harmony among the real sovereign, the political sovereign, and the legal sovereign. The legal sovereign shall be the Muslim law; but its definition shall be in the hands of a legislature representing the people which will, by deliberation and discussion, decide how to apply the principles of Islam to the needs of the community in varying circumstances. If the people of Pakistan are overwhelmingly Muslims and their representatives in the legislature represent their opinions and views, it is obvious that they will be honest guardians of the teachings of Islam. The political sovereign shall be the people who will elect and dismiss their legislatures and their governments. We have accepted this principle in our Objectives Resolution wherein we have recognized that the people are the vehicle of the authority delegated by God to the state of Pakistan. The real sovereign will be basically the principles of Islam, which influence the public mind only if the problems are brought into the public forum and discussed at full length. If we want that Islam should be the real sovereign in Pakistan we will have to strengthen the Islamic elements in the education of our children and our people. And one of the methods of education is that the problems facing the community shall be discussed openly, permitting all those who have something to say to participate in the discussion.

CHAPTER XXVIII

SIX PATHS TO INDIA'S FUTURE

The intellectual climate of India has always allowed a great variety of ideas to flourish and coexist with one another. The modern period of Indian thought reveals this luxuriant tendency as much as do the classical and medieval periods, with one significant difference. Whereas the speculations of the literate class (both Hindu and Muslim) had traditionally centered in religion, by the time the British withdrew from the subcontinent educated Indians and Pakistanis were primarily concerned with urgent economic and political problems.

This remarkable transformation of values had of course by no means permeated the entire society in the space of a century and a half. Hundreds of millions of peasant- and artisan-villagers in South Asia continue to abide by the rules and precepts laid down centuries ago in their sacred books, and the thought of changing their traditional way of life would seem to them as fantastic and dangerous as travel to other solar systems may seem to the average Westerner today. Genuine Hindu saints, such as Rāmana Maharshi in South India, continue to appear, and pilgrimages to holy places have actually increased with the advent of modern transportation. Even among the educated and Westernized fraction of the population there is no lack of interest in religious speculation and no dearth of writing on religious subjects.

Nevertheless, now that independent India has become a part of the modern world, the pull of the tide is today strongly secular, drawing men's minds toward the practical tasks involved in creating a better social order. Many prescriptions are being offered as to the best means of achieving this goal, some old and some new. The moderate program of social reform and gradual political change initiated by Rāmmohun Roy could be said to be the dominant philosophy of the Congress Party which governs India today. Meanwhile, Gāndhi's more radical social gospel is still

being preached by his disciple Vinobā Bhāve, under whom the *bhūdān* (land-gift) movement has reached astounding proportions.

As these older traditions, including the Hindu nationalism of the Extremists, have continued into independent India, so younger ones have emerged in recent decades, each proclaiming a different path to a better future. The seed-time of these philosophies, interestingly enough, was the Gāndhian era, when many of the younger leaders brought to the fore by the intensification of the nationalist movement found the Mahātmā's ideas medieval, much as they admired him personally. Inevitably their minds reached out for more modern ideas to Europe, where many had lived as students. Ideologies such as Fascism, Socialism, and Communism seemed to answer India's needs in two ways. Not only did the collectivist spirit common to them all promise to heal the psychological and economic gap between the tiny educated elite and the impoverished mass of the population, but British Socialists, German and Italian Fascists, and Russian Communists provided moral support (and in some instances material assistance) to the independence movement.

In this concluding chapter of our survey of more than three thousand years of Indian thought, the doctrines of six contrasting schools—not of metaphysics but of political philosophy—are presented by authoritative spokesmen. Hindu nationalism in its most virulent form, dictatorial National Socialism, liberal Democratic Socialism, revolutionary International Communism, evolutionary National Communism, and Gāndhian decentralism—all vie with one another for control of men's minds in independent India. Which school, if any, will win out will perhaps in the long run prove less important than the fact that all together have been slowly but surely acting to leaven the dough of age-old custom and belief with the bitter yeast of politics.

V. D. SĀVARKAR: HINDU NATIONALIST

Unaffected by the new political ideas that came into India after the First World War, but exacerbated by the rise of Muslim nationalism, the tradition of extremist Hindu nationalism has been carried forward into the post-independence period by a group of zealots deeply imbued with its

ideology. Its most outstanding proponent and theoretician in recent decades has been Vinayak Damodar Sāvarkar. Born in 1883, and a Chitpāvan brāhman like his fellow-Mahārāshtrians Rānade, Gokhale and Tilak, Sāvarkar was the second son of a landowner known for both his Sanskrit scholarship and his Western-style education. Two incidents from his youth presaged his lifelong antipathy to those he considered Hinduism's foes. At the age of ten, hearing of bloody Hindu-Muslim riots in the United Provinces, he led a gang of his schoolmates in a stone-throwing attack on the village mosque. At sixteen, his anger at the hanging of two Mahārāshtrian terrorists made him vow to devote his life to driving the British out of India.

