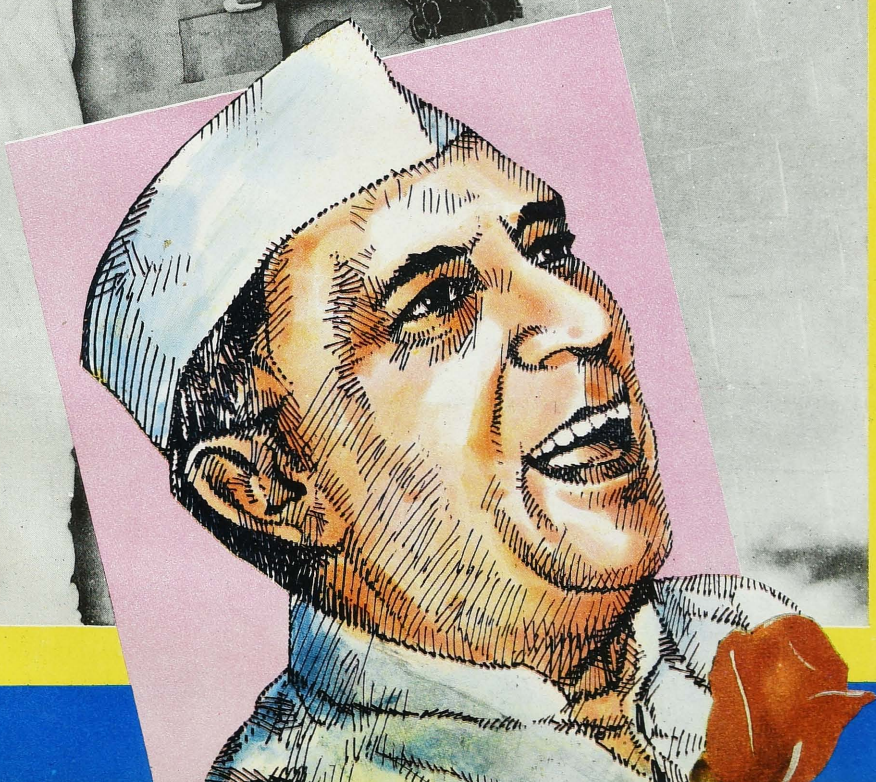


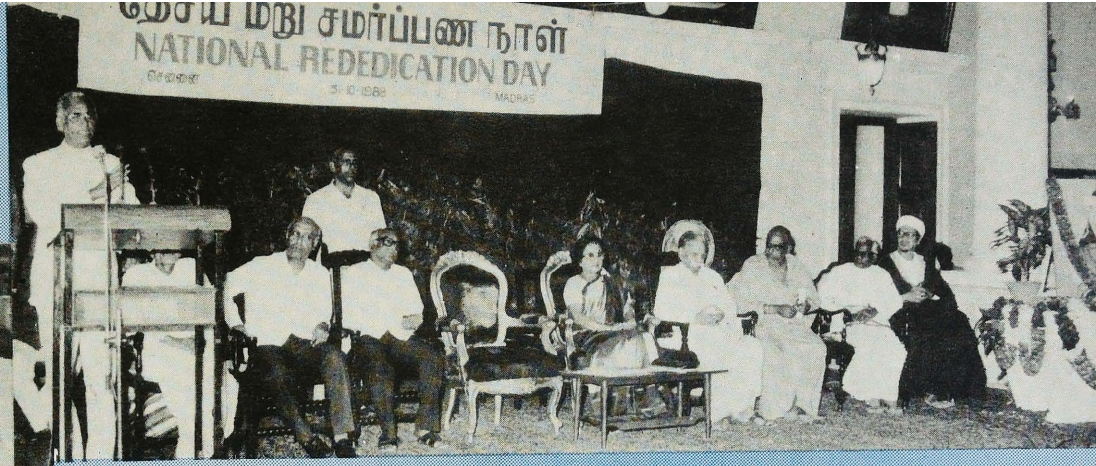
# Tamil Arasu

November 1988 Re. I

Light of Asia  
Jawaharlal Nehru  
Centenary  
1889-1989

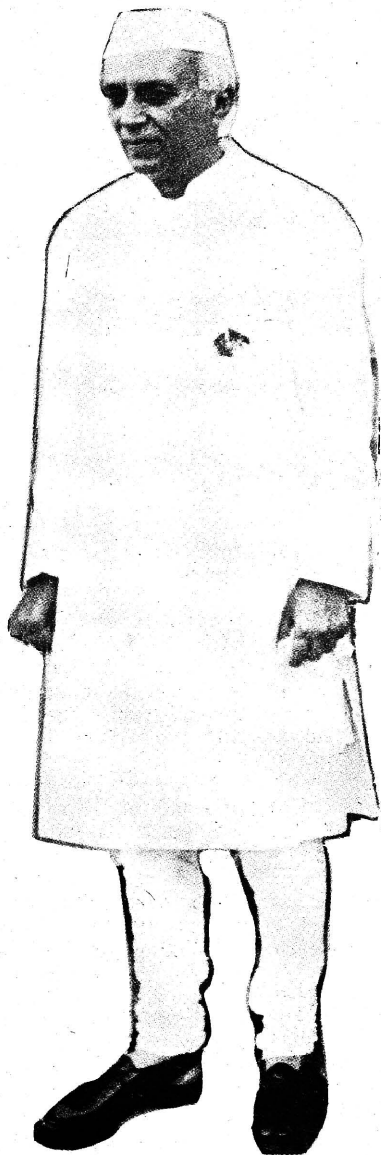








# Tamil Arasu



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*Nehru Centenary Celebrations -  
Special Number*

**Thiruvalluvar Year,  
2019  
November, 1988  
Re. I.**



# Nehru -

## A True

## Democrat



**His Excellency**

**Thiru R. VENKATARAMAN,**  
**the President of India.**

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was a great leader and a lodestar for countless people. India and infact the whole world wept on hearing the news of his death. "A wonderful being passed away. A numbness crept over us". Every year on the death anniversary of Jawaharlal Nehru, the people of India pay their respect and tribute. The very soil of India, which Nehru had served so truly and well, trembled with the rest of us.

Jawaharlal Nehru, the jewel of India, a Bharat Ratna, had a unique link with the people of India. Though Nehru had gone to England to study law, he had the real interest in political economy. So, Jawaharlal joined the London school of economics and was drawn to this system of ideas.

The past, present and future have rarely co-mingled so elegantly and to such fine purpose, as in Jawaharlal Nehru. If his upbringing at Anand Bhawan in Allahabad had given Jawaharlal an anchorage in conservative tradition, his exposure as a student in England to the bracing winds of Fabian Socialism had given young Nehru a vision of the future.

Motilal Nehru, while writing to his son said "Politics are inseparable from law, and economics are the soul of politics". Nehru saw, with clarity and conviction, the truth of his father's advice and Laxki's contention that no man can understand law who lacks an intimate acquaintance with economics. And here it was, at this stage, that a path began

to open up before Nehru, a path that beckoned him irresistibly.

Back in India in 1912, his life in the upper-middle class society in Allahabad, did not prevent Jawaharlal Nehru from watching world events with keenness and understanding. What was even more important, Jawaharlal was able to relate world events and trends to the Indian situation with a clarity that was unique. For instance, 1917 saw the Russian Revolution and 1917 was also the year of the activity for Home Rule, under the leadership of Dr. Annie Besant.

What knowledge of the indigo workers of Champaran had done to Gandhiji in 1916, an encounter with the peasantry of Pratapgarh did to Panditji four years later, in 1929. This encounter, according to Panditji's distinguished biographer Professor S. Gopal, "gave a new and permanent dimension to his outlook". It also brought Gandhiji and Nehru together.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru accepted Gandhiji's non-violent methods. He accepted this because he was satisfied with the explanation given by the Gandhi himself. It was bravery, and even romance, implicit in Satyagraha that appealed to him. And more than anything else he was convinced that the Indian farmers desired a non-violent revolution.

In 1927, he visited Moscow along with his father.

In the Soviet Union he saw the sinews of Industrial growth taking shape. There is a lyricism in the following description given by Nehru of the Soviet endeavour at planning for both its agriculture and its industry.

It was on this visit that the concept of Five Year Plans, the famous 'piatiletki' as the Russians called it, caught the imagination of Nehru. Apart from Russia, Nehru had attended in Brussels.

Nehru saw that planning was part of socialism. So a National Planning Committee was setup with Jawaharlal Nehru as its Chairman. Nehru included in it-farsightedly not just politician but scientists, economists, businessmen and industrialists.

Looking upon Parliament as the agency that would secure political democracy, he set up the Planning Commission as the agency that would secure an economic democracy. The first Plan's stress was on agriculture. In the Second Plan, it was industry's turn to receive priority. Emphasis came to be placed on the development of heavy machine building, heavy electricals, steel and non-ferrous metals, and on energy.





It is significant that the Avadi Session took place in the first year of the Second Plan. Nehru had already oriented the country to the socialist path by enacting the Directive Principles of State policy at the inception of the Constitution. But it was from Avadi and the Second Plan onwards that a more vigorous utilization of our resources, a rapid industrialization and, most important an equitable distribution of the resources of the community, became the country's formally declared character and course. The Mixed Economy and a Welfare state emerged as a viable concept. Legislation acquired a nation-building dimension and phrases such as 'the commanding heights of the economy' entered not just our political lexicon but, in fact, that of the entire developing world. The emergence of the public sector, of land ceiling, of regulations on industrial monopoly, of state trading, are all facets of this same policy.

Great changes were taking place at the same time, in the world of

science and technology which could not but affect the ways of living and thinking in India. Always interested in scientific research and in the progress of science and technology as such it was at Nehru's initiative that a large number of national laboratories came into existence to do research in diverse fields. It was again due to this initiative that the resources were made available for the development of atomic energy and the exploration of oil and mineral resources through the Public Sector.

Nehru thought of the institution of the National Development Council which was able to secure an inter-regional consensus on programmes. This Council represented true federalism in action. Even the States reorganisation on the basis of regional languages was in essence a democratic exercise, intended to fulfill sub-national aspirations. Nehru's assurance to non-Hindi speaking States about the use of English falls in the same category and has to be seen as an action in the best traditions of democratic federalism.

Nehru showed great concern not only for the tribal people but for the religious minorities in India.

For Nehru, the exploitation of any one or any group by another was unpardonable. He was equally concerned about the underprivileged or disadvantaged people such as the women of India. The national movement had thrown up a number of patriotic women with dedication and sacrifice into the struggle in spite of the shackles that bound women by customs, inhibitions and social obloquy. Panditji afforded them status and position by choosing, consciously, women as legislators, Ministers, Ambassadors and Governors. He used to insist on the inclusion of women in the State Cabinets and in the Legislatures. The Nehru era saw many women blossom into statwards Nehru's role in the matter of women's rights can only be called pioneering. The subject of marriage, divorce and maintenance has been very much on the public mind of late.

The district court was to be empowered to declare the marriage dissolved after a stipulated period. There was a great deal of discussion and opposition to this. Speaking on the proposal, Panditji, had this to say:

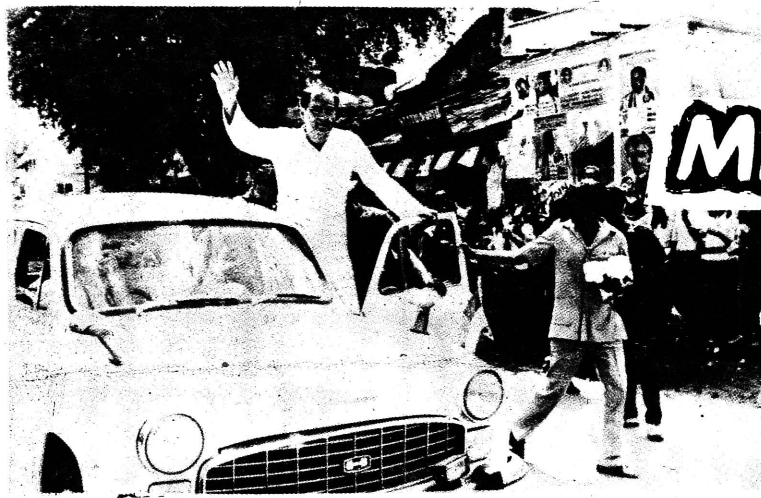
The question that ultimately arises is that when two people find it impossible to get on together whatever the cause, what is to be done about it? I am prepared if I may say so, to forgive not one lapse but many, but I am not prepared to forgive the intolerable position of two persons who hate each other being tied up to each other. Therefore, I welcome this clause here. I welcome particularly the amendment that my colleague, Thiru Venkataraman, is moving on it in regard to divorce by mutual consent.

