will deal with the matters of their common interest such as citizenship or defence. Nehru criticized this union of democracy on two grounds; firstly, it excluded other nation such as China and India and limited itself to a few nations such as 15 North Atlantic nations. And secondly, it has included some nations which were imperialist and fascist in character.

So, which promote or champion democracy on the one hand and continued to subject a vast territory or a vast number of population under colonial subjugation. So, this hypocrisy in maintaining democracy or thinking about everlasting global peace or a stability or common security is something unachievable in a condition, where the same countries maintain their colony colonies or subjugate a vast number of people under their rule, so Nehru was also critical of such kind of internationalism. So, Nehru held at without ruling out imperialism and colonialism no democratic union is possible.

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Features of Nehruvian Internationalism

Combination of nationalism and internationalism

- He believed that nationalism and internationalism can co-exist and emphasized on maintaining a balance between the two.
- He values nationalism as it is the vital force of human society. It also has a central role in the freedom movements of colonized population. But he also acknowledged that, it will be internationalism and not merely nationalism that will be the unifying force in the world in the future.
- Therefore, for the wider interests of the international community, he preferred adjustments in national interests.

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Now to look at Features of Nehruvian internationalism; we find in his internationalism there is a delicate or there is a kind of perfect balance between nationalism or international. So, Nehru was a nationalist he wanted to a strengthen India and it is democratic culture. Not just to fight the British, but also to transform the social economic relations within India that is hierarchical or segregated on different different lines.

But in Nehru there is a urge for India's role in the global arena or to resolve the global challenges. And he was deeply saddened by the lessons not learn by many western countries even after two world wars. So, that leads to again some kind of power politics or kind of superpower determining or threatening the internal international peace and harmony immediately after Second World War in the terms of world war between U.S. and USSR.

So, he believed that nationalism and internationalism can coexist and emphasized on maintaining a balance between the two. So, he values nationalism as it is the vital force of human society, it also has a central role in the freedom movements of colonized population. So, many people have criticized nationalism also because of its selfish nature as we have seen in Rabindranath Tagore or many western thinkers also considered nationalism responsible for competition or competitions among the imperialist forces which resulted in first world war or second world war.

So, when nationalist movement was emerging in different Asian and African countries or colonial among the colonized subjects they were very suspicious of such nationalist movement, but they did not realise the liberatory potential of these nationalist movement against the imperial rule or against the colonial rule.

So, Nehru realised the vital force or vital nature of nationalism for the colonized population. But he also acknowledged that it will be internationalism and not merely nationalism that will be the unifying force in the world in the future. So, even when he recognised the inevitable or the vitalness of nationalism especially in colonized context or in a colonized country he also acknowledged the inevitable use or force of internationalism, which will lead to unifying the world or which may work as a unifying force in the future.

So, he also then criticized against the kind of isolation or a kind of narrowly defined nationalism of any kind. So, there for the wider interest of the international community he preferred adjustments with the national interest or in the national interest of any particular country. So, here again the larger good of humanity or human species is something which is superior to the particular interest of a nation. And he wanted nations to adjust with their interest in the service of the larger interest of the humanity. So, this internationalism is based on first cooperation.

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Cooperation

- Nehru argued that no nation can sustain and develop in isolation and can afford to be indifferent to others. One is affected by the happenings in other countries. And therefore, communication and interlinkages are inevitable.
- He advocates cooperation as the only means to survival and progress for any country. As with cooperation, the states in crisis can receive help from others; absence of it will lead to mutual conflict and disruption of peace.
- But, this cooperation should be based on equality and mutual welfare. Developed nations should pull up the underdeveloped ones to their equal levels of advancement.

So, Nehru argued that no nation can sustain and develop in isolation and can afford to be indifferent to others. So, in this interdependent world which is emerging no a nation can maintain its sovereignty or develop itself by keeping itself aloof and isolated from the other communities or just being indifferent to the other communities. So, one is affected by the happenings in the other countries and therefore communication and inter linkages are inevitable. So, the honourable relation with other nation is something which is inevitable for the existence or also for the development and progress of any particular countries.