On entering Fergusson College at Poona, Sāvarkar quickly organized a patriotic society among his fellow-students. Through poems, articles, and speeches he reminded them of India's glorious past and the need to regain her freedom. In 1905 he arranged for a huge bonfire of foreign cloth and persuaded Tilak to speak to the crowd gathered around it. For this he was rusticated from his college, but with Tilak's help secured a scholarship to study in London from an Indian patriot there, on the understanding that he would never enter government service.

From 1906 to 1910, in the guise of a student of law, the young Sāvarkar bearded the British lion in its den. His "New India" group learned the art of bomb-making from a Russian revolutionary in Paris, and planned the assassination of the hated Lord Curzon. One member of the group electrified London when he shot and killed an important official of the India Office and then went proudly to the gallows. Sāvarkar himself was arrested a few months later, but by this time he had already published his nationalistic interpretation of the 1857–58 Mutiny and Rebellion, entitling it *The First Indian War of Independence of 1857*.

When the ship carrying him back to India for trial stopped at Marseilles, Sāvarkar created an international incident by swimming ashore and claiming asylum on French soil. The Hague International Tribunal ultimately judged his recapture by the British authorities irregular but justifiable, but by this time he had already been twice sentenced to life-imprisonment. In 1911 Sāvarkar was transported to the Andaman Islands (India's "Devil's Island" in the tropical Bay of Bengal) where he found his elder brother, a renowned terrorist, already there before him.

CHAPTER XXVI

TAGORE AND GĀNDHI

Two towering figures dominated the Indian scene in the first half of the twentieth century, overshadowing all rivals in their respective fields of endeavor. Each achieved such international renown that he thereby automatically increased India's prestige abroad. Each in his own way spent many years in the service of his countrymen. And yet there could scarcely be two men more different from one another in temperament and interests. Tagore's nature was that of a poet; Gāndhi's that of a statesman. Tagore's realm was artistic expression; Gāndhi's ethical action. Even the clothes they chose reflected the contrast between them, for Tagore was fond of dressing in flowing silken robes, while Gāndhi wore nothing but the simplest hand-spun garments.

In a sense these two remarkable men brought to their finest fruition the potentialities created in modern India by the engrafting of new patterns of thought and action onto various "stems" of traditional culture. Both Tagore and Gāndhi made themselves masters of the English language and were considerably affected by their contact with Western culture. How then can one explain the contrary directions in which their minds developed? Perhaps the distinctive regional cultures in which they grew to manhood affected them most decisively. Cosmopolitan Bengal, where English thought left its deepest imprint, produced the Brāhmo Samāj in whose bosom Tagore was born. Isolated Gujarat, on the opposite side of the subcontinent, and the home of the Vedist Dayānanda, clung longer to the older Vaishnava and Jaina traditions which influenced Gāndhi so deeply.

For whatever reasons, Tagore and Gāndhi certainly disagreed fundamentally in their diagnoses of India's ills and their prescriptions for her cure. For a time this disagreement clouded their personal friendship, which had dated from 1915 when Tagore had invited Gāndhi, fresh from South Africa, to bring his followers to Shāntiniketan for want of a more congenial temporary haven. Addressing Gāndhi on this occasion as Mahātmā (great soul), Tagore seems to have been the first to use the famous title. Their public controversy over the methods of Gāndhi's noncooperation movement flared up in 1921, and passages from their eloquent debate are reproduced in this chapter. Gāndhi's 1933 fast against untouchability brought about a dramatic reconciliation between the two men, and Gāndhi ended his fast with a sip of fruit juice while Tagore sat nearby. Visiting Shāntiniketan after the poet's death, Gāndhi is said to have remarked that he had begun by thinking that he and Tagore were poles apart, but now believed that in fundamentals they were one.