This is yet another example of Nehru's progressive and modern thinking.

To sum up, Nehru was an architect who transformed a mediaeval India into a modern State, and brought it abreast of the Modern States of the world.

*(Excerpts from the speech delivered by Thiru R. Venkataraman, the then Vice-President of India, on 27 May, 1987 from 'Nehru-A True Democrat')*





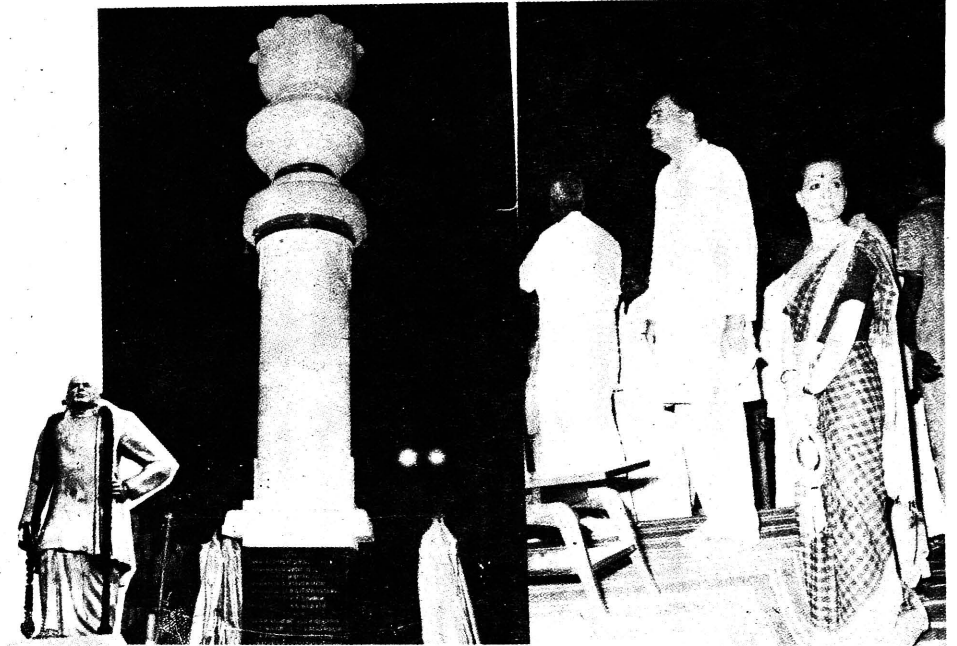
# PRIME MINISTER IN TAMIL NADU



Hon'ble Prime Minister of India, Thiru Rajiv Gandhi unveiled the statue s of Dr.Subbarayan and Thiru Kamaraj at Tiruchengode in Salem District on 25-10-'88.



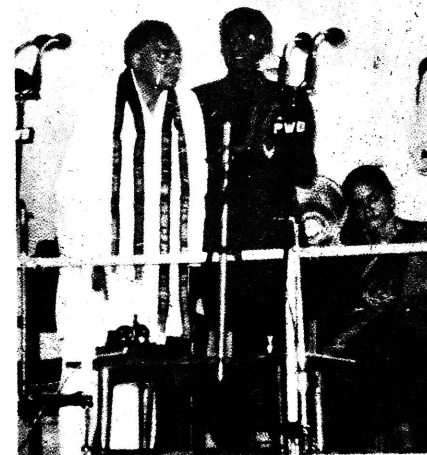
MOHAN KUMARAMANGALAM GOVERNMENT MEDICAL COLLEGE  
SALEM  
FOUNDATION STONE LAID  
BY  
**THIRU RAJIV GANDHI**  
HON'BLE PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA  
**Dr. P.C.ALEXANDER**  
HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF TAMIL NADU  
PRESIDED  
ON 25th OCTOBER, 1988



Hon'ble Prime Minister of India, Thiru Rajiv Gandhi unveiled a 'Memorial Pillar' at Athur inconnection with the Nehru Centenary Celebrations on 26-10-'88.



Hon'ble Prime Minister of India, Thiru Rajiv Gandhi unveiled a statue of Thiru Pasumpon Muthuramalinga Thevar at Usilampatti on 26-10-'88.



**SIVAGANGAI GRAPHITE PROJECT**  
FOUNDATION STONE LAID FOR THE  
**GRAPHITE BENEFICIATION PLANT**  
BY THE HON'BLE PRIME MINISTER  
**THIRU RAJIV GANDHI**  
ON 26-10-1988  
PRESIDED OVER BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF TAMIL NADU  
**Dr. P.C.ALEXANDER**  
IN THE IMMEDIATE PRESENCE OF  
HONBLE UNION MINISTER OF STATE FOR HOME AFFAIRS  
**THIRU P. CHIDAMBARAM**  
AND HONBLE UNION MINISTER OF STATE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT  
**THIRU M. ARUNACHALAM**





## The National Re-Dedication Day

The National Re-Dedication day was organised by the Information and Public Relations Department, to commemorate the death anniversary of Indira Gandhi at Rajaji Hall on 30th October 1988, at 10.30 A.M. His Excellency the Governor of Tamil Nadu Dr. P.C. Alexander garlanded the portrait of late Tmt. Gandhi, kept in the Rajaji Hall. The school children sang songs and bhajans in praise of Tmt. Gandhi. The Governor paid floral tributes to Tmt. Gandhi. The Adviser to the Governor Thiru A. Padmanaban, Thiru M. P. Sivagnanam, Chairman of the High Level Committee for Tamil Development, Tmt. Ackamma Alexander, wife of the Governor also paid their homage to Indira Gandhi.

At 3.00 P.M. a procession was taken out by college and school students from Gandhi statue, to the Marina Grounds near Presidency College. In the evening function at Rajaji Hall Thiru M. M. Rajendran, I.A.S., Chief Secretary to Government welcomed the gathering.

Tmt. Ackamma Alexander distributed the prizes to College and School students who participated in

the elocution competition conducted in connection with the Re-Dedication Day.

Thiru A. Padmanaban, Adviser to the Governor in the course of his speech said that Tmt. Gandhi had sacrificed her life for the country and people should work for unity and protect democracy. Thiru M.P. Sivagnanam, Chairman, Tamil Development High Level Committee, Sri Sundararama Swami, Prof. Mufti Mohammed Ayub the Chief Khasi, Rev. H. S. Dhanraj of C.S.I. Dr. Sahaniil Sastri and Tmt. Andal Damodaran also spoke on the occasion. The services rendered by Tmt. Gandhi and her concern for the welfare of the people were recalled.

Presiding over the function at Rajaji Hall, Dr. P.C. Alexander, Governor of Tamil Nadu recalled his association with Tmt. Gandhi and said:

For one like me who had the privilege of working very closely with Indiraji for several years it is not very easy to be totally detached while speaking about her. When I

think of her, various images crowd into my mind because I have seen her handling various crisis situations, dealing with people in ordinary situations, taking decisions on difficult problems, and, all these images come to my mind, revealing different sides of her versatile personality. One thing that was special about Indiraji and, probably the one thing that contributed a great deal to her eminence as a leader and administrator was that she had deep anchorage in certain principles and values in life. Her commitment to certain principles, and values was so total and complete that it was easy for her to face any situation or handle any problem. First and foremost was a total commitment to the unity and integrity of the Motherland. Any question relating to that could be handled by her because she was totally committed to the integrity of India whatever may be the price, whatever may be the sacrifice involved in it. There could be no compromise, no concession, no second thought when it was an issue of the unity and integrity of India. The same way her commitment to secularism was total, unreserved and





will always record that decision as the beginning of the establishment of a separate nation of Bangladesh. An equally courageous decision was that she refused to take the victory to the logical end in the western sector, much against the advice of senior Military Officers.

complete. In her eyes she could never see the difference between the practioners of one religion and of another, those who spoke one language or another. She was absolutely rooted to the principle of secularism in the fullest sense of the term. She was quite at home in Nagaland or in Nagercoil; in Allahabad or in any town in Alleppey or any such place in the South, in Goa or in Bengal—absolutely at home with the people of that region and the idea that they spoke different languages or had different sub cultures never crossed her mind. Tmt. Gandhi was fiercely proud of her religion and her culture. She did not make much show of her religiosity but she was a deeply devoted Hindu and she was proud to be a Hindu, proud to have inherited the religion of her ancestors and proud to practise that religion in her own way without advertising much about it and she was fiercely proud of the cultural traditions of our country.

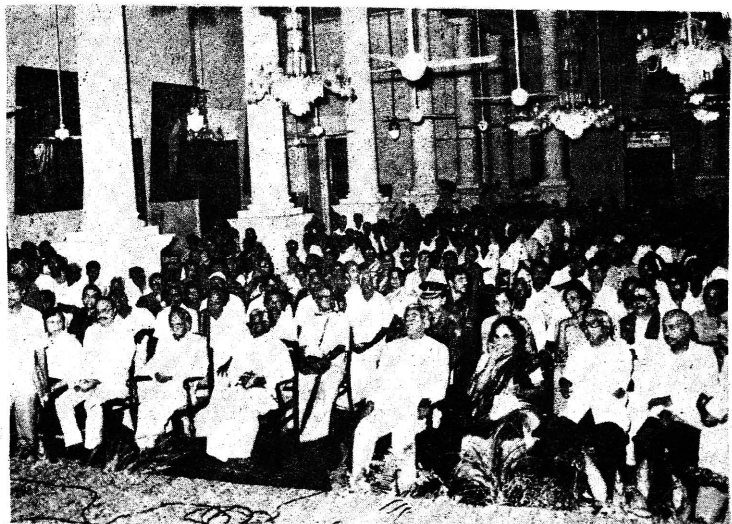
### Bold Decisions

If you ask me what is the greatest quality in this unique personality, without any hesitation I will point out her capacity to take decisions. Whatever may be the crisis, the intensity of the tension, the complexity of the problem, the ramification of the situation, she had the courage to take decisions and stand up by these decisions. I do not

think there are any other parallels in the History of Democracy where Prime Ministers or Heads of Governments have taken such bold decisions, courageous decisions in their lives.

Among all decisions that she has taken three will stand out as the most outstanding. The first was to recognise Bangladesh as a sovereign state. Of course, India went to meet the situation in Bangladesh when the war was forced on us. But after the completion of the war her decision to recognise Bangladesh as a sovereign country was the most epoch-making decision. History

Another decision which will rank in the history as one of the boldest decisions in her life was the Bank Nationalisation. She was convinced that if socialism was to mean anything to the people of this country and the Government was to convert the principles of commitment to social justice into action, Banks had to be nationalised. And there again she took bold decisions and went ahead implementing. There are some people who always criticise her of being intolerant of opposition views or comments contrary to her closely held opinions on certain matters. There are people who have described her as an 'iron lady' wishing to take decisions irrespective of the merits, or irrespective of the pros and cons that may be brought to her notice. She would take strong decisions not recklessly; after considering the pros and cons and weighing the consequences and keeping in view the objectives, values and principles of life. But once the line of action was clear to her, she had the courage to stand up by these decisions.





She always welcomed comments, criticisms and opposite views and never discouraged anyone from expressing such views. She is very much misunderstood on these issues or tolerance of other people's opinions and views in decision making. She was an extraordinarily refined person, very neat and orderly, loved discipline in everything; orderliness in everything, dislikes slovenliness and you could see that everything about her. Her table would be the cleanest table in the Secretariat as a whole. The pencils and pens will be exactly at the place at which they should be. There would not be a peck of dust anywhere; the flower plates, flower pots would be at proper place, the curtains should be drawn

exactly as they should be, as everything must fall into the orderliness which a refined Indian woman's mind as conceived of.