So, the role of cooperation is something which emphasize. So, he advocates corporation as the only means to survival and progress for any country as with corporation the states in crisis can receive help from the others absence of it will lead to mutual conflict and disruption of peace. But this cooperation should be based on equality this is also something which he emphasized and also the mutual welfare. So, developed nations should pull up the underdeveloped once to their equal levels of advancement.

So, the world of his era was divided into different blocks and the newly emerging Asian and African countries were regarded or categorised as a third world countries. So, first world is US and it is allies second world is USSR and it is allies

And these newly immerged countries with on the initiative of Nehru and some other leaders like Titu, Nasir and Sukarno they started non alignment movement. So, these

movement were to ensure the sovereignty of newly emerging nation and to develop some kind of collective security for the emerging nations in a world which is divided into two superpower. And to strive for equal status and mutual welfare is something, which he also emphasized through cooperation.

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Opposition to war

- He viewed war as the negation of truth and humanity. It doesn't only lead to further violence but also shackles the morality of the parties involved.
- He advocated the elimination of war as an instrument of foreign policy. Because, war cannot lead to peace and prosperity but can only create the environment of mutual hatred and fear.
- But, the elimination of war cannot be possible only with the elimination of its symptoms. It demands the elimination of the roots of war. For him, the root causes were -political subjugations, racial discriminations, absence of equality in economic relations and misery.

The second emphasise is opposition to the war and focus on peace or negotiation as a useful means for diplomatic negotiation. So, he viewed war as the negation of truth and humanity it does not only lead to further violence, but also shackles the morality of the parties involved. So, he advocated the elimination of war as an instrument of foreign policy. Because war cannot lead to peace and prosperity, but can only create the environment of mutual hatred and fear which is dangerous for any country or certainly for global peace and harmony. So, by the elimination of war cannot be possible only with the elimination of it is symptoms it demands the elimination of the roots of war.

And for him the root causes of war and conflict is the political subjugation of one nation over the other racial discrimination or absence of equality and economic relations and misery. So, the global conflicts and war has root causes in the political subjugation racial discrimination and absence of economic equality or equality in economic relations between different countries and the misery. So, he along with many emerging Asian and African countries were also demanding a kind of a new economic relations which will

uplift these economically underdeveloped or undeveloped nations at par with the developed nation of the developed nation of the wish.

So, there is also demand for the new economic relations and through that one can eliminate the causes of the war and not merely the symptoms. The other part of his international view is the support for disarmament. So, Nehru was against all weapons of destruction or certainly nuclear bombs.

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Support for Disarmament

- Nehru was against all weapons of mass destruction. He denounced the claim that these can be used as deterrents and stated that no peace can be built on the pillars of fear.
- He regarded disarmament of these weapons as the first step towards elimination of war. He wrote: *Disarmament.. is not merely a desirable alternative to the present competitive arming, it is an imperative, if we are to survive*. In this context, he stressed on the role of UN.
- Although Nehru was for nuclear disarmament, he was not against the usage of nuclear energy for peaceful objectives. He stated that atomic energy for the underdeveloped nations are far more essential than that for the developed nations . Because, developed nations may have enough sources of alternative energy but the underdeveloped nations do not. Any restriction in their usage of atomic energy therefore can put them in a disadvantageous position.

And he denounced the claim that these can be used as deterrents. So, many people justify the use of nuclear bomb as a deterrent which can protect a nation from the aggression from the other nation. But Nehru did not accept this kind of weapons as a deterrent in foreign policy. And he stated that no peace can be built on the pillars of fear. So, again the idealism or the morality in Nehru enabled him to see the emerging world in a very different way than perhaps a pragmatic or a realist thinker or a leader will look at it.

So, he regarded disarmament of these weapons as the first step towards the elimination of war. So, he continuously argued for the disarmament of certainly all kinds of weapons and most importantly the weapons of mass destruction such a nuclear bomb and all. So, he wrote disarmament is not merely a desirable alternative to the present competitive army, where every country is racing for more and more weapons and acquiring more and more power of mass destruction.