Jawaharlāl Nehru, who admired both men greatly (perhaps because they served as models for the two sides of his own personality) has written: "Tagore was primarily the man of thought, Gandhi of concentrated and ceaseless activity. Both, in their different ways, had a world outlook, and both were at the same time wholly India. They seemed to represent different but harmonious aspects of India and to complement one another." [1]

RABĪNDRANĀTH TAGORE: POET, EDUCATOR, AND AMBASSADOR TO THE WORLD

The fourteenth of Maharshi Debendranāth Tagore's fifteen children, Rabīndranāth Tagore (1861–1941) grew to manhood in a highly cultured family environment. A number of his brothers and sisters were artistically inclined—one composed music, another staged amateur theatricals, and several contributed to the literary magazine edited by their eldest brother, who was also a philosopher. The venerable Debendranāth gave special attention to his youngest son's education, and after investing him with the brāhmanical sacred thread, took him on an extended pilgrimage to Amritsar and the Himalayas. Rabīndranāth's religious views were decisively shaped by his father's influence.

A steady income from the family's landed estates deprived Rabīndranāth of the necessity of earning his own livelihood, and he was allowed to give up formal studies at the age of thirteen. Living at home, he began to experiment with writing verse. Encouraged by his older

[1] Jawaharlāl Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, 342–43.

siblings, he went on to win renown at twenty with his first volume of Bengali poems; Bankim Chandra Chatterjee himself hailing their appearance. Year after year his writing matured in style and grew richer in content. Translating into English from the devotional poems written after the death of his wife and three of his five children, he published in 1912 the collection entitled *Gītāñjali* (*Song Offerings*). A year later the world was startled to hear that he had been awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. Educated India went wild with excitement, sensing that Rabīndranāth had vindicated Indian culture in the eyes of the West. As for the poet, he is said to have cried, "I shall never have any peace again." [1]

Although his prediction proved correct, the ceaseless activity in which he spent the rest of his life was mostly of his own making. He had already founded a school at Shāntiniketan, the rural retreat where his father used to pass days in meditation. He now began to develop there a center of Indian culture, where all the creative and performing arts could thrive in a new birth. In 1921, as a crowning step in his educational work, Tagore opened his Vishva-Bhāratī [2] University at Shāntiniketan, dedicating it to his ideal of world brotherhood and cultural interchange.

Like his father, Rabīndranāth loved to travel, and he seldom refused the many invitations which came to him from all parts of the world. In addition to many tours within India, he lectured on five occasions in the United States, five times in Europe, three times in Japan, and once each in China, South America, Soviet Russia, and Southeast Asia. He made good use of his opportunities to address important audiences by denouncing—especially after the First World War—the evils of nationalism and materialism. Mankind could only save itself from destruction, he declared, by a return to the spiritual values which permeate all religions. Asia, the home of the world's great faiths, lay under a special obligation to lead this religious revival, and to India, the home of both Hinduism and Buddhism, belonged the mission of reawakening herself, Asia, and the world. Although this message, like that of Vivekānanda, stressed India's role as spiritual teacher to mankind, Tagore

[1] E. J. Thompson, *Rabindranath Tagore, His Life and Work*, p. 44.
[2] Translatable as either "universal learning" or "all-India."

never tired of reminding his countrymen that they also needed to learn from the West's vitality and dedicated search for truth.

Through an irony of fate, this preacher of the complementary relationship between Asian and Western cultures returned from a triumphant European tour in 1921 to find Gāndhi leading a mass movement of noncooperation with every aspect of British influence in India, including the prevailing form of English education. Rabīndranāth publicly opposed the Mahātmā and was accordingly accused of taking an "unpatriotic" position. He had already been virtually ostracized for his withdrawal in 1908 from Bengal politics in disgust at the extremist excesses of the anti-Partition agitation. On both occasions he bore his isolation stoically and without yielding his ground, much like the great Bengali whom he considered his spiritual kinsman—Rāmmohun Roy.

Shy and aloof, Tagore was able to look more dispassionately on the events of his time than those who hurled themselves into the struggle against British rule. Reversing Tilak's dictum that social reform diverted and divided the movement for independence, Tagore held that the clamor for political rights distracted men from more fundamental tasks such as erasing caste barriers, reconciling Hindus and Muslims, uplifting the poor and helpless villagers, and liberating men's minds and bodies from a host of self-made but unnecessary burdens.

Right down to his eightieth year, Tagore never lost his childlike wonderment at the variety and beauty of the creation and he expressed his delight with life in a ceaseless outpouring of poetry, prose, drama, and song. By making the speech of the common people the medium for his masterly style he revolutionized and revitalized Bengali literature. His interests, although basically esthetic, were truly universal; in his seventies he wrote a textbook on elementary science which explained the theory of relativity and the working of the solar system. In an age of growing xenophobia he sought to keep India's windows open on the world. For his creativity, his breadth of vision, and his zeal in championing man's freedom from arbitrary restraints—whether social, political or religious—Tagore deserves comparison with the great artist-philosophers of Renaissance humanism in the West.