### An Indian Woman

Stories she will relate with absolute relish and gusto. Of course she has to be in the proper mood and proper atmosphere and then she will come out with the stories with a tremendous way which she will show her great capacity for relaxation. Above all she was a typical Indian woman; very proud to be an Indian woman

### Society to Bear Blame

We are to reflect on occasions like this as to how it became possible that such a person as this, could be shot dead with 17 or 19 bullets pumped into her frail body, and that too by people who are paid to protect her life. How could two of the greatest persons of the 20th Century India has produced, Mahatma Gandhi and Indira Gandhi, how could their blood be shed on the soil of this country. How could this happen? We are to look into this aspect of the problem and there you will find that it was not only Nadhram Godse or Satwant Singh or Beant Singh who had to share the blame. The society which produced these people, your society, my society has to take the blame for it. We allowed religious fanaticism and bigotry to be given that respectability and honour and place in society. That society could produce a Godse who could pump three bullets in the bare chest of a weak frail man who was the greatest devotee of God. India has ever produced in this 20th Century and another Satwant Singh or Beant Singh to shoot down that frail woman who was the greatest champion of all other sects, and religions, irrespective of their working in this country. we have allowed religion to be like that. The Indian society today has allowed religion to develop in these straits of absurdity and that is why I say the society which produced these killers has also to bear the blame for this great tragedy. On occasions like this, when we remember their greatness, pay homage to their contributions and their memory let us turn the searchlight inward and ask this question Have I also not contributed to the atmosphere, the condition, the parameters which made it possible for a Gandhi's blood to be shed and an Indira's blood to be shed in the soil of this country? If we can do that, certainly it is worth having this celebration and we should feel ourselves gratified."

Thiru C. N. Krishnabharathy, I.A.S., Director of Information and Public Relations proposed a vote of thanks.

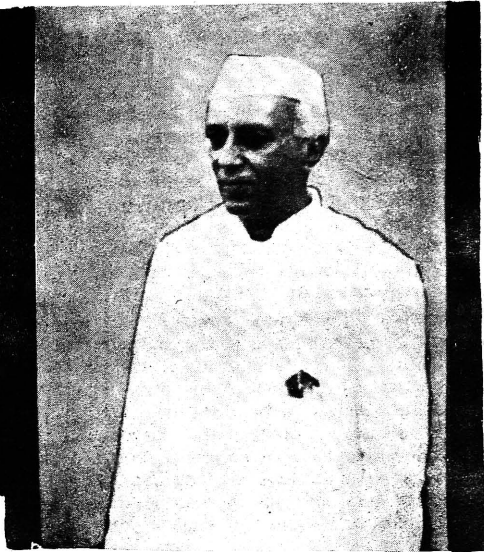
(Excerpts from the speech of the Governor Dr. P. C. Alexander at the Re-Dedication Day Function held on 31.10.88)



# Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

## - The Parliamentarian

Thiru C. R. PATTABHIRAMAN.  
Barrister-at-Law



It is universally acknowledged that our Indian democratic set-up is comparable only to the governments of U.K. and U.S.A. in the world today. In the vast Asian continent we are the only democracy with an unbroken record for four decades. Even when Late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was assassinated, democratic government continued smoothly electing a new leader. We in India have earned a reputation for uncompromising democratic values. We owe much of this to the life and times of our First Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Jawaharlal, the only son of Pandit Motilal was educated in the U.K. He graduated from Cambridge and was called to the Bar. On his return to India there was open to him a bright vista of professional success as a lawyer. My first talk with him was in 1934 soon after my return to India after studies in England. I was working in the chambers of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in Allahabad. He brought Shah Nawaz Khan of the I.N.A. fame to meet my senior with whom I was staying. He was full of life-enthusiastic and devoted to the freedom struggle. I had glimpses of him as Joint Secretary of the Indian National Congress along with my father (Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar) as a school boy 1918-1920. Without hesitation, he gave up all ideas of the rat race in the lawyer's profession. He suffered imprisonment

many times at the hands of an alien Government. His magnum opus *Discovery of India* electrified the student world and intellectuals all over the world. I know that student in British universities avidly read the book and learnt for the first time what Indian culture and tradition stood for. Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam in Cambridge is credited with finishing the book at a sitting involving many hours.

The intellectuals of India were stunned when he addressed the open session of the Congress at Lahore as "My Comrades". Even Pandit Motilal was surprised to hear the socialist appellation. Though an admirer of the Russian Revolution Jawaharlal did not subscribe to Communism, its one party government and the inevitability of class war. He was Gandhiji's true disciple and was an admirer of the Mahatma's egalitarianism and democratic ideas. The Mahatma on his part understood Jawahar's sterling qualities and his mental make up and had no hesitation in choosing him as "his heir". Jawahar did not hesitate to accept Gandhiji's leadership unflinchingly though he could not subscribe to some of the Mahatma's beliefs.

Jawaharlal as our first Prime Minister, was a firm adherent of the Parliamentary system. He dutifully and respectfully attended Parliament regularly. He was punctually in his

seat and never left the House till the question hour was over. When his portfolio matters were taken up he never left the House. Whether in Lok Sabha or the Rajya Sabha he was present till the subject was disposed off. He had much respect for the leaders and speakers in the Opposition and quite often accepted their amendments to the Government's bills. He rushed to the House whenever the quorum bell rang.

Jawaharlal's days as a Parliamentarian were as noteworthy as they were historical. He was particular about the Speaker and the Chairman in the two Houses, taking precedence in all ceremonial occasions. Once when I was speaking in the Lok Sabha for the Government when his subject the Planning Commission was attacked I discovered that he was sitting in the back benches and watching the debate. He was however very sensitive and winced when attacked personally.

It is worthwhile to remember the names of his outstanding colleagues and party men who were true patriots and democrats. Apart from Vallabhbhai Patel, Maulana Azad, Rajaji and others who were his colleagues, there were Govind Ballab Pant, Shukla, Kamaraj, B.C. Roy, Morarji Desai, Khan Sahib, Jeevaraj Metha and others in the States. In the Opposition were Dange, Gopalan, Nath Pai, Kripalani, Lohia, Acharya

Narendra Deva, Prakash Vir Shastri and other luminaries.

I end up with a personal note demonstrating his innate belief in democratic ideals and egalitarianism. In my first term in the Lok Sabha (1957-62) I felt the need to move an amendment to the Constitution (Article 226). As a result of the Supreme Court judgement in "Saka Venkata Rao's case", the right to move writs against the Union Government and the various Union Departments was restricted to the Supreme Court at Delhi. This meant a lot of hardships for the people living in the distant parts away from Delhi. From Cape Comorin and Tirunelveli and the North East and North West Frontier states, they had to travel to Delhi, stay there in varying climatic conditions and engage lawyers in Delhi to vindicate their rights and to cure their grievances. My amendment gave the right to the High Courts in the States to entertain various writs against the Union Government. In the party meeting just before the commencement of the Parliament, someone, high up in the party hierarchy complained to the Prime Minister, who was presiding over the meeting, that an ordinary private member like me was moving a Constitutional amendment. Nehruji was perturbed and called me over to the dais and asked me why I wanted to move the amendment. I explained to him the difficulties and hardships involved to the people in India in having to travel great distances and to move writs seeking

to redress their grievances in Delhi. He thought for a moment and to the surprise of the entire Congress party asked me to move the amendment adding that the Government would

support me. As a result of this amendment the writ Jurisdiction of the various High Courts in the States were substantially enlarged. Men like him are the Salt of the Earth.



#### VIEWS ON HIMSELF

"I shall resign only if two things happen. One is, if I feel I have to resign. The other is, if the public feel and make it clear that they want me to resign."

"I have no desire to stick to office, it is a terrible burden at times. If I continue in office, it is because I feel that my continuing at this juncture would be of some service to the country."  
(June, 1963)



# Man without Malice or Fear

Thiru C. R. NARASIMHAN,  
Ex. M.P., Ex. M.C.,

Jawaharlal Nehru was a man of vision. (Vision means imaginative insight, statesman like foresight and political sagacity. Jawaharlal Nehru had all this and much more in abundant measure). He had a winning charm and a ready smile. He would be petulant on occasions but would quickly get calm.

Thinking of Jawaharlal Nehru, one cannot help recalling his father Motilal Nehru. Motilal Nehru during his life played a dominant role in the country's struggle for freedom.

The biggest honour which the non-official India could confer on its citizen in those days was the presidency of the Indian National Congress. This high office had been held by Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi. During both the pre-independence days and the Nehru family's post-independence days the family image has been high.

I happen to be one of the few still living to remember vividly Pandit Motilal Nehru's noble figure and majestic gait. This was my memory of him even when I was a lad. I remember an incident that took place in the early twenties. During the annual session of the Indian National Congress at Kakinada in Andhra Pradesh, Motilal Nehru with his aristocratic bearing was indulging in a wordy duel with another veteran, namely C. Vijayaraghavacharyar of Salem. My father, Rajaji, saved the

situation by gently taking away Motilal Nehru from the dais.

Motilal Nehru was a flourishing lawyer at Allahabad. The joining by him and Chittaranjan Das, another famous lawyer of Bengal, joined the non-cooperation movement started by Mahatma Gandhi. These two lawyers were put in prison as a result. Young Jawaharlal Nehru who was in his thirties also joined the movement and got imprisoned. This background added to the popularity of the Nehru family and in particular to that of the younger Nehru. It became an accepted fact that he was the 'darling of the nation'. The voluntary sacrifice and suffering of father and son belonging to a very affluent society had a great impact on the people. It cannot be denied that Jawaharlal Nehru had this initial advantage to become the nation's young hero. There was nothing unjustifiable about it. The Indian masses were and are even today continuing in desperate search for heroes. The metamorphosis of young Jawaharlal from a dandy to a humble soldier of Gandhiji's non-violent army reminds one of Prince

Siddhartha who was shocked to see untold human suffering later emerged as the great Gautama Buddha.

At Lucknow in 1928 Jawaharlal Nehru along with others demonstrated peacefully against arrival there of the Simon Commission. The demonstrators including Jawaharlal were severely beaten. On receiving this news Mahatma Gandhi wrote to him, "My dear Jawaharlal ; My love to you. It was all done bravely. You have braver things to do. May God spare for you a many long years to come and make you His chosen instrument for freeing India from the Yoke-Bapu".

This is how Gandhiji foresaw about Jawaharlal Nehru whom now posterity describes as an architect of modern India.

The youthful Jawaharlal would not reconcile himself to the limited goal of Home Rule. His was a vision of greater India fully independent and far greater India showing the beacon light for the peace and prosperity of the entire humanity. As



his life has shown, he lived and died for this noble goal.

A statement of his made during a trial shows the confident nature with which he entered the freedom struggle. In the statement he declared "The end of our struggle approaches when the British Empire will soon go the way of all the empire of the world. The strangling and degradation of India has gone on long enough. It will be tolerated no longer. Let England and the world take notice that the people of India are prepared to be friends with all who meet them frankly as equals and do not interfere with their liberty.... I pray that my countrymen and country women will carry on the good fight unceasingly till success crowns their effort and we realise the India of our dreams".

Hardly less than 20 years had elapsed for history to march and record the establishment of a free India under this very person's Prime Ministership. The statement made in

the court was indeed a prophetic one. We have all lived to see the realisation of this noble dream .

The notable feature of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's cabinet was that the members of the cabinet were all stalwarts in politics and some of them were seniors to him in political standing. They included persons such as Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad and Babu Rajendra Prasad and Rajaji. Pandit Nehru was able to get on with them. He did not compose his cabinet of merely yesmen.

Addressing the University students of Allahabad in 1947 he made a sort of confession as follows:

"My boyhood and youth were spent in dreaming dreams and seeing visions of India's future. Was there any real substance in those dreams or were they merely the fancies of a fevered brain! Some small parts of these dreams have come true, but not in the manner I have imagined. So much still remains".

I had the rare opportunity of being a member of Parliament for full ten years during his Prime Ministership. He was almost always present in the House during sessions. He was considerate to one and all. Even in the party meeting members had scope to press their view points. Even in the open House members could offer friendly criticism of Government.

I would like to end my humble tribute to this great man with a quotation from the veteran journalist Shri B. Shiv Rao, "No man who had been through such vicissitudes in his long public career and figured in so many controversies as Nehru did, could expect the verdict of history to acclaim his judgement in every instance to have been infallible. The estimate of his dynamic and warmly human personality must necessarily vary. But the best tribute to him and the one that will remain true for all time is Winston Churchill's 'A man without malice and a man without fear'.



A memento was presented to His Excellency the Governor of Tamil Nadu Dr. P.C. Alexander on behalf of the Federation of Associations of Small Industries of India (Southern Region) in a Seminar organised at Madras on 22-10-'88.





