

# Ascendance of Pandit Nehru in Indian Politics

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## ARTICLE DETAILS

### Article History

Published Online: 02 April 2018

### Keywords

Congress, National, president, party, session, groups and socialism

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## ABSTRACT

The article is an endeavor to examine the role of Jawaharlal Nehru in Indian Politics and his contribution in Indian National Congress in the pre-Independence phase. The article mentions Nehru's accomplishments constructed a model for economic development and trained it for democracy, circumstances that shaped him and the intellectuals themes that engaged him. The subject is to focus on the fundamental ideas of Nehru which formulates the foundation of his political projections and his meetings with staunch leaders which shaped his ideology utmost. The present paper depicts Nehru's critical role in terms of defining the opportunities for new bargains and compromises which had both short and long consequences for India's politics and aimed to comprehend the pattern and dynamics he heralded in Indian National Congress.

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## 1. Introduction

Jawaharlal Nehru was born at Allahabad on 14 November, 1889 A.D, as the only son of Motilal Nehru. The Persian and Urdu term for canal is *nahar*, and from the fact of his residence alongside a canal, the family name Nehru was derived. Initially, the family name was Kaul, later this changed into Kaul-Nehru, and for a long time the family was known as Kaul-Nehru. In later years, Kaul the original name was dropped. Motilal Nehru was not in favour of his children being educated in public schools, with the result that until Jawaharlal left for England at the age of fifteen, he was trained at home under the guidance of private tutors. The atmosphere in the home was completely cosmopolitan<sup>1</sup>. Among the private tutors who left an inextinguishable watermark on Jawaharlal was Ferdinand T. Brooks, a theosophist endorsed to Motilal by Annie Besant. Brooks was a brilliant Youngman of French and Irish extraction who instilled in Jawaharlal a yearning for reading. He read novels of Scott, Dickens and Thackeray, H.G. Wells' romances, Mark Twain, and the Sherlock Homes stories. Besides literature, Brooks also cultivated in him interest in natural sciences. Within the premises of Anand Bhawan a laboratory was developed for the purpose of piloting scientific experiments. Thus, Jawaharlal had the right exposure in right time to the domain of knowledge. When home tuition was not found enough, Motilal Nehru decided to admit young Nehru, in a public school in England. In 1905, therefore, he took his family to England when Jawaharlal was fifteen and got him admitted at Harrow<sup>2</sup>. Nehru stayed at Harrow for two years and left it at the end of the summer term in 1907 A.D. The political cataclysms commanded by Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Aurobindo Ghosh greatly agitated his mind. Nehru went up to Trinity College at Cambridge in October 1907 A.D and stayed there for three years. It was at Cambridge that Nehru first came into contact with socialist ideas. Nehru's letters to his father from Cambridge were full of patriotic fervor. The letters between father and son exchanged views on the problems of the day, such as Morley-Minto Reforms, the Hindu-Muslim question and the Extremists<sup>3</sup>. He went to London to read for the Bar at the Inner Temple and completed all his examination in 1912 A.D. shortly after his return from England, Nehru attended the Bankipore Congress

session for the first time. He was disconcerted to see that most of the delegates wore well-pressed trousers and working coats for the occasion. To Nehru, this appeared more like a social gathering than a political assembly. It was essentially an English-knowing upper class affair. To him, the political world of India was unreal, and he felt uneasy and uncertain in such an atmosphere. There was neither energy nor initiative, but only the spectacle of ordinary politicians jostling for office. Jawaharlal started practicing law at the Allahabad High Court as his father's junior. However, the dry and drab demands of the profession gradually made him feel uneasy. He felt that their intellectual horizon was limited, as they did not evince much interest in anything else than law<sup>4</sup>. Nehru joined the United Provinces Congress organization but remained an inactive member for a number of years. It was in 1915 A.D, that he plunged in active politics for the first time, becoming secretary of a fund drive for Indians in South Africa, initiated by Gokhale. He made his first public speech to express his opposition to a new act which curtailed the freedom of the press. He actively participated in the agitation against the system of indentured labour for Indians in Fiji<sup>5</sup>.