So, for erode the discernment is not merely a desirable alternative to this present competitive arming it is an imperative if we are to survive. So, in this context he stress on the role of UN and United Nation continuously strives towards this disarmament policy, which we have seen every now and then between US and USSR the talks about disarmament. And also Nehru believed in the role of disarmament as a tool for sustaining economic or sustaining order and peace in the global arena. However, although Nehru was for nuclear disarmament he was not against the uses of nuclear energy for peaceful objectives.

So, the energy needs of the third world countries especially Asian and African under developing countries. He recognise the role of nuclear energy for this peaceful objectives. So, he stated that the atomic energy for the under developing nations are far more essential than that of developed nations. Because developed nations may have enough resources for alternative energy, but the underdeveloped nation do not have such resources for alternative energy, but the under developed nations do not have such resources or the capabilities.

So, he emphasized upon the need of nuclear energy for the underdeveloped countries. So, any restrictions in their uses of atomic energy therefore, can put them in disadvantages positions. And therefore, he argued against prohibition of atomic energy and it is use by the underdeveloped countries.

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Idea of a world government

- Nehru envisioned a post nation-state world order. It will be realized in the system of a world union based on democracy and freedom. In this world union, nations will enjoy autonomy in their internal matters and have equal representation at global level.
- It will be against imperialism, colonialism and racism. Based on cooperation and co-existence on equal grounds, it will be the perfect order of humanity.
- Thus, in the idea of world union, Nehru's idealism, humanism and internationalism finds a complete holistic expressions. However, in actual unfolding of the world situations especially India-China war of 1962 had put a serious question mark on Nehruvian model of internationalism.

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Now, he also had an idea of world government and Nehru envisioned a post nation state world order it be realised in the system of a world union based on democracy and freedom. In this world union nations will enjoy autonomy in their internal matters and have equal representation at the global level. It will be against all forms of domination such as imperialism, colonialism, and racism. And based on cooperation and coexistence on equal grounds it will be the perfect order of humanity.

Thus, in the idea of world union Nehru's idealism, humanism and internationalism find a complete and holistic expressions. However, in actual unfolding of the world situations especially after India china war of 1962 had put a serious questions mark on Nehruvian model of internationalism.

And it also lead to critique of Nehruvian foreign policy

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Nehru's internationalism in Indian foreign policy

- Jawaharlal Nehru was the first Prime Minister and also the Foreign Minister of Independent India for seventeen years. He had a defining influence in shaping the foreign policy of independent India. His idea of internationalism therefore was very much reflected in the foreign policy of India.
- But, the foreign policy of a country is not formulated or shaped in a single day. It has a deeper roots in the spiritual and cultural inheritance of India and therefore it also represent her history and civilization. Nehruvian foreign policy was also influenced by the dynamism of India's struggle for freedom.
- Flourished in the rich heritage of Indian culture and heritage, Indian foreign policy was also tempered by the changing realities of the world. The historical events of Cold War, the attempts of the Super Powers to drag newly independent nations to one or the another military camps had forced India to tread a very cautious but tactical and pragmatic path in order to maintain its sovereignty in foreign affairs.

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Now if you look at Nehru's internationalism and India's foreign policy; Nehru was the first Prime Minister and. So, the Foreign Minister of independent India for 17 years he had a defining influence in shaping the foreign policy of independent India. So, he has a particular view on nation or internationalism and that shapes the characteristic or nature of foreign policy in independent India. And this is reflected in the foreign policy that we have in at least 2-3 decades after the independence, but the foreign policy of a country is not formulated or saved in a single day or by one individual and it has a deeper roots in

the spiritual and the cultural inheritance of India and therefore, it also represents her history and civilization.