# THE NEHRU ERA

**T. S. AVINASHILINGAM**

President, Sri Ramakrishna Mission  
Vidyalaya

I was elected to the Central Assembly in 1934 and was in it till 1946. In 1946 I came to the Madras Legislative Assembly and also Minister of Education. In 1951 I opted to the Parliament in Delhi first in Lok Sabha and in Rajya Sabha till 1964. It was as a member of Parliament I had the opportunity to know and move with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India.

Nehru and Sardar Patel were two mighty men in the Freedom Movement and so long as the Sardar lived, Nehru had to share power with the Sardar. Both had indomitable will and courage but differed in outlook and temperament. Sardar was not happy about Nehru's unqualified secularism, nor did he like his radical attitude towards social reforms. He was strong and swift while Nehru was soft and considerate. It is said that in the final act for unification of India, namely, the Police Action against Hyderabad, many in the Cabinet did not know about it, till it was over and that Nehru was informed about it only

after it began. On many matters they did not see eye to eye with each other and they had to get Mahatma Gandhi's help on many occasions for smooth running of the Government. But as Lord Mountbatten said, both were necessary for consolidating the gains of Indian freedom. But with the demise of the Sardar in 1950, there was none in the Congress Party or Parliament to equal his stature, strength and following. So Nehru reigned supreme. Nehru had another great advantage, namely, all the Governments in the States at the time were Congress Governments. And so, he ruled not only in the Centre but also in all the States, his word was law. But it must be said to his lasting greatness that in spite of the great power he wielded, he kept a balance and sobriety which won the admiration of the people.

## Setting up of the Planning Commission

Jawaharlal Nehru was a great believer in Planned Development. In this he drew his inspiration from Russia. Therefore one of the first

tasks done in the first Parliament was the setting up of a National Planning Commission for India of which the Prime Minister was the Chairman. The Indian Constitution has spelt out basic objectives in "The Directive Principles of State Policy". Among those, "Directive Principles", were that — "The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting, as effectively as it may, a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of national life". Further, "that—The State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing—

a) that the citizens, men and women equally have the right to an adequate means of livelihood.

b) that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to sub-serve the common good.

c) that the operation of the economic system does not result on the concentration of wealth and means

of production to the common detriment.

Planning involves development of the various aspects of National life and economy such as improved agriculture, setting up new industries, extension of educational facilities, improvement of the machinery of administration fit to take up the responsibilities of development, evolution of a tax structure which will ensure social justice, land reforms, abolition of social inequalities and special measures for the uplift of women, backward castes and tribes and eradication of the colossal poverty concentrated in a large measure in the villages throughout the Country.

#### Community Development programmes

And so, as a corollary to Planned Development, a Community Development Programme, mainly aimed at raising the economic, social and educational status of the people in villages was necessary. Therefore a massive Rural Development Programme had to be taken up. A development programme to uplift more than thirty crores of people living in over seven lakhs of villages was indeed a great and difficult job costing a great deal of money and effort. Fortunately the Ford Foundation under the leadership of Dr. Douglas Ensminger came forward to help in a big way and a Community Development Programme was evolved and placed before Parliament for approval.

The live-wires of the newly started Community Development Programme were Sri-V.T. Krishnamachari, when he was the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission and Sri S.K. Dey who was the Minister of States for Community Development and who was largely responsible for the implementation of the project. The former had carried out impressive work in Baroda in rural development and later as Chairman of the Grow More Food Enquiry Committee in 1952 had made valuable suggestions on the question of an infrastructure for rural development. The Grow More Food Enquiry Committee had observed that all aspects of rural life were inter-related and that while particular problem might call for special attention, "the plans for them should

"Nehru's discernment of ideas is near-infallible but his choice of persons for their implementation is often wrong. If there is refreshing empiricism in his ideas, there is a strange obtuseness in his attachment to individuals. His mantle of protection is thrown round persons who in fact are incapable of being his collaborators or disciples, because the intellectual urges of Nehru are incomprehensible to them." (1959)

— Asoka Mehta

form parts of, and be integrated with those for achieving the wider aims". The recommendations of this committee were responsible, to a very large extent in shaping the extension approach which became an essential vehicle of the Community Development Programme in India. It was felt that if the central aim of Community Development was investment in man, an integrated extension service should be the principal means to that end and that scientific knowledge and techniques should be carried to the people through the extension agency. The first five Year Plan gave recognition to this new approach in the following words. "Community Development is the method and rural extension of the agency through which the Five Year Plan seeks to initiate a process of transformation of the social and economic life of the villages."

#### Development of Science and Technology

One of the major developments during Nehru's period was the development of scientific and technological institutions in India on a large scale. Nehru was convinced that a technological revolution was necessary for the progress of the country, for greater production in Agriculture and Industry, for improving the health of the people both by preventive and curative methods for bettering communication and transport facilities and giving more employment for people. Research leads to scientific knowledge on which area-based technological inventions for higher yields both in the fields and factories; and so the Government set about setting up a large number of Research Laboratories and institutions in various disciplines.

With the object of fulfilling these aims Government decided to offer good conditions of service to scientists, associate them with the formu-

lation of policies and give them an honour placed in national life.

In the first Five Year Plan, attention was chiefly devoted to the building up of a chain of national laboratories and other research institutions. In the Second Plan the available facilities were developed, research was made more broad-based and research facilities in universities and at other research centres were further extended. In the Third Plan the programme of scientific and technological research was devoted specially to:

i) Strengthening of the existing research institutions and expanding the facilities for research over a wide field;

ii) encouraging basic research in universities;

iii) encouraging, in particular, research in engineering and technology;

iv) training of research personnel and expanding the programme of research fellowships and scholarships;

v) carrying out research in the development and manufacture of scientific and industrial instruments;

vi) coordination of research work carried out in national laboratories, universities, technical institutions, laboratories of scientific associations and research wings of Government departments and

vii) utilising results of research after establishing their validity through pilot plan protection, full scale fields experiments, etc.

As a result of effort in the first two Plans, an extensive network of institutions engaged in scientific research has come into existence and pure research, applied research and research in specialised fields are



being undertaken in a large number of centres.

### The non-aligned movement

One of the outstanding events during Nehru's period in Parliament was the formulation of India's foreign policy and the coming into existence of the non-aligned movement. The alliance of the USA and Soviet Russia to defeat Hitler's Germany did not last long after their victory in the Second World War. Each began to consolidate its position for world hegemony and there developed two power blocks inimical to each other namely, the NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) and Warsaw Pact countries. India was an emerging great nation and both the blocks tried to persuade, cajole and threaten India to join them. But all honour to Jawaharlal Nehru, that he resisted both the power blocks in his determination to build a great and Independent India. The United States had started the organisation of SEATO (South East Asia Treaty Organisation) and had tempted Pakistan with money and military help to join it. President Eisenhower wrote to Nehru making the same offer to India. I remember when Nehru spoke in Parliament rejecting the offer saying that India has not become free to become a slave again by allowing military bases to a foreign power, in our soil. All of us lustily cheered him and the world admired him and India for this courageous and outspoken statement. This paved the way for the formation of the Non-aligned movement.

Explaining the non-aligned movement, Nehru said:

"Having attained political freedom we are earnestly desirous of removing the many ills that our country suffers from, of eliminating poverty and raising the standards of our people, and giving them full and equal opportunities of growth and advancement. I speak of India because it is my country. But many other countries in Asia tell the same story, for Asia today is resurgent and these countries, which long lay under foreign yoke have won back their independence and are fired by a new spirit to strive towards new ideals. To them, as to us, independence is as vital as the breath they take to sustain life, and colonialism in any form, or anywhere is abhor-

rent. The vast strides that technology has made have brought a new age, of which the United States of America is the leader. Today, the whole world is our neighbour and the old divisions of continents and countries matter less and less. Peace and freedom have become indivisible. The preservation of peace forms the central aim of India's policy. It is in the pursuit of this policy that we have chosen the path of non-alignment in any military or like pact of alliance.

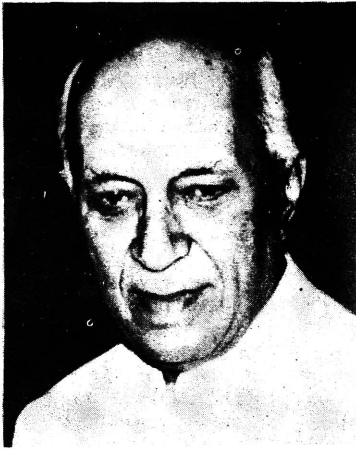
Non-alignment does not mean passivity of mind or action, lack of faith or conviction. It does not mean submission to what we consider evil. It is a positive and dynamic approach to such problem that confront us. We believe that each country has not only the right to freedom, but also to decide its own policy and way of life. Only thus can true freedom flourish and a people grow according to their own genius. We believe, therefore, in non-aggression and non-interference by any country in the affairs of another, and the growth of tolerance between them and the capacity for peaceful co-existence we think that, by the free exchange of ideas and trade and other contacts between nations, each will learn from the other, and truth will prevail. We therefore, endeavour to maintain friendly relations with all countries, even though we may disagree with them in their policies or structure of Government. We think that, by this approach, we can serve not only our country, but also the larger causes of peace and good fellowship in the world".

The non-aligned movement began in 1961, with twenty-five member-countries of which the chief architects were Nehru of India, Nasser of Egypt and Tito of Yugoslavia. In over twenty years, the membership has expanded to 97 and has developed to be a powerful force in international affairs. It has held its meeting in various parts of the world from time to time. It was held in New Delhi in 1982 and the India's Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi was elected as its Chairperson.

With the passing of time Nehru's first Ministry after Independence began with great hopes and prestige. Nehru himself was at the height of his glory commanding the admiration and adoration of the whole of

the country and many countries in the world. The newly emerging Indian Nation was considered to be the rising great power of Asia. The idealism of the Freedom Movement continued. Many who had participated in the freedom movement under Mahatma Gandhi and were of proven calibre though some other who were experts in their field were also taken in the Cabinet. Sri C.D. Deshmukh, a former Governor of the Reserve Bank of India was the Finance Minister, my friend Sri V.V. Giri in charge of Labour, Messrs. Lal Bahadur Sastri, Gulzarilal Nanda, Abulkalam Asad, N. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar and T.T. Krishnamachari were there. Many continued in the later periods. One of the notable later additions was Sri C. Subramaniam, who along with one of our greatest agricultural scientist Dr. M.S. Swaminathan was responsible for initiating the Green Revolution in our country. With Congress Government also in the States, Nehru's behests were willingly received and implemented in all parts of the country.

Men of my generation who have grown with Nehru cannot forget, how millions of people admired and followed him during the Freedom Movement and after it. I have had occasions to observe him from near and after. He captivated all by his courage and his ability to move with love and courtesy with all ranks of people. Next to Mahatma Gandhi, he was the most loved and admired amongst the leaders. With him an era in contemporary history of India when a single leader had undisputed leadership not only to India, but to the many countries in the world striving for freedom. As his illustrious daughter Smt. Indira Gandhi has said in her introduction to his works: 'The story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and graveous human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adopted to the contemporary context. His achievement by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister.



# Nehru- A Journalist

Thiru M. CHALAPATHI RAU

Nehru has been better known as a writer than a journalist, but he was both and did not think much of whatever difference there is between literature and journalism. He was a man of action who wrote, because his writing was a part of his self expression and helped him to be a man of action. There was a literary touch in the best that he wrote and he always spoke and wrote and acted with a sense of history. But he did not consider himself a writer or a historian nor justify himself as a journalist by elevating journalism as either literature or history; it was to him a part of action, political action and social action. He could admire literature in its lyrical and epic aspects and had an appreciation of the arrangement of words, but he strained for no literary effects and wrote with that quiet undertone of passion which always moved him as political leader. If the basic quality of a journalist is that he should be capable of reacting to events and of expressing his reactions as quickly and effectively as possible, Nehru, like Gandhi was a supreme journalist.

It was a pleasure to watch him dictate or write. The view were modulated, the expression controlled and the syntax never flagged. It was not composition; it was expression without complication, though not without reservations or pauses or dramatic effects, but with an unflagging sense of rhythm. To his sense of history, he added a sense of rhythm which gives his writing movement and harmony. The manuscript was so clean that it would be worthy

of the best of museums; it was near perfect copy. His unsigned articles showed his mastery of what might be called the journalistic art, including rhetoric and invective, which are not found in his signed articles. There was always dignity, clarity, and freedom from clichés.