Nehru was present at the historic Congress session at Lucknow as a member of the Subject Committee. During the war period, the internment of Annie Besant on 16th June 1917 A.D, created a stir in Nehru's mind. The Allahabad branch of the League was formed, with Nehru as its joint secretary. Nehru enthusiastically participated in the Home Rule agitation, as Mrs. Besant was a family friend who had influenced him considerably during his initial formative years<sup>6</sup>. He was also introduced to Mahatma Gandhi at the Lucknow Congress held during the Christmas of 1916. Gandhiji's fight against the obnoxious practice of apartheid in South Africa appealed to him a great deal. Though somewhat bewildered by Gandhi's political philosophy, Jawaharlal was captivated by his personality and earthy political commonsense. He was particularly impressed by the agrarian agitation which Gandhi led in Bihar in 1917. What appealed to the young Nehru was Gandhi's strength, his rock-like commitment to India's freedom, the way in which he had perfected his character and personality so as to make himself an effective apparatus of political transformation in India<sup>7</sup>. The

Rowlatt Bills and the Amritsar tragedy mark important steps in Nehru's deeper involvement in the nationalist movement. For the first time he came in personal contact with the darker side of the British rule and with the sufferings, adversities and humiliating conditions of his own countrymen as a result of British callousness and brutality<sup>8</sup>.

J.L.Nehru got entangled in the Kisan (peasant) movement of 1920's. his visits to peasants villages, feeding with the peasants, living with them in their mud huts, talking to them for long hours and often addressing meetings, big and small had took away the shyness from Nehru and taught him to speak in public. Meeting them he became aware of their problems and grievances "A new picture of India seemed to rise before me, naked, starving, crushed, and utterly miserable, and their faith in us, casual visitors from the distant city, embarrassed me and filled me with a new responsibility that frightened me"<sup>9</sup>. Jawaharlal participated in the Allahabad district conference at Bahadurganj, and in July he was nominated Vice-President of the Allahabad District Congress Committee. He explored the interior parts of Uttar Pradesh which acquainted him with the poverty of rural India. He had experienced the excitement and suffering of political strife. Nehru was present at the Nagpur session of 1920, but he did not participate in its deliberations<sup>10</sup>. The Non-Cooperation Movement lasted for eighteen months and it slowly gained momentum. The no-vote campaign was an incredible success. Throughout the first civil disobedience campaign Nehru was General Secretary of the United Pradesh Congress Committee. He devoted all his vigor to the cause of the struggle, attending incalculable committee meetings, establishing Congress branches in the province, organizing hartals and demonstrations, making public speeches and staying rural areas with a view to widening the basis of support for non-cooperation<sup>11</sup>. Nehru realized that with the awakening of the masses, there was a shift in political emphasis from the towns to the rural areas, a matter of permanent importance in the social structure of new India. Nehru's lasting contribution to the freedom movement in India was to cement this gap by galvanizing the youth and the intelligentsia in the urban areas and linking them up with the awakened masses in the rural areas had drifted from one another till there was hardly any point of contact. Nehru set about to restore the points of contact and re-established unity. This marked his greatest political effort and made him a revolutionary leader of the first order<sup>12</sup>.

Gandhi proclaimed a nation-wide hartals and boycott of foreign cloth. The government retaliated and mass arrests followed in the Punjab, Bihar and United Province. Both Nehru's were arrested and sentenced to imprisonment for six months. This was Nehru's first imprisonment, but he took it in his stride. After his release from prison Nehru was busy in propagating Khadi and the boycott of foreign cloth. Under his direction the cloth merchants of Allahabad had formed an association which decided to boycott all foreign cloth for a year and to enforce fines on those who failed to live up to the pledge. He picketed the shops of erring merchants. He was charged with criminal intimidation, extortion and sedition, and was sentenced to imprisonment on all three counts for a total period of eighteen months<sup>13</sup>. Nehru played an important role in working out a compromise between the two factions i.e. Pro-Changers and No-Changers. Temperamentally he was with the no-changers,

because the programme of entering the councils or legislatures appeared to him as a compromise bordering on defeat. This controversy between the pro-changers and no-changers marked Nehru's emergence as a mediator in intra-party friction<sup>14</sup>. When the Congress met for its annual session in Dec. 1923 A.D at Cocanada, Nehru moved the resolution for ushering in of an all-India organization- the Hindustani Seva Dal, proposing this organization with a view to edifice a cadre of dedicated workers to implement the Congress programme. Nehru was skeptical of the constitutional approach to politics of his father and he, therefore, never fully accepted the Swarajists position. He firmly believed that to enter the councils was to deviate from the primary goal of independence though the involvement of the masses. He had become president of the Allahabad Municipality in 1923 A.D. A number of steps were taken under the leadership to improve public health and sanitation, a volunteer corps was formed, taxes were reduced, greater facilities provided for education, and the like<sup>15</sup>.