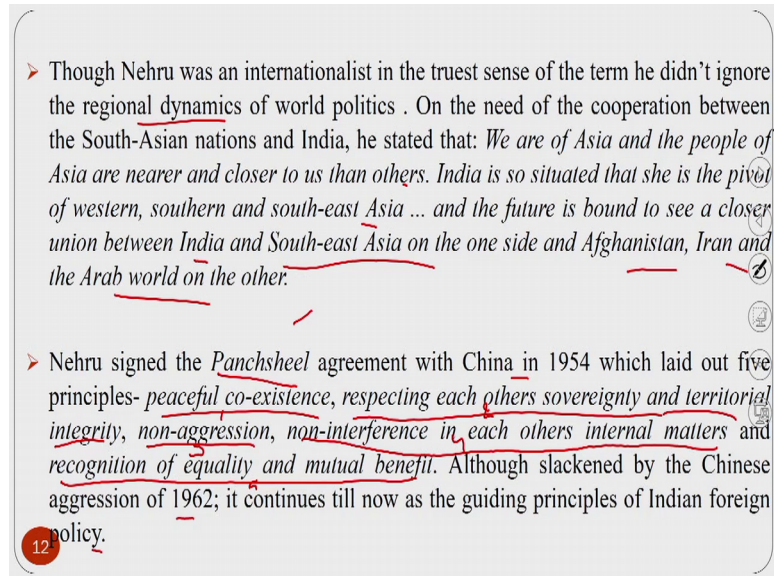
Nehruvian foreign policy was also influenced by the dynamism of the Indian struggle for freedom and different articulation that was being carried out by different thinkers such as Bose Rabindranath Tagore certainly and their thought has influence on Nehru as well and he said some of his concerns when he was articulating about India's role in the emerging global order.

So many of the ideal such as a striving for peace or resolving in conflicts through peaceful dialogue on negotiation is something which cannot be reduced to one individual, it has certain cultural or civilizational inheritance. And in India the foreign policy which is adopted is rooted in such civilizational belief about role of dialogue and role of peace or how nations would strive for peace and harmony or that how that can lead to prosperity.

So, India's foreign policy to a great extent subscribe or shipped by such civilizational and cultural beliefs as well. Nehru gave it a definite shape and actually acted upon a such beliefs or philosophy when he became the Prime Minister and also the Foreign Minister of the independent India. So, a florist in the rich heritage of Indian culture and heritage Indian foreign policy was also tempered by the changing realities of the world. So, the historical events of cold war the attempts of the super powers to drag newly independent nations two one or the another military camps had forced India to trade a very cautious, but tactical and pragmatic path in order to maintain it is sovereignty in the foreign policy.

So, the condition of the world was such where superpowers were trying to drag newly emerging nations in Asia and Africa in one or the other blocks. Nehru and through his understanding many Asian and African countries together develop a movement or an organisation which enable them to engage with the realities of that world in a very cautious and careful a pragmatic manner to protect their sovereignty and also collectively negotiate for their development or progress.

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- Though Nehru was an internationalist in the truest sense of the term he didn't ignore the regional dynamics of world politics. On the need of the cooperation between the South-Asian nations and India, he stated that: *We are of Asia and the people of Asia are nearer and closer to us than others. India is so situated that she is the pivot of western, southern and south-east Asia ... and the future is bound to see a closer union between India and South-east Asia on the one side and Afghanistan, Iran and the Arab world on the other.*
- Nehru signed the *Panchsheel* agreement with China in 1954 which laid out five principles- *peaceful co-existence, respecting each others sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each others internal matters and recognition of equality and mutual benefit.* Although slackened by the Chinese aggression of 1962; it continues till now as the guiding principles of Indian foreign policy.

So, though Nehru was an internationalist in the truest sense of the term he did not ignore the regional dynamics of the world politics. On the need of the cooperation between South Asian nations and India he stated that we are of Asia and the people of Asia are nearer and closer to us than others. India is so situated that she is the pivot of Western Southern and Southeast Asia. And the future is born to see a closer union between India and Southeast Asia on the one side and Afghanistan, Iran and Arab world on the other.