The Spirit of Asia

Like Keshub Chunder Sen and Swāmī Vivekānanda, Tagore believed that all Asia was united by a profound spirituality from which the more materialistic nations of the West could benefit. In his lectures of 1924 to audiences in China he stressed Asia's need to find her own soul, in order that her message to mankind might not perish.

[From Tagore, *Talks in China,* pp. 64, 66–67, 156–57]

My friends, I have come to ask you to reopen the channel of communion which I hope is still there; for though overgrown with weeds of oblivion its lines can still be traced. I shall consider myself fortunate if, through this visit, China comes nearer to India and India to China—for no political or commercial purpose, but for disinterested human love and for nothing else. . . .

In Asia we must seek our strength in union, in an unwavering faith in righteousness, and never in the egotistic spirit of separateness and self-assertion. It is from the heart of the East that the utterance has sprung forth: "The meek shall inherit the earth." For the meek never waste energy in the display of insolence, but are firmly established in true prosperity through harmony with the All.

In Asia we must unite, not through some mechanical method of organization, but through a spirit of true sympathy. The organized power of the machine is ready to smite and devour us, from which we must be rescued by that living power of spirit which grows into strength, not through mere addition, but through organic assimilation. . . .

It will never do for the Orient to trail behind the West like an overgrown appendix, vainly trying to lash the sky in defiance of the divine. For humanity this will not only be a useless excess, but a disappointment and a deception. For if the East ever tries to duplicate Western life, the duplicate is bound to be a forgery.

The West has no doubt overwhelmed us with its flood of commodities, tourists, machine guns, school masters, and a religion which is great, but whose followers are intent upon lengthening the list of its recruits, and not upon following it in details that bring no profit, or in practices that are inconvenient. But one great service the West has done us by bringing the force of its living mind to bear upon our life; it has stirred our

thoughts into activity. For its mind is great; its intellectual life has in its center intellectual probity, the standard of truth.

The first effect of our mind being startled from its sleep was to make it intensely conscious of what was before it; but now that the surprise of awakening has subsided, the time has come to know what is within. We are beginning to know ourselves. We are finding our own mind, because the mind of the West claims our attention.

I have no doubt in my own mind that in the East our principal characteristic is not to set too high a price upon success through gaining advantage, but upon self-realization through fulfilling our dharma, our ideals. Let the awakening of the East impel us consciously to discover the essential and the universal meaning of our own civilization, to remove the debris from its path, to rescue it from the bondage of stagnation that produces impurities, to make it a great channel of communication between all human races.

M. K. GĀNDHI: INDIA'S "GREAT SOUL"

Known to the world as the greatest Indian of modern times, Mohandās Karamchand Gāndhi (1869–1948) was more a man of action, a karmayogin, than a thinker. He himself declared, when asked for his message to mankind, "My life is my message." Nevertheless, in working out the philosophy which sustained him through a lifetime of striving, Gāndhi wove together and gave new strength to many strands of both Indian and Western thought.

From his pious mother, young Mohandās imbibed the devotional spirit of Vaishnavite Hinduism. Western secular influences were weak and Jain influences strong in his native Gujarat, and the importance of ahimsā (noninjury or nonviolence to all creatures) and ascetic self-discipline was impressed on him by the examples of his mother, who fasted frequently, and of Jain friends of the family. Although the Gāndhis belonged to the vaishya caste and were originally merchants, Mohandās' father, uncle, and grandfather had served as prime ministers to several small princely states.

A youngest son, and an unusually bright and ambitious youth, Mohandās resolved to study law in order to follow in his father's footsteps.

By the time he sailed for England at eighteen, leaving behind his wife and infant son, his mind had been deeply and permanently molded by traditional Indian influences.

His three years as a student in London turned Gāndhi into a Westernized and nattily dressed young barrister. His associations with Englishmen were pleasant: he became an active member of the London Vegetarian Society and was introduced by English theosophists to the *Bhagavad Gītā* in Sir Edwin Arnold's translation. He studied the New Testament and often attended church in order to hear sermons by the best preachers of the day. He returned to Gujarāt at twenty-one, convinced that "next to India, I would rather live in London than in any other place in the world." [1]

After two years of unsuccessful law practice, Gāndhi was called to South Africa to help a Gujarātī Muslim merchant with a court case. Insisting on traveling first class, he was shoved out of carriages and beaten by white South Africans. These brutal encounters with racial intolerance came as a great shock to him after his close relations with English friends in London. He decided to stay on in South Africa to help the Indians there fight for their rights. To unite the disorganized Indian community he founded the Natal Indian Congress. At twenty-seven he toured India to enlist support for the cause he had made his own. On this mission he met Banerjea, Rānade, Gokhale, and Tilak, and felt so drawn to Gokhale that he came to consider himself as the latter's disciple.