Nehru's sojourn in the west in 1926 A.D sailed from Bombay for Venice in route to Switzerland. The basic purpose of going abroad was for the treatment of his wife, whose illness had been diagnosed as tuberculosis. His European sojourn was quiet and restful, and allowed him sufficient time for reflection and serious reading. Nehru's participation in the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities at Brussels in Feb. 1927 as a delegate of the Congress marked his debut on the international juncture. He was elected to the presidium of the conference and to the nine-man executive committee of the league against imperialism, along with other notables such as George Lansbury, Albert Einstein, Romain Rolland and MmeSunYat-sen. On the eve of the conference he issued a statement to the Press, condemning in no uncertain terms all forms of imperialism and its obnoxious practices. During his European visits, he met Indian revolutionaries such as Madam Bhikaiji Cama, M.N.Roy, Virendranath Chattopadhyay, Maulvi Abdullah and MauliBarkatulla. Again his Soviet visit acquainted him with the working of the Soviets, their socialist polity and society. He placed the Indian National Movement in a broad perspective, indicating its place in the moving currents of world forces. He argued that Indian National Congress was based on intense internationalism. Nehru was the first important leader among the Congressmen who saw India's struggle from a world perspective, while most Indian Nationalists never rose above the limited national horizon<sup>16</sup>. He was highly critical of England's action in sending troops from one Asian colony (India) to suppress a nationalist movement in another Asian country (China) and called upon all the subject people of the world to forge a united front against alien rule. He forthrightly accused the British of fostering communal discord, of plundering the wealth of India, of upsetting the age-old economy and causing human suffering and misery, and of supplanting the ancient education system by another which was not in the best interests of the Indian people<sup>17</sup>.

Nehru's initial exposure to communist views at Brussels was broadened by a brief visit to Moscow in November 1927 A.D. It was there that the goals of national independence and social reform became lined inexplicably in his conception of future political strategy. If was there, too, that the notion of an Afro-Asian group of nations cooperating with one another was

conceived. He was pleasantly stunned by the fact that the State Opera House was patronized not only by the upper class but also by the common people. The visit of Russia made a deep impression on Nehru. He began to think and reformulate his economic ideas, and to understand them in context of Indian conditions. Nehru's infatuation with communism at this time was linked in his mind with opposition to foreign rule and economic injustice<sup>18</sup>. Nehru's economic ideas were definitely becoming socialistic, and he was convinced that Swaraj had to be redefined primarily in terms of the interests of the masses, with an economic and social content to make it meaningful. Nehru plunged into Congress politics with renewed enthusiasm at the Madras session in 1927 A.D. He presented a number of resolutions with an aggressively anti-imperialist and pro-socialist diagonal. Some of the resolutions dealt with foreign policy, thus marking the beginning of Nehru's role as the Congress spokesman on international affairs, a position which he continued to hold thereafter without interruption<sup>19</sup>. The Madras session was marked by the sharp clash between Nehru and Gandhi over the issue of complete independence. By complete independence he meant control over defense, financial and economic matters. As General Secretary of the Congress and chief spokesman for the radicals and the youth, he was in great demand as a speaker from various platform and forums. In 1928 A.D he presided over five provincial party conferences, addressed a number of youth gatherings, and also elected president of the All-India Trade Union Congress. The great debate over Dominion status versus complete independence caused a split within party. Motilal Nehru had the full support of Gandhi and the Old Guard, while on the other side was Jawaharlal and Subhas Bose, the young rebels who were similarly determined to combat for their point of view<sup>20</sup>. In 1928 A.D the radical wing of the Congress led by Nehru and Subhas Bose, founded the Independence League, set up a new ideal of considerable emotive power which had an obvious impact on the youth, especially students. Some of the most dynamic and influential young leaders joined the new organization. Thus the Independence League helped to give a new vigour to Congress activities and propaganda<sup>21</sup>.