For the place of the press in national life, Nehru had high regard both during the freedom struggle and after freedom. He understood that freedom of the Press was a part of the democratic process and that criticism, even if it was strong and intolerant, was a part of it. He tolerated criticism, even appreciated it. The things that upset him were malice, lack of dignity, or ignorance of history. Even if he did not respect sections of the press for not being equal to the high standards he expected of them, he upheld the principle of a free press, even in the use of the Preventive Detention Act.

For him freedom of the press however, consisted essentially of editorial freedom and not freedom of the master of the printing Press. He had no time to study closely the complex reactions on each other of the industrial aspect and the editorial aspects, especially under the provisions of the Constitution, but he made no secret of it that the conflict must be resolved in favour of editorial freedom. It was not merely the pressure of ownership and other internal pressures that oppressed him but the many external pressures, including the pressures of politicians. His concern for the editor's freedom extended beyond freedom of ex-

pression to relations with directors and managers. The editor's function was not to be interfered with; he might be right or wrong; he was to function freely, once he was appointed he should be free to develop character and impress his character on the paper he edited.

Post-war developments in the Indian press disappointed Nehru, as few other things did. Even in his busy term as Prime Minister, with an old hands' interest, he liked to have a look at newspapers, and their general characterlessness and lack of style oppressed him. Style attracted him, that something which speaks of personality. At least, he expected clear thinking, clear expression, sincerity of feeling, and consistency of outlook, which in his own case became consistency of vision. About the inevitability of the transformation of the mission of journalism into the newspaper industry, he had no lack of understanding. But that was no bar to his repeatedly deprecating the passing of centres of the press to a particular class of industrialists primarily interested in other industries. Whenever there was talk of growth, of increased circulations or of the need for more newsprint, he said he did not believe in mere growth, though he deplored the limited circulations of newspapers and wanted circulations to grow rapidly. Sometimes, he sighed for a Northcliffe to take the Hindi press from the stage of pedantry to that of mass appeal, but he understood the distinction between the Northcliffes and the Beaverbrooks, who lived by the press and to that extent



owed some responsibility to the public, and the Indian Fords, Rock fellers, and Nuffields running newspapers. He always insisted on quality diffusion of ownership and a sense of social responsibility.

Nehru took keen interest in the appointment of the Press Commission, in its composition and in its terms of reference. It was, unfortunately, not his task to carry out the recommendations. Some have been carried out to the benefit of working journalists, for the first time fairly accurate statistics about the press have been available, and now a Press Council has been set up. But some of the crucial recommendations remain half-recommendations, remain half-remembered, and his successors, though following the essence of his other policies, neither understood the working of the press nor thought much of its correct functioning. He did not like press barons or any other barons and roused many of them to fury. He enjoyed the game; it was both fun

and high politics. He was conscious, he was the product of social forces and was Prime Minister by adult suffrage, while the press depended on mysterious forces working mysteriously.

The press set-up was familiar to him. He kept himself informed of changing ownership. He knew the limitations on the freedom of this editor or that editor; and he followed the change of policy in one newspaper or another.

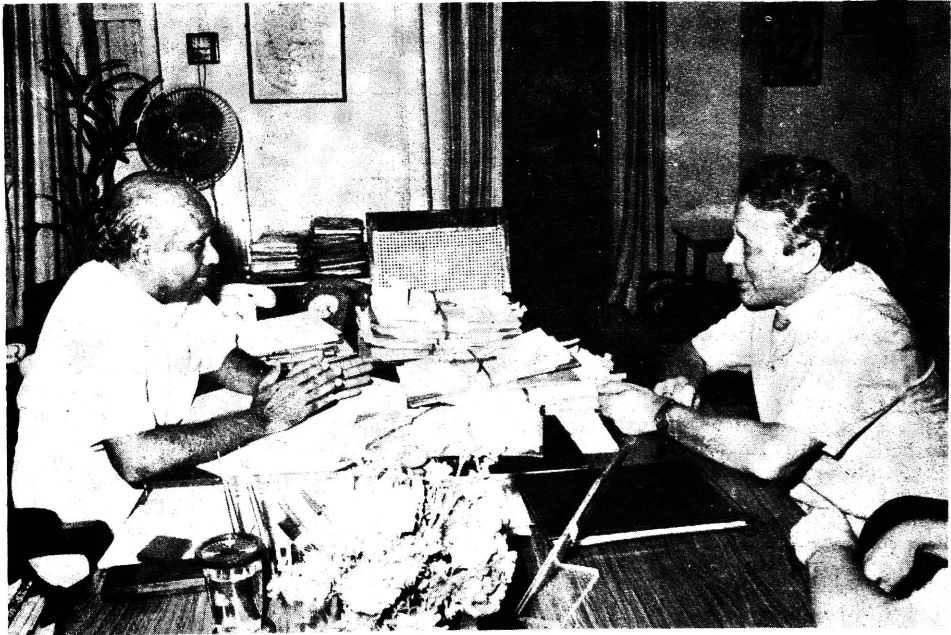
At press conferences, he liked to move on terms of equality with press correspondents. No questions were barred. Sometimes the question were irritating, at other times even insulting, but he enjoyed the exchanges and the press always looked forward to them. He also looked forward to them. He knew the faces not always the names, but he seemed to know what was behind a question or who was behind a questioner. Press correspondents often gave more information than they sought,

but everyone could grow tense and everyone could relax.

Nehru applied the same high professional standards after freedom as during the freedom struggle. In the old days, he always advised his colleagues to refer to the British authorities debitable news items, with disputable facts, coming from Congress sources. It did not matter if they gave their version; it should also be published. He did not change his standards as prime Minister. Like Gandhi, he showed always regard for facts, maintained and expected fairness, and upheld freedom of expression above printing processes. They were, of course, rebels and free men. Their contribution to India and the world will be variously assessed, but their greatness abides, and part of it is that they are among the greatest of our journalists for a long long time.

Courtesy:

'Gandhi and Nehru'



Thiru V.G. Cherepov, Consular General of U.S.S.R. in Madras called on Thiru M.M. Rajendran, I.A.S., Chief Secretary to Government on 27-10-'88 at Secretariat.



## **WOMEN IN THE FOREFRONT**

**Tmt. SAROJINI VARADAPPAN**  
President, Women's Indian Association

While observing the Centenary of our first Prime Minister of Independent India Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, it is a great privilege to share some of my thoughts about the great architect of Independent India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He was a great patriot progressive leader, of International repute. He had great hopes and confidence in Indian Women. It is more evident in his own family, when we recall the role played by the entire family, starting from his mother, Swarooparani, his sisters Vijayalakshmi Pandit and Krishna Hatheesingh, his wife Kamala Nehru and the loving daughter, Indira Gandhi have all taken part in freedom struggle. The letters that Jawaharlal wrote to his daughter from the Jail reveals how much hopes he had in his daughter.

He treated the daughter more than a son and she had been a great pillar of strength to him throughout his political life. He believed strongly in giving freedom to girls and give them adequate education and opportunities to play their equal role in Public life and Nation Building activities.

After India became independent, he wanted the Indian Women to come out boldly and occupy high positions. He was the first man who offered high positions to women in Government. Sarojini Naidu was made the first woman Governor of Uttar Pradesh. Vijayalakshmi Pandit was sent to London as the Indian High Commissioner and later she was elected as President of the United Nations. He inducted Lakshmi

Menon into the External Affairs Ministry. He made Smt. Durga Bai to join the Constitution making body and later in the Planning Commission and she contributed so well in these two bodies by her dynamism, initiative and intelligence.

Panditji was responsible for establishing the Central Social Welfare Board in 1953 by an act of Parliament. It was due to the initiative and full support given by Panditji, that Durga Bai was able to bring the Board to the level of an apex organisation in the Country. The Central Social Welfare Board has emerged as a unique national organisation with a countrywide network for the promotion of social welfare in the voluntary sector. Panditji wanted this Board to be manned by eminent women social workers and social scientists, both at the Centre and the State level, and it has developed a wide variety of social welfare schemes for the benefit of Women and Children all over the Country. Panditji saw to the adequate financial allocation to this Board and gave autonomous status. First Five Year Plan, 4 crores was allotted and by every 5 year plan the allocation increased and today it is catering to lakhs and lakhs of Women and Children. More than ten thousand voluntary organizations are being aided and it has created a network of an army of Women from Village level to the Central level because Smt. Durga Bai had taken personal interest in the workers. Durga Bai made it as a convention that the Prime Minister should inaugurate the Board's annual meetings. Thus it created a good liaison between the women leaders and the Prime Minister. He used to invite them to the Theen Murti House and I had the privilege and pleasure of attending the same many times. He will meet the members individually. Durga Bai used to organise a Cultural meet also during the Annual conference and will insist on the Prime Minister witnessing this. I remember, once the Tamil Nadu group headed by Smt. S. Ambujammal gave a villupattu on the Central Social Welfare Board and the State Social Board which was very much appreciated by Panditji. He sat through the whole programme at 'Hydrabad House' in Delhi and congratulated all of us who took part. On another occasion, while



"I have known of no other country with a more popular Prime Minister. He is Uncle Nehru to children. He is Prince Charming to ladies. He is a writer among intellectuals; among artists he is an artist. He presides over science conferences. He is a philosopher among philosophers, having re-discovered India."

— J. B. Kripalani

we were having Tea in Panditji's house, Ambujammal introduced me as the daughter of Sri. M. Bhakthavatsalam and said she does not want to enter in to the Legislative Assembly or Parliament. Her interest is only social service. Quick came the reply from the Prime Minister in a loud voice. He said, "I am glad that atleast there is one person who is not craving to enter the Assembly". He turned to me patted me on my back and said "go ahead and do more service". Probably that inspired me and I continue my services till today with the blessings of Panditji. He belived in women's education. It was during his time that he created a National Committee for Women's education and again made Durga Bai as its first Chairman. I had occasions to serve on this Committee. This Committee made many useful recommendations and implemented many innovative schemes for the development of women's education.

I had a privilege to present a welcome address to Panditji when he came to Madras as soon as he became the Prime Minister on behalf of all women's organizations in Madras at Museum Theatre. It was a rewarding and thrilling experience to present the welcome address in Hindi to the first Prime Minister of India. I received his appreciation that day also.

Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy started the Cancer Relief Fund on behalf of the Women's Indian Association. With great difficulties we succeeded in getting a piece of land at Gandhi Nagar to establish the Cancer Institute. It was during Rajaji's Chief Ministriship, Jawaharlal Nehru was visiting Madras. Dr.Reddy was very keen that Panditji should

lay the foundation for the Cancer Institute. Rajaji, the strong headed Chief Minister did not approve of our programme. Equally strong minded Dr.Reddy would not accept any defeat, she moved heaven and earth and asked me to talk to my uncle Alagesan, who was then a Union Minister and get the Prime Minister. When Panditji heard that Dr. Reddy has taken up the project, he immediately agreed and gave a telegram to the State Government to include this programme. That was the faith and confidence the Prime Minister had in sincere and dedicated women workers. We did have the programme. Panditji praised the work of the Women's Indian Association headed by Dr. Reddy and wished us all success. Again I had the privilege to propose the vote of thanks. The golden touch of Jawaharlal Nehru for a very good cause, has flourished so well and today the Cancer Institute is an outstanding hospital in the Asian region.

I used to go with my father to all the All India Congress Committee sessions, particularly to listen to Jawaharlal Nehru's inspiring and fiery speeches. His speech in the Parliament on the eve of Independence, his Republic Day speeches at Red Fort, his speech on 2nd October while launching the Community Development Programme the inauguration of the Neyveli Lignite Corporation, Bakra Nangal and so on are all thought provoking.

A Conference of Panchayat Presidents was held at Madras, which Panditji was addressing. We insisted on the then Madras Government to give us a programme when women Panchayat Presidents and members would be addressed by the Prime Minister and he enjoyed this meeting, because, he believed in not only

democratic decentralisation but in women taking active role in nation building activities.