Twenty years in the invigorating climate of the South African frontier, far from the restrictions of caste- and custom-conscious India, gave Gāndhi a unique opportunity to evolve religious and ethical beliefs of his own. The seed of pacifist anarchism had already been sown in his mind by his reading of Kropotkin's essays, which were being published in London during his student days there. Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* now "overwhelmed" him with its message of Christian pacifism. Ruskin's *Unto This Last* made real to him the significance of manual labor as an expression of solidarity between the educated and the uneducated, and he acted immediately on this insight by starting a rural settlement for his growing band of followers. His studies of the Sermon on the Mount and the *Gītā* led him to the conclusion that the ideal life was one of selfless action in the service of one's fellow men, and the best

[1] D. G. Tendulkar, *Mahātmā. Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, I, 39.

method of righting wrongs was to protest nonviolently and to suffer lovingly rather than submit to injustice. Last but not least, as he testified in his autobiography, *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, the example of his wife, Kasturbā, proved to him how passive resistance to a wrong-doer could shame him into repentance.

Applying these principles to the struggle for fair treatment to the Indian community in South Africa, Gāndhi coined the term *satyāgraha* (literally, truth-insistence), defining it as "soul-force" or "the force which is born of truth and love or nonviolence." Time and again he and his followers deliberately and gladly went to jail rather than obey anti-Indian legislation. Thoreau's essay on "Civil Disobedience," read during one of his imprisonments, confirmed his view that an honest man is duty-bound to violate unjust laws. To fit himself for a life of voluntary hardship, Gāndhi continued to simplify his diet and dress, took a vow of celibacy, and disciplined his mind and body with prayer and fasting. His great *satyāgraha* campaign of 1913–14 ending successfully, he returned to India in 1915.

Gāndhi's use of peasant dress, his tireless advocacy of hand spinning and weaving, and his devotion to the cause of India's untouchables startled the older school of nationalist leaders and won the admiration of younger middle-class patriots. Because he had given up all worldly attachments, illiterate villagers trusted him unquestioningly. With the death of Tilak in 1920, he became the unchallenged master of the Congress. He brought to the task a Moderate's abhorrence of violence and willingness to arrive at compromises, together with an Extremist's passion for action and quasi-religious appeal to the masses. Under his leadership the Congress was transformed into a fighting political army with hundreds of thousands of active members and sympathizers. In three major campaigns, spaced roughly ten years apart, he and his nonviolent army demonstrated their dissatisfaction with British reforms by inviting imprisonment and filling the jails to overcrowding.

Gāndhi's method of nonviolent noncooperation with British rule proved uniquely effective in the Indian situation where a resort to violence would have provoked severe repression and also embarrassed those English liberals and Laborites who were instrumental in finally freeing India. Whether *satyāgraha* would, as Gāndhi claimed, have worked equally well against a government of men fettered neither by Christian con-

sciences nor by the sovereign rule of law has yet to be proved. The eventual achievement of Indian independence in 1947 was the outcome of a combination of circumstances—probably the most important being the weakening effect of two world wars on Britain's power and prestige in Asia—but the presence of a disciplined political organization under a revered leader greatly facilitated the transfer of power. Gāndhi, however, was deeply grieved at the partition of British India into the two states of India and Pakistan, and heartbroken at the ensuing communal warfare between Hindus and Sikhs on the one hand and Muslims on the other. His last of many political fasts were undertaken to persuade the rioters to come to their senses and to promote amity between the rival governments. On January 30, 1948, a Mahārāshtrian Hindu nationalist, feeling that Gāndhi had been too conciliatory to the Muslims, fatally shot him at his daily prayer meeting.

Gāndhi's remarkably protean thought mirrored the many influences, both Indian and Western, to which he subjected himself. The most ardent of Indian nationalists, he can also be considered the greatest representative of the renascence of Hinduism. At the same time, his long residence in Christian communities sharpened his unusual sense of sinfulness and his desire to serve the humblest of his fellow men. Gāndhi took seriously the New Testament injunction to return good for evil, and often referred to Jesus as "the Prince of Civil Resisters." A child of the Victorian era, he developed a puritanical zeal which spurred him on to act in strict accordance with his conscience, whatever the consequences. Significantly, Newman's "Lead, kindly light . . . one step enough for me," was his favorite hymn.