By 1928 A.D Jawaharlal was groping to formulate a socio-economic philosophy based on socialism, which was soon to become an integral part of his political programme. Nehru was chosen for the Presidentship of the Lahore Congress which was held in Dec. 1929 A.D. J.L.Nehru while giving his experience regarding the Lahore Congress has remarked, "I can never forget the magnificent welcome that the people of Lahore gave me, tremendous in its volume and its intensity. I know well that this overflowing enthusiasm was for a symbol and an idea, not for me personally, yet it was no little thing for a person to become that symbol, even for a while, in the eyes and hearts of great numbers of people, and I felt exhilarated and lifted out of myself. But my personal reactions were of little account, and there were big issues of stake. The whole atmosphere was electric and surcharged with the gravity of the occasion"<sup>22</sup>. The Congress declared the attainment of complete independence as its aim and decided to celebrate January 26, as the Independence Day all over the country. In a moving presidential address Nehru spoke his mind: "I must frankly confess that I am a socialist and a republican and I am no believer in kings and princes of in the order which produces the modern kings of

industry who have greater power over the lives and fortunes of men than even the kings of the old and whose methods are a predatory as those of the old feudal aristocracy"<sup>23</sup>.

The Lahore Congress marked an important landmark in the evolution of Nehru's role in Indian national movement. He was projected into the forefront of the national struggle, second in prominence only to Gandhi. Even Motilal Nehru himself, while appreciating the achievement of the Lahore Congress, observed "what the father is unable to accomplish, the son achieves"<sup>24</sup>. On the 31st December 1929, as the clock struck the mid-night hour, J.L.Nehru unfurled the tri-color national flag on the banks of the river Ravi and proclaimed that it was a "crime against man and God to submit any longer" to British rule. Kamla Nehru had also attended the session. Since Lahore was very close to the N.W.F Province, many leaders of the Frontier attended the session of the Congress<sup>25</sup>. The impact of the Purna Swaraj or complete independence was that Swarajists resigned immediately from their seats in the Central Assembly and the provincial Congress, Congress decided to start another civil disobedience movement including non-payment of taxes etc. The annual session of the Congress met at Karachi at the end of March 1931 A.D approved resolution on Fundamental Rights and Economic and Social change. Nehru drafted this resolution with the approval of Gandhi, and it reflected his ideas in favour of socialism. The central principle of radical social and economic change had become ingrained into the ranks of the Congress. Nehru through this resolution committed the Congress to a new orientation towards the substance and implications of Swaraj<sup>26</sup>.

Nehru was in prison from 14th April 1930 while leading the operations of Civil Disobedience from his home town and release from prison in August 1933A.D. Prison became Jawaharlal's habitat where he spent about four years between 1930 and 1935. The isolation of the prison gave him the opportunity for reflection, introspection and retrospection, besides the copiousness of time for reading. His facile pen and swift mind produced some classics such as the Glimpses of World History (1934), Letters from a Father to a Daughter (1929), His Autobiography (1936). Besides, during this period he penned a number of articles, essays and speeches which were compiled into two collections Recent Essays and Writings (1934) and India and the World (1936)<sup>27</sup>. During the middle of 1933 A.D, Nehru wrote a series of articles in a pamphlet "Whither India? Projecting an analysis of the Indian problem. Nehru was critical of the tendency of Indian nationalists for their excessive attention to peripheral issues and personalities and for their lack of concern about fundamental principles. The influence of Marxists theory and socialist philosophy was prominent in these essays, as during this period the communist appeal was at its peak. Nehru's prognosis on the rise of capitalism in the West, the re-emergence of imperialism, his theory of conflict, the analysis of the General Depression and the assessment of the effect of British rule in India, bear out in some measure the influence of his socialist philosophy. He was looking at the Indian freedom movement from a wider global perspective. Asia, he wrote, was in turmoil and had become the battleground for competing ideologies of imperialism and nationalism. The Leftist in the party came under his influence,

which resulted in the formation of the Congress Socialist Party, a vocal faction within the Congress<sup>28</sup>.

Jawaharlal was elected President of the Indian National Congress at its Lucknow session for the year 1936 A.D. He introduced a number of radical resolutions on the eve of Lucknow session. The old Guard was deeply entrenched and was indifferent to new and radical ideas, and keen to retain its essentially middle-class support. Nehru realized that not all of his colleagues were in favour of his ideas on socialism, which many felt were polemical and categorical. On the issue of foreign policy, the Old Guard could afford to be generous. Nehru's appeal for the establishment of a foreign department to act as a liaison with the outside world was approved. In the years to come, largely under Nehru's initiative, the Congress was gradually to develop a foreign policy with individuals and parties abroad that were sympathetic to the Indian cause based on exclusion of political and economic imperialism<sup>29</sup>. Nehru in his Presidential address on 12th April, 1936 said the Congress could "increase our contacts with the masses to organize them as producers and then affiliate such organization to the Congress or have full cooperation between the two.....thus the Congress could have an individual as well as a cooperate membership". His address declared that India's struggle for independence must be viewed in an international context, divorce from which was unreal and harmful. Nehru saw the world dominated by two groups, imperialism and fascism versus nationalism and socialism, though some overlapping was possible between the two. "Inevitably we take our stand with the progressive forces of the world" he declared<sup>30</sup>.