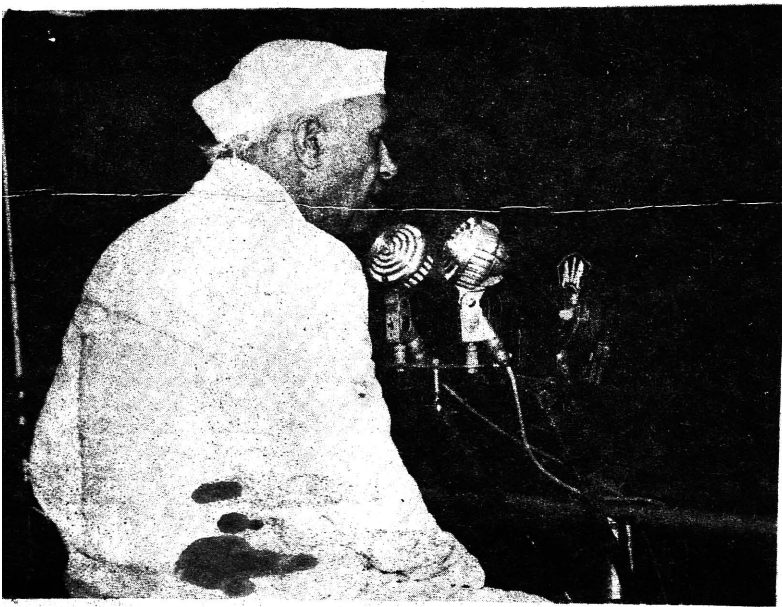
I saw him last at Buvaneshwar All India Congress Committee Session. Kamaraj was elected as the President of Indian National Congress and I had the honour and pleasure to travel in the special train which carried the delegates from Madras. Panditji was very sick this time. In spite of his health, he attended all the sessions and made his contributions effectively. We never thought that this will be our last meeting.

My father was camping at Upper Bavani, inspecting the Project. We were listening to the radio. It was a shock when we heard T.T.Krishnamachari, the Union Finance Minister making the announcement in the Parliament that Prime Minister was taken seriously ill. Immediately we rushed down to Ooty. On the way my father received a wireless message of the demise of Panditji by the time the news had spread and people started pouring into our compound to condole my father.

The ashes of Panditji was kept in Rajaji Hall for public dharshan. As per the wishes of Panditji, the urn containing the ashes was taken in a special train to Kanyakumari for immersion. The entire route from Egmore Station to Nagercoil, was thronged by people and at each station they paid their last homage to their beloved leader. Not minding the odd hour of midnight, women, old, young and middle aged were seen visibly moved, weeping as if they had lost their own son or brother.

This was great proof, of how much the Indian Women nay the Tamil Nadu women adorned Panditji. It is only the Nehru family that had the Charishma and magnetic power to attract the masses. If Indian women have acheived greater heights, it is entirely because of the initiative taken by the first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and when we celebrated his Centenary, the women of India join in Paying a very handsome tribute to our god father, Panditji.

JAI HIND.



## NEHRU AN ORATOR

Thiru T. CHENGALVAROYAN

Senior Advocate

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was a unique leader with a multicoloured grandeur and technicolour splendour. He was a many-sided and multi-dimensional leader. Each side is often taken for the whole.

He was a true Patriot with a flaming passion for the freedom of India. He was a front-line freedom fighter taking sacrifice as his badge and service as his banner. He was a great Congress Leader next only to Gandhiji. He was the earliest harbinger of Socialism in Indian politics. As a Prime Minister he laid the firm foundation of democracy in India. He laid the socialist path for economic development. He heralded for the liberation of all Asian and African subjugated Nations. He gave the new tone and tempo and theme for international relations. He was the apostle of peace in the world. These and many more are the meridian glory and stellar splendour of his epic life.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was a facile writer with fertility of ideas and felicity of diction. He had a historical perspective with a clear vision of the grand unfolding of a new era.

He was an outstanding Orator  
20

in the classic sense. Oratory is ordinarily understood as linguistic acrobates and verbal Gymnastics. It is often misunderstood as the flow of words, but true and transcendental type of Oratory is very much different in style, substance and structure. Oratory sometime consists of fine mixture of words, a shining texture of phrases and a bewitching structure of sentences. It is never a downpour. It is always an out pouring.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is a noble Orator. He had the intellectual equipment which illuminated his speeches. He had an emotional upsurge that enlivened his speeches. He had fertility of ideas that thrilled his hearers. He had deep compassion which endeared him to his audience. He had respect for others that ennobled his speech

His speeches were formative, informative and reformatory and that was the Nehru oratory.

Panditji very often looked pensive before the lakhs of his hearers. Suddenly he would heartily laugh which was his unique charisma. During his hourlong speeches, he was never tired and never of the huge multitudinous audiences. Whenever he

refers to the ancient Indian culture, he became inspired. If he were to refer to Gandhiji, he became reverential. Whenever he refers to the part which the Congress had played, he was rhetorical. If he were to refer to international affairs, he was masterminded. If he were to refer to the other parties, he was extremely respectful. But, in criticising their policies and plans, he was devastating.

His oratory was as varied as the occasion he chooses to address. His speeches to the Congress sessions were marked with intimacy and frankness and sharing.

Whenever he addressed Parliament, he was well prepared and delivers his speech with unique dignity and in absolute confidence. He would be critical, but never condemnatory. He would be forceful, but never fierce. He would be always ready to respond to wise suggestions. His speech headed as **TRYST WITH DESTINY** is a memorable sublime and scintillating piece of superb parliamentary oratory. A real orator is one who is heard as much as his speech is read. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was that type of Orator.

Panditji's speech at the U.N.O. was a remarkable specimen of refined Oratory at such august international gathering. Those speeches were marked with the strong feeling that he represented the world's largest democracy. His speeches at the U.N.O. were marked and measured, by fearless declarations by fine exposition of new ideas, by a staunch adherence to the socialist path, by a powerful plea for the under developed countries and in angry tone against war and war preparation. He was evangelical in his passionate plea for peace for the world.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as an Orator captivated his audience but never made them captive. He stimulated the intellect of his audience.

He stirred the hearts of his hearers. He roused them to great deeds. These are the special oratorical flights and heights of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. His oratory is one of the shining stones in the Jewel which was Jawaharlal.

# Jawahar

## -The Priceless Jewel

Tmt. Lalitha Raja gopalan, Ex. M.P.,

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU was true to his name a priceless jewel. This priceless jewel was unearthed by no less than the FATHER OF THE NATION Mahatma Gandhi. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was born in the year 1889 at ALLAHABAD to Pandit Motilal Nehru and Swarup Rani. The family belongs to Kashmir. Their family name is 'Kaul'. The family came and settled near Delhi near a 'NAHAR' (meaning Canal). Later they were called Kaul Nahar and in course of time 'Kaul' was dropped and 'Nahar' became Nehru.

Mahatma Gandhi picked out Nehru for the service of the Nation namely to free the country from the bondage of the British Raj for 200 years. If one looks at Mahatma and Pandit Nehru what a gap like a mountain and a valley. Mahatma Gandhi was born in a small village, Porbunder, (Gujarat) to an ordinary family and with great strain and obstacles he had to study and became a barrister. Whereas Panditji was born in an aristocratic and rich family and had all the comforts in life. Motilal Nehru wanted his son to know the outer world and civilisation and he sent him to London to become a barrister. Jawaharlal Nehru though academically good was more interested in reading other books, news papers etc. to have a thorough knowledge of the world event with the result he was keen on coming back to join Mahatmaj in this freedom struggle movement. He gave up his practice everything and plunged into the movement. Nehruji was though not born among the people, later, became one among them.

Well, when I recollect Panditji's face, I see the lightening smile, sparkling eyes, with a frown, taking off his Gandhi cap and scratching his head, the velvet red rose on his

'ACHKAN' and his brisk walk. Jawaharlal Nehru was a shrewd person with an insight to politics, a man who loved nature, loved children, great thinker and writer, a great parliamentarian, know where to place people and a very short tempered man but that would last only a few seconds, replaced by a beaming smile.

Though Nehru was a follower of Mahatma both their ideas and principles were at tangent. But Nehru believed in 'Satyagraha' as it was based on 'Bagavad Gita, Gandhiji was for the uplift of poorer section particularly the Harijans. He was of the view that a Nation's progress is possible only if villages progress and he was not in favour of Machines as it will throw out many from employment. But Panditji wanted for a Nation to progress, scientific advancement is necessary and he was also keen on par with other advanced countries of the world, Panditji pursued this policy during his tenure as Prime Minister and he was the architect of our scientific advancement.

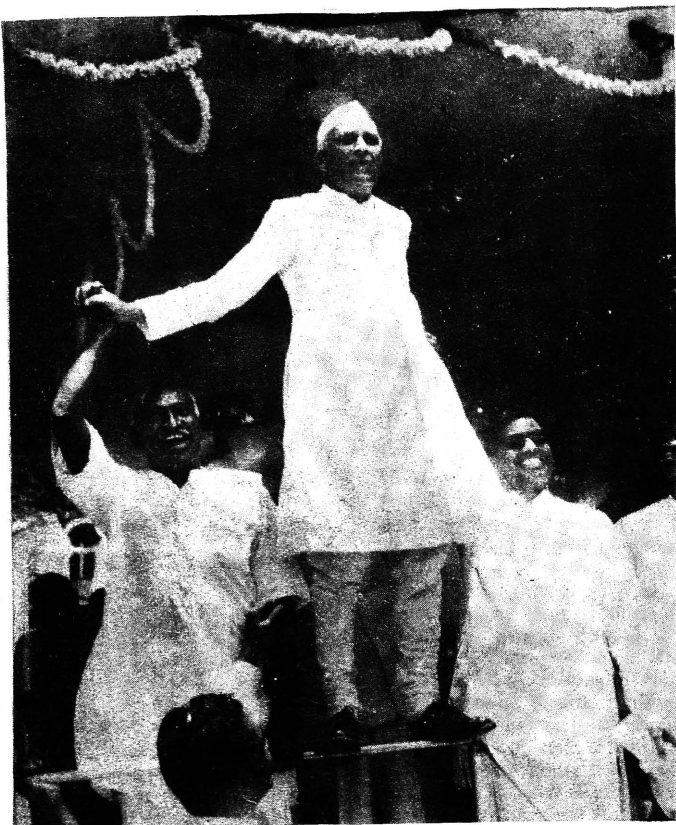
Jawaharlal Nehru was a great parliamentarian and had a quick grasp of the situation and had a tremendous presence of mind. If you have watched him from the visitors gallery, you would have seen him bending his head and occasionally lifting his head, removed his cap to scratch (a habit of him) we would be under the impression that he was not paying any attention to the proceedings of the house. There you are wrong. To justify this I would like to quote an incident. My husband late Sri G. Rajagopalan was parliamentary secretary, information and broadcasting at that time. Opposition leader Bupesh Gupta got up and said that Dr. B. V. Keskar for a question had given a wrong information. That day Keskar did



not come to the house and only my husband was there to face the situation. My husband repeatedly gave the same reply. Immediately Bupesh Gupta got up and asked whether the Ministers do not read newspapers. My husband got up and repeatedly said "We are not bothered about newspaper report, this is the fact" Bupesh Gupta looked up to the chair and said, look Chairman Ministers do not read newspapers, Nehru who was watching the whole scene got up and said "Wise people do not read 'Newspapers'. The entire house laughed including Bupesh Gupta.

Yet at another occasion of the A.I.C.C. Session held at Bombay, an important resolution was put to vote. When they counted hands it looked as though the resolution was lost. Immediately with his presence of mind Panditji came to the mike and said 'it is confusing counting hands. Those who are in favour of the resolutions sit to my right and those against move to the left. Who would dare and to go the left side. The resolution was passed unanimously. I was a witness to both the incidents.





Panditji knew where to place, whom. He never cultivated any confidants or inner circle. That was the reason the party people had awe and respect for him. It was because of this Kamaraj was made Congress President. He respected Kamaraj. When he was in power he could have sponsored Indira to any post. But he did not. That showed his humbleness.

Pandit Nehru was the architect of scientific advancement of India and was the source of inspiration for the younger scientists of our country. For example 'Trombay Atomic Plant' under Homi Baba was in the forefront. But he specifically said that it will be used only for peaceful purposes. He was the architect of HIRACUD, TUNGA-BATRA and BAKRANANGAL Projects which gave a boost to agricultural production to almost self sufficiency and electrification of the country.

Panditji acted, feeling the pulse of the people. When Hindi was intro-

duced at all India level there was massive opposition from the South particularly Tamil Nadu. Sensing the danger and to pacify the people he brought in the three language formula.

Panditji though plunged into the freedom struggle his first love was 'books'. When he was in prison he wrote to his daughter letters. "Letter from a father to his daughter". This book is really an opening window of wisdom for young boys and girls. when you read his 'Discovery of India' you would be really astounded that what memory and what vocabulary and what continuous flow of thought woven into a beautiful interesting way. In English language next to (late) Right Hon'ble V.S. Srinivasa Sastri Panditji was equal in handling the language in the proper style and manner. His thoughts, his aspirations, ambitions and his dreams are reflected in the 'Auto Biography' 'Glimpses of the World History' and 'The Discovery of India'. If Panditji had not chosen a political career he would have been one of the outstanding writers of the world.