Harmony between thought and deed thus meant far more to Gāndhi than consistency between one thought and another. Because his mind operated in two different dimensions—the religious, with its insistence on absolute perfection and purity, and the political, with its emphasis on practicality and expediency—he often seemed to contradict himself. Summing up the conflict between these two sides of his nature, he once remarked, "Men say I am a saint losing myself in politics. The fact is I am a politician trying my hardest to be a saint."[2] Gāndhi's great strength as a political leader, however, and the key to his compelling personality, lay precisely in his saintliness, his transparent honesty, and his constant willingness to see new points of view, to admit mistakes, but above all to be faithful to the truth as he saw it at the moment.

[2] L. Fischer, *Gandhi, His Life and Message for the World*, p. 35, citing Henry Polak as his source.

MOHANDĀS K. GĀNDHI

Hind Swarāj

Hind Swarāj (*Indian Home Rule*) was Gāndhi's first full-dress statement of his social and political ideals. Written in 1909 during a sea-voyage from London to South Africa, it took the form of a dialogue between the author and a skeptical friend. In a preface to a later edition Gāndhi explained that he wrote it to stop the "rot" of extremism and anarchism that was setting in among Indians in South Africa and elsewhere. To accomplish this end, Gāndhi seems to go the anarchists one better by advocating the complete rejection of modern Western civilization. In his conclusion he set forth clearly the doctrine of passive resistance, which follows as a logical corollary of his antagonism to "modern" civilization and all its ways.

Although Gāndhi was later forced to modify some of the extreme positions taken in *Hind Swarāj*, he never recanted the basic principles outlined in this manifesto. In his preface to the edition of 1938, he wrote that ". . . after the stormy thirty years through which I have . . . passed [since writing it], I have seen nothing to make me alter the views expounded in it."

Starting with a discussion of the political situation in India, Gāndhi criticized the British system of parliamentary government, and concluded:

[From Gāndhi, *Hind Swarāj*, pp. 24–76]

If India copies England, it is my firm conviction that she will be ruined.

Reader: To what do you ascribe this state of England?

Editor: It is not due to any peculiar fault of the English people, but the condition is due to modern civilization. It is a civilization only in name. Under it the nations of Europe are becoming degraded and ruined day by day.

Reader: Now you will have to explain what you mean by civilization.

Editor: It is not a question of what I mean. Several English writers refuse to call that civilization which passes under that name. Many books have been written upon that subject. Societies have been formed to cure the nation of the evils of civilization. A great English writer has written a work called "Civilization: Its Cause and Cure." Therein he has called it a disease.

Reader: Why do we not know this generally?

certain traits common to both. Both Communism and Fascism believe in the supremacy of the State over the individual. Both denounce parliamentarian democracy. Both believe in party rule. Both believe in the dictatorship of the party and in the ruthless suppression of all dissenting minorities. Both believe in a planned industrial reorganization of the country. These common traits will form the basis of the new synthesis. That synthesis is called by the writer "Samyavada"—an Indian word, which means literally "the doctrine of synthesis or equality." It will be India's task to work out this synthesis.

Proclamation of the Provisional Government of Azād Hind [1]

Bose's career came to a climax on October 21, 1943, when he proclaimed from Singapore the establishment of a provisional government of Free India, with himself as "Head of State, Prime Minister and Minister for War, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Supreme Commander of the Indian National Army." [2] His proclamation on that occasion set forth the program and claims of the I.N.A.

[From *Netaji Speaks to the Nation,* pp. 315–18]

Having goaded Indians to desperation by its hypocrisy, and having driven them to starvation and death by plunder and loot, British rule in India has forfeited the good will of the Indian people altogether, and is now living a precarious existence. It needs but a flame to destroy the last vestige of that unhappy rule. To light that flame is the task of India's Army of Liberation. Assured of the enthusiastic support of the civil population at home and also of a large section of Britain's Indian Army, and backed by gallant and invincible allies abroad, relying in the first instance on its own strength, India's Army of Liberation is confident of fulfilling its historic role.

Now that the dawn of freedom is at hand, it is the duty of the people to set up [a] provisional government of their own, and launch the last struggle under the banner of that government. But with all the Indian leaders in prison and the people at home totally disarmed—it is not possible to set up a provisional government within India or to launch an armed struggle under the aegis of that government. It is, therefore, the duty of the Indian Independence League in East Asia, supported by all patriotic Indians at home and abroad, to undertake this task—the task

[1] Free India.

[2] *Netaji Speaks to the Nation,* p. 318.

of setting up a provisional government of Azad Hind (Free India), and of conducting the last fight for freedom, with the help of the Army of Liberation (that is, the Azad Hind Fauj or the Indian National Army) organized by the League.