About the Government of India Act 1935, Nehru was pungent in his criticism, labelling it as a "new charter of slavery to strengthen the bonds of imperialist domination and to intensify the exploitation of our masses". The Act sought to marry autonomy to autocracy, responsibility to irresponsibility<sup>31</sup>. The Left wing applauded his address and saw a vindication of their faith in Nehru's leadership, but the Old Guard felt betrayed by his audacious proclamation of socialist notions. Nehru was re-elected President at the end of the year and he presided over the next annual session held at Faizpur on December 1936 in Bombay Presidency. As President, he held a middle position between the Gandhian wing and the Congress Socialist Party-causing no annoyance to either, but giving a certain measure of moral support to the latter<sup>32</sup>. Nehru reviewed the discussions that had taken place since mass contacts resolution had been passed by the Lucknow Congress eight months previously and indicated quite clearly that he still supported the socialist's stance. He further said, "the Congress stands today for full democracy in India... not for socialism; and very significantly, in taking the lead in the weeks that followed in the newly enlarged mass contacts committee, Nehru seems, eventually to have accepted that it was no longer practical politics to do anything other than simply invite provincial Congress committees to consider making the primary unit or village or a Mohalla"<sup>33</sup>. He further urged that, "the elections should be used as an opportunity to rally the masses to the Congress standard, to carry the message of Congress to the millions of voters and non-voters alike and to press forward the mass struggle in every possible way, 'that our strength comes from the masses, and in the months that followed he returned to this theme on a number

of occasions"<sup>34</sup>. Nehru's Presidentship for two terms was marked by energy and initiative at the top and gave a fillip to the radical forces of the Congress while, at his instance a number of socialists were employed as permanent Congress officials. The Congress, under his leadership, swept the 1937 provincial elections and formed the government in several provinces<sup>35</sup>.

In 1937 A.D, Nehru germinated the idea of a National Planning Committee, which developed the basic framework and philosophy of planning for the future. Nehru gave an economic content to fight for political freedom. Nehru's visit to Spain in 1938 gave him vivid glimpses of the Civil war, a world conflict between democracy and the forces of freedom on the one hand and fascism and imperialism on the other<sup>36</sup>. Nehru played a crucial role in formulating the "war aims resolution" and was applauded by Gandhi himself. Anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism, anti-racialism and genuine concern for the well-being of the masses of the world- all these formed an important part of Congress resolutions. Nehru cast himself into the role of a world statesman and a world citizen even before he got the opportunity to carry out his ideas. Nehru during the war period argued that non-violence was an ideal weapon for the freedom struggle within India but unrealistic from the point of a view of national defense<sup>37</sup>. Nehru cryptically dismissed the 'August Offer' with the remark that the idea of Dominion Status was "as dead as a door nail." The development of minority politics and the perceived inconsistency of the democratic model with India provided the stimulus for separatist politics in its extreme form. From 1938 A.D onwards, the concern for Muslim homeland started gathering momentum and begun being voiced from different quarters within Muslim League. Nehru replied that, "the Congress has always considered the League as a very important and influential organization of the Muslims but presumably what you suggest is something more and involves some kind of repudiation by us or dissociation from other Muslims who are not in the League. There are, as you know, a large number of Muslims in the Congress, who have been and are our closest colleagues. There are Muslim Organizations like the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, the All India Shia Conference, the Majlis-e-Ahrar, the All India Momin Conference etc., apart from trade unions and peasant Unions which have many Muslims as their members. As a general rule many of these organizations and individuals have adopted the same political platform as we have done in the Congress. We cannot possibly dissociate ourselves from them or dissociate ourselves from them or disown them in any way"<sup>38</sup>.