So, Nehru was also very realist and pragmatic in that sense to acknowledge the emerging dynamics or the regional dynamics or what we call geopolitics of the foreign policy or the international relation. So, further on Nehru signed the Panchsheel agreement with China in 1954, which lead this principle which becomes the guiding force for the foreign policy of many countries especially in Asian and African countries

These five principles which is named as Panchsheel is peaceful coexistence respecting each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity first, this is second. Then non aggression third, non interference in each other's internal matters it is fourth and recognition of equality and mutual benefit working for the mutual benefit and prosody that is the fifth. So, these are the five principle or Panchsheel five principle on the basis of which many foreign policy objectives or methods we are formulated. And although second by the Chinese aggression of 1962 this still Panchsheel continued till today as the guiding

principle of Indian foreign policy in and it had influence the foreign policy of many Asian and African countries as well.

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- In the context of Cold War, Nehru became one of the major proponents of the Non-Alignment Movement along with Tito, Nasser, Soekarno and others which stressed on not aligning with any of the superpowers.
- It did not mean neutrality; neither it was a maintenance of equidistance from two power blocs.
- It was an attempt of building an independent path of development. It was the only path through which the third world countries could maintain a safer distance from the Superpowers and protect their sovereignty and independence from external interferences.
- It focused on extending world peace and freedom and reducing the impact of Cold War politics. Taking initiation in the independence of colonised nations, it also stressed on bringing in a just economic order on the basis of equality and cooperation.

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So, in the context of world war the other initiatives Nehru had was that he became one of the major proponents of non alignment movement along with Tito, Nasser and Soekarno. And another which stretched on not aligning with any of this superpower so that is the idea of non alignment movement. It did not mean neutrality or neither it was a maintenance of equidistance from the two power blocs. It has some idealistic basis or moral basis to maintain a distance from the power politics that was unfolding in the contemporary world.

And yet engaging with that world in a principled manner on the basis of certain principles, and not merely guided by the power politics or maximization of self interest of a particular nation our group. So, non alignment movement for Nehru is not absolute neutrality or withdrawal from the world from the real world. But to engage with the real world in a principled manner maintaining once sovereignty and independence in decision making.

So, it was an attempt of building an independent path of development it was the only path through which the third world countries the newly emerging countries in Asia and Africa could maintain a safer distance from the super powers and protect their sovereignty and independence from any external interference or compromising on there

is sovereignty or in terms of making decisions about the foreign policies or their internal matters.

Now it focused on extending world peace and freedom and reducing the impact of cold war politics the rivalry imminent danger of such rivalry between two superpowers. So, taking initiation in the independence of colonized nation it also a stress on bringing of a just economic order on the basis of equality and cooperation. So, non alignment movement that Nehru initiated is not just about tackling the political realities of the world war, but to also collectively negotiate for a new economic world.

World or world orders as well because even when these nations got the political independence economically they were dependent on their former colonizer. So, that new colonialism which we call they were also trying to fight against this new forms colonialism in terms of economic relationship and they wanted to make such relations more just more equitable for these country. So, now if you look at the conclusion and to have some concluding remarks on Nehru's thought on internationalism, but generally also his overall contribution and also his failures one can certainly say it for sure that he has greatest influence on the first 2-3 decades of India Indian free India or independent India.

He helped in shaping main in situations and which includes IIT's, IIM's or many academies for literature or for the development of culture; so, or some institution like election commission of India which played a pivotal role in the shaping of democratic culture or parliamentary democracy in India. So, despite of the challenges that India faced after the partition or economic or other challenges it went ahead with a parliamentary form of democracy which is nothing sort of a miracle or when many western scholars were arguing about that India will eventually disintegrate and there will be fragmentation.

India has maintained by an large it is boundary, fairly well and also continued to the path of democracy and elections after elections our faith in the democracy has further strengthen. So, one form of government one form of parties replaced by other form other parties. And the peaceful transfer of power is something which we have achieved and which we should be proud of despite of so many challenges that we have faced.