Having been constituted as the Provisional Government of Azad Hind by the Indian Independence League in East Asia, we enter upon our duties with a full sense of the responsibility that has devolved on us. We pray that Providence may bless our work and our struggle for emancipation of our Motherland, and our comrades in arms for the cause of her freedom, for her welfare and her exaltation among the nations of the world.

The provisional government is entitled to and hereby claims the allegiance of every Indian. It guarantees religious liberty, as well as equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens. It declares its firm resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally and transcending all the differences cunningly fostered by an alien government in the past.

In the name of God, in the name of by-gone generations, who have welded the Indian people into one nation, and in the name of the dead heroes who have bequeathed to us a tradition of heroism and self-sacrifice, we call upon the Indian people to rally round our banner, and to strike for India's freedom. We call upon them to launch the final struggle against the British and all their allies in India, and to prosecute the struggle with valor and perseverance and with full faith in final victory —until the enemy is expelled from Indian soil, and the Indian people are once again a free nation.

JAWAHARLĀL NEHRU: DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST

Descended from a proud line of Kashmiri brāhmans, Jawaharlāl Nehru was born in 1889 in Allahabad, where the Ganges and Jumna rivers converge. His ancestors had settled in Delhi and served at the court of the Mughal emperors, but his father, Motilāl Nehru, had moved on to Allahabad to become a successful and wealthy lawyer at the high court

there. As Jawaharlāl wrote of his childhood, "An only son of prosperous parents is apt to be spoilt, especially so in India."[1] The apple of his father's eye, he studied at home under a series of English governesses and tutors. When he was fifteen, his father sent him to Harrow; at seventeen he entered Cambridge University; and at twenty he went down to London to take his law degree at the Inns of Court, where Gāndhi had studied some two decades earlier. After seven formative years in England, Jawaharlāl returned to India in 1912 to practice law with his father.

Motilāl Nehru possessed a powerful personality and a patrician bearing, and his son admired him tremendously. Jawaharlāl would no doubt have been drawn to politics of his own accord, but his father's position as leading Moderate in the Indian National Congress made the attraction an irresistible one. He joined the Congress and began to speak at its sessions, but it was not until 1920, when Gāndhi launched his great noncooperation movement against British rule, that Jawaharlāl found full expression for his energies. He made tours in remote village areas discovering the hard lot of the peasantry, organized volunteer workers, and delivered speeches to large patriotic gatherings. "I experienced [then] the thrill of mass-feeling, the power of influencing the mass,"[2] he tells us, and this power has been one of the keys to his success as a national leader. The climax of his activities came when, for the first of many times in his career, he went gladly to jail as a political prisoner.

Jawaharlāl was disappointed by Gāndhi's sudden suspension of the movement in 1922 after an outbreak of violence, and in the following years he felt himself groping for a clearer analysis of and a more predictable solution to India's problems than those provided by the Mahātmā's intuitive and moralistic mind. A trip to Europe for his wife's health in 1926–27 gave him a new perspective on the conflict between Indian nationalism and British rule. Conversations with Socialists and Communists in Europe—especially at the Congress of the League of Oppressed Peoples at Brussels—convinced him that the principal international conflict was between capitalist imperialism and anticapitalist socialism. A week's visit to Russia impressed him with the achievements of the Soviet system, and with the common interest of Russia and India in opposing British imperialism.[3]

[1] Jawaharlāl Nehru: *An Autobiography*, p. 1. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 77.
[3] Jawaharlāl Nehru: *Soviet Russia, Some Random Sketches and Impressions.*

Back in India once more, Jawaharlāl threw himself with renewed vigor into the national struggle, for he now saw it as part of a world-wide movement to liberate mankind from every kind of oppression and exploitation. He demanded that the Congress declare its ultimate goal to be, not dominion status (as his father wished), but complete independence. Jawaharlāl was supported by Subhās Chandra Bose and others, and Gāndhi wisely yielded to their demand in order to keep the nationalist movement from splitting into Moderate and Extremist wings, as it had in 1907. Gāndhi went on to persuade the Congress to accept Jawaharlāl as its president on the eve of the second nation-wide campaign of civil disobedience, which lasted from 1930 to 1934.