Gandhi started civil disobedience in the form of individual Satyagraha at the Bombay session of the AICC on 15th sept. 1940. On this occasion Nehru was arrested and tried in Gorakhpur prison and sentenced for four long years of imprisonment. Nehru holds different assessment on Cripps Mission as he was aware of the attitude of the British leaders. The proposals were a mere half-way house and were no panacea for the deeper issues and conflicts that beset India. Nehru expressed his doubts about launching a civil disobedience movement challenging slogan of 'Quit India' during the critical period of war was bound to weaken the defense of India<sup>39</sup>. Nehru moved a resolution at the AICC on 7th August 1942, demanding that Britain transfer power to Indian hands with the immediate effect. The government reacted

swiftly and in a couple of hours Nehru, Gandhi and other members of the working committee were arrested. This was to be Nehru's last, longest (1,040 days, from 9th August to 15th June 1945) and loneliest spell in prison. Nehru took over as president at the AICC in Bombay in the first week of July 1946. Nehru's role at the time of Simla Conference and the Cabinet Mission was constructive and his positions were characterized by a vision of a united independent India. It was only after his unsavory experience with the Muslim League in the Interim Government that Nehru realized the futility of the dream of a composite India<sup>40</sup>.

The Congress, whose politics had become highly unpredictable since the commencement of World War II, sent its representatives headed by Nehru to join the Interim government on 2 Sept. 1946. Nehru was deeply penetrated by the canker of communalism in the body politics of India, and the Congress and the League prepared themselves for mortal combat. The final phase of the struggle for power began with the arrival of Mountbatten on 22 March 1947. Finally in May 1947 Menon succeeded in securing Nehru's consent for Dominion Status as that would lead to an early transfer of power, even though it were to two governments. Nehru stood for a united India, with the right of particular areas to opt out<sup>41</sup>. Nehru commenting the proposals said he disliked the division of India, but at the same time India could not be allowed to bleed continuously and indefinitely. Nehru also reasoned that if India had remained undivided the problem of national language, national flag, national culture, national dress and the biggest problem of communalism would have remained unsolved. The Muslim League would have demanded proportional representations in jobs in the armed forces and the police and every aspect of life would have been permeated by such communal demands. It would have been virtually impossible to scrap separate electorates which was the biggest mischief engineered by the

British. It was for these weighty reasons that Nehru ultimately favoured the acceptance of independence with partition.

## 2. Conclusion

To sum up, Nehru's contribution to Indian politics and in Indian nationalist phase was quite noteworthy. His interaction with the west was a novel juncture in Indian politics as he fosters many ideas and pragmatic approaches of the west and imbibed them in Indian mainstream. He put Indian Nationalism on international platform and introduced many resolutions in Indian politics. He was even critical of Gandhian approaches and also counters other tall leaders when he observed it as irrational at that time. The body of writings which Nehru compiled during his long prison years is an ultimate work to study the nationalist phase with broad perspective on social, political and economic terms. Nehru held different opinion on British policies and timely criticized them also. Nehru's contribution like galvanizing the youth and the intelligentsia in the urban areas and bridging them with rural masses and brings Congress politics with transformed enthusiasm by drafting different resolution on socio-economic philosophy, and looking at the Indian freedom movement from a global outlook is remarkable. During the pre-independence phase, Nehru's elevation on Indian politics had been seen by historians from different perspective as from 1920's to 1940's, his works and actions were almost constructive in nature and innovative in actions but from 1940's onwards, the leadership comes in conflict with Muslim League and constructiveness was overtaken by concession, compromise and negotiations, so Nehru comes under sharp criticism by modern researchers. The circumstances during the partition years were so hypercritical and to dispense that wasn't an easy chore as the canker of communalism had submerged the body politics of India. But In spite of that the role, activities and approaches of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is still outstanding in modern Indian history and he emerged the first Prime-minister of independent India.

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13. J.L.Nehru, *An Autobiography*, p.82.
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16. Patil.V.T, *Op.cit*, pp.64-67.
17. Michael.Brecher, *Nehru—A Political Biography*, London 1959, p.109.
18. J.L.Nehru, *An Autobiography*, pp.362-363.
19. Michael.Brecher, *Nehru—A Political Biography*, p.121.
20. Patil.V.T, *Op.cit*, pp.73-82.
21. Pandey.Gyanendra, *The Ascendancy of the Congress in Uttar Pradesh (1926-34)*, p.66.
22. J.L.Nehru, *An Autobiography*, pp.194-95. Nehru in his article "Swaraj and Socialism" as early in 1928 A.D expressed his conviction that the struggle against British dominion in India must be waged "not only on nationalist grounds", but should include the ideas of social and economic emancipation of working people. He held that the slogan of Swaraj should not be an abstraction, something having a vague meaning for the working people, i.e. the peasantry, the landless rural labourers, factory workers, shop-keepers, and craftsmen. The "Indianisation" of state power without the change in the social structure of society, Nehru stressed, would not improve the people's living standards. Therefore, said Nehru, in order to secure mass support for the struggle for independence, "we must clearly lay down an economic programme for the masses, with socialism as its ideal. We must cultivate a revolutionary outlook." (From Alexander.Chicherov, *Jawaharlal Nehru and the Indian National Congress*, New Delhi 1985, p.10. Also