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Conclusion

- In the words of S. Gopal, Nehru consolidated "a nation, trained it for democracy, constructed a model for economic development and set the country on the path to growth." As a political leader and intellectual, he had a much broader understanding of the national as well as international happenings and could influence the progressive forces in India and abroad.
- However, there are certain valid criticism against Nehru such as overemphasis on ethics and morality and ignoring the pragmatic national self interest. Foreign policy is about, realistically speaking pursuit and maximization of national self interest. His other initiatives such as Non Alignment Movement and Panchasheel did not yield the desired result. India China war is a testimony to it.
- On domestic fronts too, he could have handled some of the issues perhaps in a better way such as Kashmir issue, language agitations, communist party rule in Kcarala, burcauracy which later turned into a self perpetuating license quota raj.
- However, he had a vision of modern India which is situated in the context of a world community. He admired the greatness of the entity called India but was aware of the danger of cultural and national development in isolation. Therefore, he emphasized on reviving the old and initiating new ties with the rest of the world as the matter of utmost importance.
- As an advocate of national well-being and international harmony, he will always be regarded as a true internationalist and humanist.

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So, in the words of S. Gopal, Nehru consolidated a nation so first the consolidation of this fragmentary or segregated nation or heterogeneous nation into a one single unit. So, Nehru consolidated a nation trained it for democracy and constructed a model of economic development and set the country on the path of growth. So, that is the contribution Nehru made in the journey of post independent India.

And as a political leader and intellectual he had a much broader and a standing of the national as well as the international happening. So, this reflects in his periodic latest to the chief ministers and could influence the progressive force in India and abroad. However, there are certain valid criticism against Nehru such as his over emphasis on ethics and morality and ignoring the pragmatic concern of national self interest.

So, foreign policy is about realistic a speaking pursuit and maximization of national interest, but if one is guided by morality and ethics alone then there are compromise with the national interest or the possibility of harming the national interest. So, his other initiative such as non alignment movement and Panchasheel did not really lead to desired objective or ideals certainly the Indian-China War and also the intra groupings within the Asian and African countries or o called non alignment countries are also reflective of such tensions within the within the group who otherwise share or share a same history or share the same concerns and fight for the new economic new economic order.

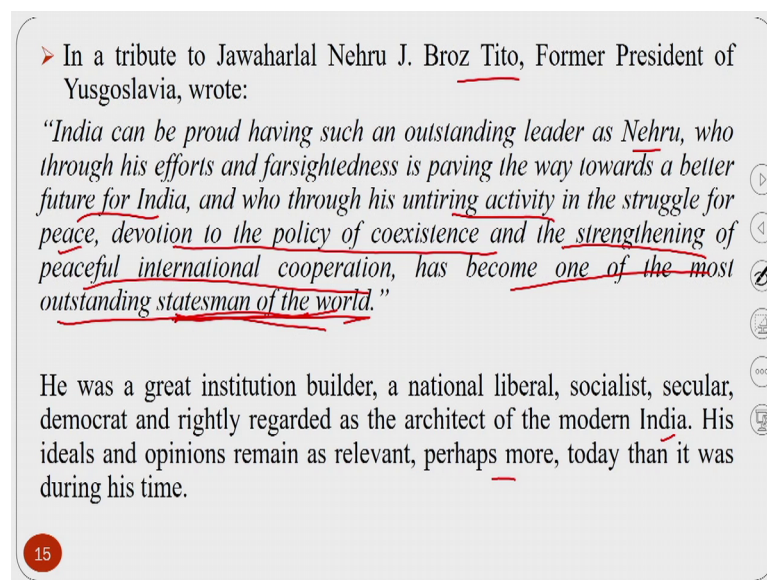
So, the reality or realism of the world something which shows the in practical sense the limitation of Nehruvian ideas as well on domestic front too we can also find that we he

could have handle some of the issues perhaps more cautiously or in a better way. Such as Kashmir issue or language agitations, communist party in Kerala or the bureaucracy that he built which turned out to be a self perpetuating licence quota raj and it is actually becomes the obstruction in India's growth trajectory or India's progress. So, Nehru fairly shared some of the criticism as well.