From this time onward Jawaharlāl came increasingly to be regarded as Gāndhi's heir-apparent. Devotion to the cause of Indian freedom, and compassion for the lot of their nation's poor, created between the two men an indissoluble bond. In their attitudes toward other questions, however, Nehru and Gāndhi were poles apart. Religion held no meaning for Nehru, while for his guru it was all-important. Gāndhi held nonviolence and simple living to be ends in themselves, but Nehru considered them merely as practical expedients in the political struggle. Gāndhi's ideal India was a decentralized family of self-sufficient villages; Nehru's ideal India was a centralized modern state with a planned industrial economy. Despite their intellectual differences, however, Nehru found in Gāndhi a faithful friend and a wise counsellor. At one time he telegraphed him, "I feel lost in a strange country where you are the only familiar landmark . . . ,"[4] and after Gāndhi's assassination he mourned, "the light has gone out of our lives and there is darkness everywhere."[5]

India has been fortunate in having Jawaharlāl Nehru as her Prime Minister since receiving independence in 1947, for he has provided the dynamic leadership necessary to preserve national unity and accelerate economic progress. His sponsorship of a "third force" of neutralist nations and his role as mediator between the Western democracies and the Communist powers have enhanced India's position in world affairs. If he has tended, in his public statements, to be more critical of the West than of the Communist powers, it should be remembered that he is

[4] Anup Singh, *Nehru, the Rising Star of India*, p. 143.
[5] *Independence and After. A Collection of the More Important Speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru from September 1946 to May 1949*, p. 17.

still a convinced Socialist. At the same time, his commitment to uphold parliamentary government and to defend civil liberties constitutes, during his lifetime, one of the strongest bulwarks of democracy in India.

JAWAHARLĀL NEHRU

Communalism—A Reactionary Creed

Nehru abhorred the political groups who based their power on the membership of a particular religious community—whether Hindu, Muslim, or Sikh. His determination to make independent India a secular state shows clearly in this attack on communalism in an article written in the 1930s. He later used these same arguments in opposing Jinnah's demand for a separate Muslim state.

[From Nehru, *Recent Essays and Writings,* pp. 76–77]

Communalism is essentially a hunt for favors from a third party—the ruling power. The communalist can only think in terms of a continuation of foreign domination and he tries to make the best of it for his own particular group. Delete the foreign power and communal arguments and demands fall to the ground. Both the foreign power and the communalists, as representing some upper class groups, want no essential change of the political and economic structure; both are interested in the preservation and augmentation of their vested interests. Because of this, both cannot tackle the real economic problems which confront the country, for a solution of these would upset the present social structure and divest the vested interests. For both, this ostrich-like policy of ignoring real issues is bound to end in disaster. Facts and economic forces are more powerful than governments and empires and can only be ignored at peril.

Communalism thus becomes another name for political and social reaction and the British government, being the citadel of this reaction in India, naturally throws its sheltering wings over a useful ally. Many a false trail is drawn to confuse the issue; we are told of Islamic culture and Hindu culture, of religion and old custom, of ancient glories and the like. But behind all this lies political and social reaction, the communalism must therefore be fought on all fronts and given no quarter. Because the inward nature of communalism has not been sufficiently realized, it has often sailed under false colors and taken in many an unwary person. It is an undoubted fact that many a Congressman has almost unconsciously partly succumbed to it and tried to reconcile his nationalism with this narrow and reactionary creed. A real appreciation of its true nature would demonstrate that there can be no common ground between the two. They belong to different species. It is time that Congressmen and others who have flirted with Hindu or Muslim or Sikh or any other communalism should understand this position and make their choice. No one can have it both ways, and the choice lies between political and social progress and stark reaction. An association with any form of communalism means the strengthening of the forces of reaction and of British imperialism in India; it means opposition to social and economic change and a toleration of the present terrible distress of our people; it means a blind ignoring of world forces and events.

The World-View of a Socialist

In his presidential address of 1936, Nehru frankly declared to the Congress his faith in Socialism. Both the international situation and the domestic problems of India seemed to him to prove the superiority of Socialism as a political creed. At the same time, Nehru emphasized the importance of civil liberties and of persuasion rather than coercion, but paid scant heed to the fact that these democratic values scarcely existed in the state he took as his model, Soviet Russia.

[From *Important Speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru,* pp. 4–6, 8, 12–14]

During the troubled aftermath of the Great War came revolutionary changes in Europe and Asia, and the intensification of the struggle for social freedom in Europe, and a new aggressive nationalism in the countries of Asia. There were ups and downs, and sometimes it appeared as if the revolutionary urge had exhausted itself and things were settling down. But economic and political conditions were such that there could be no settling down, the existing structure could no longer cope with these new conditions, and all its efforts to do so were vain and fruitless. Everywhere conflicts grew and a great depression overwhelmed the world and there was a progressive deterioration, everywhere except in the wide-flung Soviet territories of the U.S.S.R., where, in marked contrast with the rest of the world, astonishing progress was made in every direction. Two rival economic and political systems faced each other in the world and, though they tolerated each other for a while, there was an inherent antagonism between them, and they played for mastery on