Next love of his was to be with the children. Daily at Teen Murti he used to spend the morning hours with his two grand children and the white pandal. I bring here an incident to this angle. Once there was a tea-party at the Constitution Club for the Members. Panditji always had contacts with the members this way. My late husband Rajagopalan and myself were getting ready to go. Then our daughter Nirmala insisted on coming with us. My husband said 'You can come but not inside the Pandal' she agreed. After playing for sometime she sat on a stool outside. Nehruji always made it a point to go round as a perfect host. He saw my daughter sitting outside. He went near her and patting her cheek asked 'Did you have anything? My father had told me not to come in' she replied "who is your father to say it"? (he knew whose daughter) got hold of her hand and brought her in filled a plate and made her sit in a sofa with a beaming smile.

Once Shankar of 'Shankar's weekly' requested Panditji to write something for the children for his Annual Number. The word Children made him accept the assignment. But after second thoughts he was regretting why he accepted it. The reason he gave "When it was for children, I readily accepted it. Did I take a hasty acceptance? What to write? I love to play with children, I forget I am old and I am in their company. But when I start writing for children I feel I am old when as an elderly person I am bound to advise them which I myself don't like. So what should I write?

This is what he wrote, "If you are with me, I would have told you about this beautiful world, mountains, rivers and glaciers. You would have read a lot of fairy tales but this world itself is a 'fairy tale'. If all the children all over the world, remain children all the time how nice it will be. I hope you people to become older it will take a long time".

His other love was nature. He worshipped Nature. That was the reason he used to go incognito for ten days specially Kulu or Manali. It is in the peaceful atmosphere he reshuffled his Cabinet.

Nehru was not believer in any particular religion as he was a theoso-



phist. He did not believe in rituals that was evident when he died he had written in his will his ashes were to be sprinkled all over 'Bharat'.

Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated on 30th January in 1948 during the prayer meeting at 'Birla House', the whole nation was plunged into gloom Panditji in his broadcast on that occasion with a choked voice gave this news in the following emotional

words "FRIENDS and COMRADES, The light of Asia has gone out and there is darkness every where I do not know what to tell you, how to say it. The light has gone out, I said and yet I was wrong. For the light that shone in this country was no ordinary light. The light that illumined this country for these many years will illumine this country for many more years and thousands of years later that light will still be

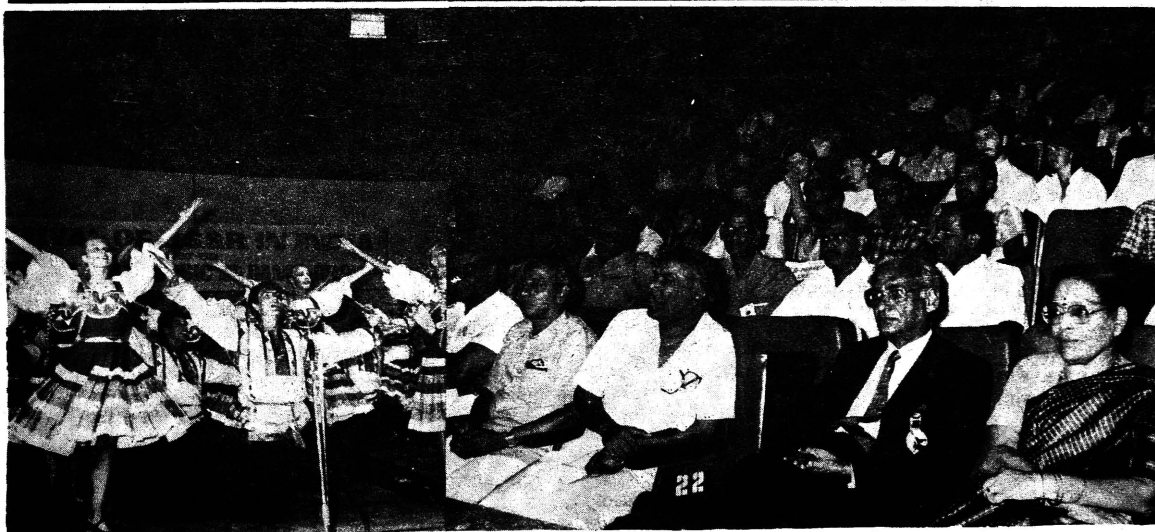
seen in this country and the world will see it and give solace to innumerable hearts".

Panditji dedicated his entire life serving the people but still like a youth he was brisk in action to the last days. What was the secret? From younger days itself horse riding (for Simla conference he was singled out for coming on a horse) besides this walking, swimming regular Yoga was his daily itineraries. He loved garden and what was evident if one had a look at 'Teen Murti'.

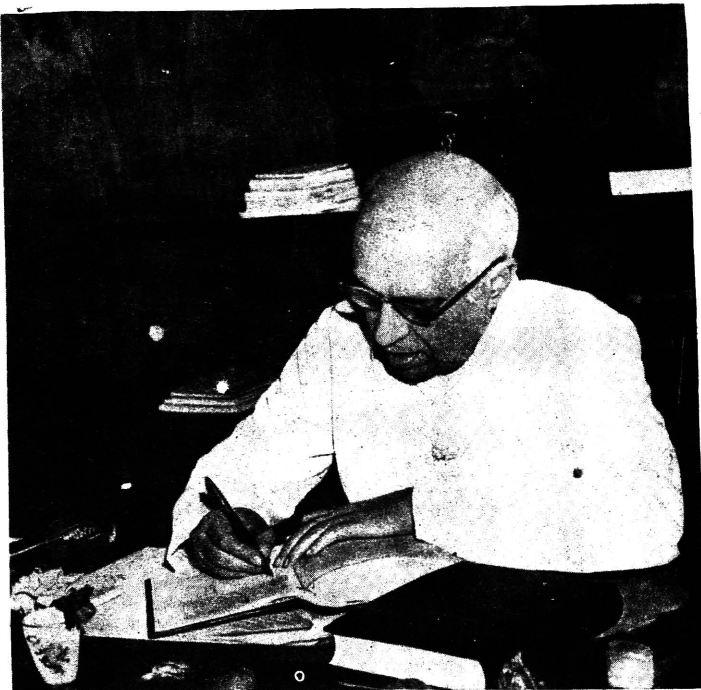
Pandit Nehru thought what he contributed to the country's progress and welfare was not the end, for he had many more things and dreams about it. That was why when he died just before that night he had scribbled on a paper.

The woods are lovely  
Dark and Deep  
But I have promises to keep  
And miles to go before I sleep  
And miles to go before I sleep  
(Robert Frost)

Panditji within a short span of life whatever he did he was not satisfied but wanted to do more whatever aspirations he had and whatever promises he had to keep and whatever dreams he had, it is the bounden duty of every patriotic citizen to strive hard to fulfill it and keep the Nation's Flag and glory atop in the world.



**His Excellency the Governor of Tamil Nadu Dr. P.C. Alexander inaugurated phase IV of the festival of U.S.S.R. on 28-10-'88 at Madras. Picture shows His Excellency witnessing the programme.**



# NEHRU THE WRITER

D. ANJANEYULU  
(President, Madras Press Club)

The whirligig of time plays tricks with the fortunes of men the greatest of them not excepted. It has a strange way of dealing with the fortunes of politicians, including the tallest of them. With every passing year after the death of Jawaharlal Nehru his image as a political leader might seem to be receding from the minds of many Indians. Long after Nehru, the Prime Minister is forgotten, Nehru the writer is likely to be remembered by future generations. We know that Churchill the historian and prose-writer has a claim on our memory while Churchill the war leader joins the rest of the heroes in the limbo of oblivion. Caesar's 'commentaries' are read by people who do not care too much for his conquests. The latter are but a few dates in the history of Europe. The former could be a cherished part of the literature of Rome.

The main point of difference between Caesar and Churchill on the one hand and Nehru on the other, cannot be overlooked any more than the resemblance. The first two were essentially men of action who took to writing for a certain purpose. Nehru was intrinsically a man of thought who had to play his role in the field of action. Temperamentally, he was an artist who was sucked into the vortex of politics, when the whole country was like a fierce sea of troubled waters. The pen, in his hands, was a brush and a sword by turns. He was not like the other busy politicians, for whom history and literature were a diversion. He poured his soul out into his writings and in the process, discovered himself in them.

To no one of the intellectuals in Indian politics could the literary

maxim "The style is the man" be more aptly applied than to Nehru. He had a speaking style too, but that was often halting, prolix and repetitious. He never seemed to be really at home in public meetings, though he was a darling of the crowds. Giving the first impression of an aggressive extrovert, jumping amidst the crowds with his flashes of temper, he was an introvert at heart, whose loneliness could not easily be penetrated. His true personality is more accurately reflected in his writings than in his political speeches and public pronouncements.

One of the earliest among his major writings was probably the *Glimpses of World History*, originally written in the form of a father's letters to his daughters" during the years 1930-33 (and first published under the latter title). Obviously



inspired by H.G.Well's *'Outlined of History'*, they have almost the same range and sweep, but not the same standard of scholarship and wealth of detail. What they lack in data and substance is more than compensated for in the intimacy of tone and warmth of feeling. Written in Jails, with no reference books ready at hand, it could not escape the criticism of being replete with vague statements and the broadest of generalisations. But Nehru's prose style does not compare unfavourably with that of Wells.

Though written earlier, and collected in book form in 1929, Nehru's impressions of Soviet Russia, came into Public view more in its reprint two decades later. A journalist in the making, he gives in them a fair and comprehensive picture of the Russian people under the new dispensation. His admiration for the personality of Lenin and faith in the destiny of the nation that had emerged under his leadership were unqualified. His summing up of the series of articles always compelling attention, assumes and added significance in the context of more recent events.

"Russia is our neighbour, a giant sprawling half over Asia and Europe and between such neighbours there can be either amity or enmity. Indifference is out of the questions".

It would not require great perspicacity to say this now. But it does to be able to say it almost six decades ago.

Every reader is sure to have his or her own preferences among the works of his favourite author. My own preference is for *An Autobiography*, among all the works of Nehru. Nor can this preference be dismissed merely as being whimsical or impulsive. It is, in many ways, the most satisfying. It is comparatively close-knit with the facts and situations in the correct perspective. The personalities are vividly drawn. There is little that is out of focus. The narrative is racy and vibrant, the descriptions are graphic. The evocation of scenes attain a poetic quality as in his response to the cherished hills and dales of Kashmir.

Memories of the Roman figure of his father, leonine, larger-than life

provide some of the finest passages. The incident of his holiday in Ceylon is full of tenderness and pathos of the most poignant sort, He writes—

"I found it difficult to realise that he had gone. Three months later, I was in Ceylon with my wife and daughter and we were spending a few quiet and restful days at Nuwariya. I liked the place and it struck me suddenly that it would suit my father. Why not send for him? He must be tired out and rest would do him good. I was on the point of sending a telegram to Allahabad.

Nehru was not particularly known for his sense of humour. The prevailing mood of the *Autobiography* is serious and the tone rather elevated. But there are quite a few instances, of urbane wit and gentle humour finding expression in sarcasm and irony, as in his reference to the British Jail Superintendent, a worthy colonel, rising high in official status, who had left the reading habit behind with the school.

Unlike some Indian autobiographers, Nehru's is not merely a personal account of his life. It is the history of a generation and the portrait of a nation. The different strands of his eventful life are skillfully interwoven with those of the nation in torment and the world in turmoil. And it makes an integral whole artistic in its total impact (proving the *gestalt* theory). There is an admirable fusing of the subjective and the objective elements in this, the subjective self always coming to terms with the world of objective reality. For all his participation



in the national upsurges and international convulsions, Nehru is introspective like a philosophic recluse in the woods.

Some of these qualities are present in the *Discovery of India* too, though in a somewhat diffused form. It gives a panoramic view of the cavalcade of Indian history from a refreshingly personal angle. The authors' vision of India attains a lyrical beauty, as in this passage :

"About her there is the elusive quality of a legend of long ago; some enchantment seems to have held her mind. She is a myth and an idea, a dream and vision and yet very real and present and pervasive. There are terrifying glimpses, of dark corridors, which seem to lead back to a primeval right, but also there is the fullness and warmth of the day about her.