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  26. Patil.V.T, *Op.cit*, pp.92-93.
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  28. Patil.V.T, *Op.cit*, p.95.
  29. S.Gopal, *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, (ed). Bombay 1972, Vol. 2, pp. 348-64. Nehru gradually came to realize that the nationalist doctrine was narrow and inadequate. He wrote, "My outlook was wider, and nationalism by itself seemed to me definitely a narrow and insufficient creed. Political freedoms, independence, were no doubt essential, but they were steps only in the right direction; without social freedom and socialistic structure of society and state, neither the country nor the individual could develop much." (From J.L.Nehru, *An Autobiography*, p.80. Also see Alexander.Chicherov, *Jawaharlal Nehru and the Indian National Congress*, p.11.)
  30. J.L.Nehru, *India and the World*, London 1936, pp.64-107.
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  35. S.C.Bose, *Op.cit*, p.330.
  36. Michael.Brecher, *Nehru—A Political Biography*, pp.163-165.
  37. Patil.V.T, *Nehru and the Freedom Movement*, pp.114-119.
  38. Extract from letter written by J.L.Nehru to M.A.Jinnah, Bombay December 14, 1939.J.L.Nehru, *A Bunch of Old Letters*, 1960 Bombay, p.6. In another letter to AbulKalam Azad, Nehru mentioned the rebirth of the idea of Pan-Islamism. This is not merely due to Muslim League here or to other organizations. This is fundamentally due to the desire of the British Government to encourage it. Pan-Islamism in 1914 and later was an anti-imperialist force. It weakened the British people in their war effort and later it colored the background of the Khilafat movement in India. Today this very idea is being used in support of British Imperialism. This breaks to some extent, the national front in India and helps to influence Muslim opinion in the near East in favor of England. The fact that Turkey is a friendly power in alliance with England also helps to British policy in this regard. I don't know what the effects of the British propaganda have been in the Muslim countries. But what I wish to point out is the definitely imperialist character of the new phase of Pan-Islamism. SikandarHyat, acting entirely on behalf of British policy wants to do the same. This policy is based on strengthening British imperialism. Our policy on the other hand is based on weakening imperialism. (Extract from letter from J.L.Nehru to AbulKalam Azad, Allahabad, February22, 1940. J.L.Nehru, *A Bunch of Old Letters*, 1960 Bombay, p.6.
  39. According to Michael Brecher, the Quit India Movement had several long-range consequences of grave import. "For almost three years the Congress was outlawed, its leaders in prison, its funds seized and its organization virtually destroyed. In the political vacuume thus created the Muslim League was able to build a mass party, by appealing successfully to religious emotions and genuine Muslim fears. Between 1942-1945, the League increased its membership to two million with the result that by the end of the war it was able to put forward a strong claim to Pakistan...the Congress was to pay dearly for its 'Quit India' resolution. Unwittingly it helped to pave the way foe Pakistan". See from Michael.Brecher, *Nehru—A Political Biography*, p.294.
  40. M.J.Akbar, *Nehru the Making of India*, p.248. The Simla Conference offered a last opportunity to bring together the forces of nationalism in order to preserve the unity and integrity of the country, but no solution was forthcoming and communalism raised its ugly head vitiating the atmosphere. According to V.P.Menon, it "had been conceived as a gathering of politically eminent persons who could sit together and collectively advise the viceroy about the formation of new central government. Very soon, however, it become transformed into the familiar pattern of futile discussions between the Congress and the Muslim League, and between party leaders and the Viceroy. The formal sessions of the conference served as the forum for party leaders to set out their points of view whilst other members functioned as the audience or the chorus". (From, Menon.V.P, *The Transfer of Power in India*, p.216.
  41. Patil.V.T, *Nehru and the Freedom Movement*, pp.172-76.