However, he had a vision of modern India which is situated in the context of world community and he admired the greatness of entity called India, but was aware of the danger of cultural and national development in isolation. Therefore, he emphasized on revising the old and initiating new styles with the rest of the world as a matter of utmost importance and which he has succeeded and established India's role or India's contribution in maintaining global order or peace and harmony.

So, certainly in Korea war he sent Indian peace keeping force or in many international initiatives he established the role, role of India as a major power. So, as an advocate of national well being and international harmony we will always be regarded as a true internationalist and humanist.

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➤ In a tribute to Jawaharlal Nehru J. Broz Tito, Former President of Yugoslavia, wrote:

"India can be proud having such an outstanding leader as Nehru, who through his efforts and farsightedness is paving the way towards a better future for India, and who through his untiring activity in the struggle for peace, devotion to the policy of coexistence and the strengthening of peaceful international cooperation, has become one of the most outstanding statesman of the world."

He was a great institution builder, a national liberal, socialist, secular, democrat and rightly regarded as the architect of the modern India. His ideals and opinions remain as relevant, perhaps more, today than it was during his time.

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So, this tribute to Nehru by Tito the former president of Yugoslavia wrote that; India can be proud having such an outstanding leader has Nehru who through his efforts and farsightedness is paving the way towards a better future for India and who through his untiring activity in the struggle for peace devotion to the policy of coexistence and the

strengthening of peaceful international cooperation has become one of the most outstanding statesman of the world. So, Nehru and his ideals were not limited and applicable and relevant to India and its context alone but he was truly an international statesman and he was regarded. So, by many of the world leaders including Tito or many other global leaders as well.

So, in Nehru we find him a great institution builder, a nationalist, liberal, socialist, secular democrat, and rightly therefore, he is regarded as the architect of modern India. His ideals and opinions even after his death and many of his failures will remain as relevant and perhaps more relevant today than it was during his time so that is the legacy of Nehru. So, there are many things which are under challenge or under critique, but the path that we have followed despite of the challenges that we have faced is something which we must attribute to the Nehru and his ideals.

And that remains a kind of guiding force or a guiding principle for contemporary India as well certainly his views on secularism, parliament, parliament or parliamentary form of democracy, the role of institutions, the expansion, of democratic culture, and eradication or elimination of hierarchy within a community or across the community something which we need to seriously engage with. So, by that we conclude this lecture on Nehru and his views on internationalism.

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Resources

1. *Discovery of India* by Jawaharlal Nehru, Oxford University Press, 1994
2. *Nehru* by Benjamin Zachariah, Routledge, 2004
3. *Sources of Indian Traditions*, Vol.2, edited by Rachel Fell McDermott, Leonard A. Gordon, Ainslie T. Embree, Frances W. Pritchett and Dennis Dalton, Columbia University Press, 1988
4. *Political Thought in Modern India* edited by Thomas Pantham and Kenneth L. Deutsch, Sage Publications, 2016
5. *Foundations of Indian Political Thought* by V.R.Mehta, Manohar Publications, 2016
6. "Nehruvian Internationalism: Principles, Features and Relevance" by Suneel Kumar, *Pakistan Horizon*, Vol.64, No.2, 2011
7. "Nehru The Idealist and Revolutionary", lecture by T.N. Kaul

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And on this you can look at some of this text like discovery of India by Nehru and also Nehru by Benjamin Zachariah which is a very good biography. Sources of Indian Tradition and you can find some original speeches and writings of Nehru. And Political Thought in Modern India by Pantham and Kenneth Deutsch you can find a chapter on Nehru which is also helpful; to understand many of his ideals on democracy, socialism, secularism, scientific temper or internationalism and all.

And also V.R. Mehta foundation of Indian political thought and a lecture by T.N. Kaul on Nehru The Idealist and the Revolutionary and also Nehruvian Internationalism Principles features and relevance by Sunil Kumar in Pakistan horizon. So, these are some of the text which you can refer to understand Nehru and Nehruvian views on internationalism.

Thanks for listening, thank you all.