Alongwith the poetic quality, Nehru gives ample evidence of dispassionate analysis. This was best seen in his famous self-portrait (under the pseudonym, '*Chanakya*') first published in *The Modern Review*. The ability to look at himself through the eyes of other people marks out Nehru the journalist as well as Nehru the writer. There was the less famous but equally revealing anecdote of his visit to Bura Banki in the course of this whirlwind tour of U.P. The then editor of the *National Herald* was pleasantly surprised the next morning to come across a report, which read rather differently from the handiwork of a mofussil correspondent. On calling for the copy from the press, he was confronted with a report, almost word-perfect, scrawled in the familiar Nehru hand!

The famous will and testament, with the lofty invocation to the Ganga, is not only an example of noble impulse but of inspired draftmanship. The last lines that he overpenned, on the writing pad on his table were of course quoted from Robert Frost. But they reflect the poetic instinct of Nehru as well. It is easy now for critics, all and sundry, to find fault with his plans and policies. But it must be less easy to pick holes in the prose of a writer with poetry in his soul and fire in his blood.



## Jawaharlal Nehru -The Socialist

Dr. S. VIJAYALAKSHMI,  
M.A., M.Litt., Ph.D.,

Various strands of Socialist thought contributed to the making of Jawaharlal Nehru 'the Socialist'. Nehru was perhaps the earliest to campaign for socialism in this country during the struggle for independence. Nehru not only ceaselessly campaigned for socialism, he was far ahead of his time to envisage the building of a socialist system in India.

While in England as a student, Nehru, was much exposed to Fabian Socialist literature. It was said that once Nehru purchased a book by Keir Hardie for his father. Bernard Shaw inspired

him and impressed him most. It is of absorbing interest to trace the genesis of Nehru's new (Socialist) orientation in his intellectual activity. Nehru himself admits in his autobiography that his "whole outlook was entirely bourgeois". His close contact with the mass of peasantry, oppressed by feudal forces and horrible conditions of labour in factories, in the course of his long tours and wanderings changed his entire outlook. He wrote: "a new picture of India seems to arise before me, naked starving, crushed and utterly miserable". He realised that the true remedy lay in the reordering of the old social system.

Nehru's interest in economic and social questions of the day was profoundly roused by his reading of Marxist literature and the History of the Russian Revolution of 1917, during this days of imprisonment in 1922-23. An admirer of Lenin, Nehru's brief visit to Soviet Union in November 1927, in the company of his father and other members of his family had great impact on his thinking. Since his visit to Soviet Russia, Nehru's expression and his written word began to acquire a radical stance. Returning from Soviet Union in time for the AICC session at Madras in December (1927), Nehru chose to give

socialist orientation to the resolutions of the session. Since then, "his main preoccupation was to spread the ideology of Socialism".

Nehru's writings and his various utterances on Socialism since 1929 and in the subsequent years bore evidence to the fact that he was fully convinced and was firm in his conclusion that "the only perspective the national movement could have is that of socialism". He relentlessly worked hard to make congress agree to socialist programme.

From 1929 onwards, with Nehru becoming the spoken person of the Congress, Congress Committees both at the national and state levels began to have socialistic approach, demanding measures for reduction in inequalities in society, removal of poverty, amelioration of the poor and the socio-economic reform to bring about improvement in the standard of living of the common people. At this instance and under his direction, several provincial congress conferences made recommendations and adopted resolutions distinctively on socialistic line, some of which included far reaching land reforms, partial annulment of debt, state control of means of production and distribution and reduction in disparities in income.

In 1929 at the Lahore session of the Congress, while declaring 'Poorna Swaraj' as the objective of the Congress, Nehru observed in his presidential address that "he was no believer in "Kings and Princes", nor "in a system that produced Kings of Industry", and that he was a socialist and a republican". This pronouncement became significant. His presidential address at Lahore Congress was an attack on imperialism and vested interest. "To maintain 'status quo' he declared would mean allowing exploitation and injustice to continue as they were". He called for a change in land laws, minimum wages for workers in the fields and factories, organisation of industries on co-operative basis and similar radical economic programmes. That this statement was not mere words was proved by the resolution adopted 15 months later, at the Karachi Congress in 1931, which embodied some of Nehru's socialist ideas.

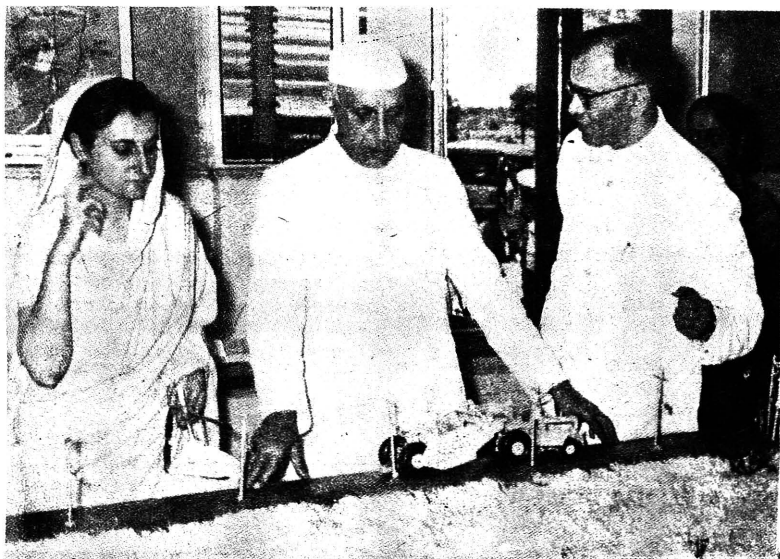
By 1931 when the Indian National Congress held its session at Karachi, Nehru's socialist thinking had reached a definite stage. It was in that session a resolution on "Fundamental Rights and Economic Programme" was adopted. The resolution said;

"In order to eradicate exploitation of the masses, political freedom must include economic freedom of the starving millions. The state shall own and control key industries and services, mineral resources, railways, waterways, shipping and other means of public transport."

The Karachi session was a major step forward in the socialist direction

approach. Independence and socialist state were becoming the twin objectives of Nehru's thought.

The Congress Socialist Group came to be founded by a group of radical Congressmen serving their term of imprisonment in Nazik prison in 1934-35. The founders included senior congressmen like Acharya Narendra Dev, Dr. Sampurnanand, Jaya Prakash Narayan and other leading Socialists. The objective of this group was to "resuscitate and invigorate" the congress and make it more socialist-oriented and to draw mass of peasants and workers into it. Ideologically Nehru was closest to this group; but at times, he disagreed with their mode of functioning.



and also in the direction of broadening of the Congress programme, beyond the goal of purely political independence for which Nehru alone was responsible. Commenting on the Karachi resolution, Nehru observed, that "it was a short step in the socialist direction". Karachi resolution appears to have shocked the vested interest and caused much distress to few senior congress men too. In fact in 1930s Nehru emerged as the greatest protagonist and populariser of socialism in India. The year following Karachi session of the Congress witnessed further development, elaboration and clearer exposition of Nehru's economic conception and socialist

At Lucknow Congress in 1936, Nehru declared: "I am convinced that the only key to the solution of the world's problems and that of India's problem lies in Socialism. He emphatically stated that he used the word "not in a vague humanitarian way but in the scientific economic sense". "I see, he further clarified no way of ending the poverty and the vast unemployment, the degradation and the subjection of the Indian people, except through socialism. While uttering these words, Nehru was aware of the fact that the socialist policy, he was advocating, would involve vast and far reaching revolutionary changes in political, economic and social structure, ending





of vested interest and private property except in a restricted form". He called for structural changes and ushering in of "a new system and a new civilization". He was fully aware and quite conscious of the innate qualities of capitalist structure and had exposed them in his numerous speeches and writing on many occasions as a system based on violence and exploitation of man by man.

The process of industrialisation and agricultural development conceived by him, Nehru realised, needed most careful economic planning. He spoke of the indispensability and values of economic planning. Writing in 1937 in an article, he observed, that "It seems to me that the only way to solve outstanding Indian problems is to have an all embracing Planning system of Indian economy dealing with the land, industry - big scale and village and social services."

Since 1938 one could see Nehru's socialist propagation undergoing change. From being theoretical and intellectual, his socialist ideas had begun to acquire new dimension. In 1938, Subhas Chandra Bose, as Congress President, appointed Nehru the Chairman of the National Planning Committee of the Indian National Congress. This afforded an opportunity to him to view planning as an essential tool to bring in structural changes in the existing

social order and to usher in a new socialist system with public sector acquiring the position of ascendance. His association with the Planning Committee for a year and half provided him better understanding of India's economic problems and solution to the same.

Despite Nehru's historic vision, farsightedness, his ceaseless reiteration of the basic objectives of radical socio-economic restructuring of the prevailing social structure, his (Nehru) critics saw in him in later years, "vacillation and hesitation in his attitude".

But Nehru had certain limitations while functioning as the spokesperson of the National Congress and also campaigning for socialism. As years advanced, Nehru had become less doctrinaire and more pragmatic in his approach. He was aware of the multi-class character of the Congress organisation that he was leading. "The congress had been in the past a broad front representing various opinions joined together", observed Nehru. Every section counted in the battle against imperialism. "It represents bewildering variety of opinion", said Nehru once. Conceived for the purpose of leading the country in the battle against British Imperialism, with the avowed object of ending colonial rule, he was keen that such an anti-imperialist national front like Congress was not to be weakened due to ideological differences or by forcing

the issue of socialism. Achieving political sovereignty was the foremost task. Emphasising this aspect Nehru observed:

"We talk a great deal of socialism and we should talk a great deal about it; but it is obvious that in order to have socialism in this country, we must have political power in our hands. We cannot have socialism under the British Government. This is an absurdity. Therefore it is essential for us to have freedom and independence in this country before we can give effect to any socialistic principle. Therefore we must not, in talking vaguely of socialism, forget the struggle for independence in this country.

(Address to railway workers, Perambur, Madras, 6th Oct. 1936)

Despite his exposure to Fabian Socialism as a student in Cambridge and to Marxist ideology later, Nehru imbibed, as Gandhi's outstanding disciple, the ethical principle of his master, insisting on means and ends, even though he was not afraid of violence or a violent revolution. He knew that the owners of property would not easily yield. "If we could avoid violence, nothing like that" - he said. In this context, Nehru could hardly imagine a situation in India, when he could break away from Gandhiji or defy his leadership and thus disrupt the anti-imperialist national front against

the colonial power for the sake of his socialist belief. He knew that others may not win the same mass support which only Gandhiji could. He was convinced that Gandhiji's leadership alone could lead the independence struggle to a successful culmination.

Nehru while asserting that socialist analysis helped people to understand conditions everywhere, Nehru often insisted that each country had to decide about the pace and method of advance to realisation of socialism. Nehru's thinking on Socialism has to be understood in the context of India's situation, as applicable to Indian conditions.

In this connection he observed:

"I am only telling you that socialism when it is applied to India, will have, I think, to fall within the wide frame-work of socialistic

theory. The manner of its application, the speed of its application and the measures for its application, will, however, have to depend on Indian conditions. They will have to depend on Indian industrial conditions, Indian cultural conditions and to some extent, on what may be called the genius of the Indian people. All these will have to be taken together.

Nehru's speech at Madras on 8-10-1936.

One could witness the efforts put in by Nehru as the first Prime Minister in the post independence era and during the early years of Republican India, with the avowed object of establishing an economically strong and self-sufficient India through planning and radical policies and programmes. He sought to give economic content to newly won political independence. His thinking and all his efforts were directed toward that goal.

The resolution on 'socialistic Pattern of Society' at Avadi Session, in 1955 and the resolution in 1964 at Bhubaneswar Session are the indications that the Architect of Modern India was out to fulfill his commitment to Socialism. One witnessed the scene being laid for the radical transformation of India's stagnant economy, envisaging a pattern of development that would lead India towards establishing some of the fundamental features of a socialist structure.

The Nation celebrates Jawaharlal Nehru's Centenary. On this occasion it is important to remember that through his voluminous writings and speeches and policy instrument, Nehru strove hard to give us a Vision of New India that he wished to build. That is the greatest of his contributions to the people of India. We must rededicate ourselves for the realisation of that Vision.

## ENGLISH LANGUAGE

"We have to develop this country through the languages of the people. You may have English. But the real thing to develop the people is through their own language, which they understand, to which they have an emotional response. I am for English being used for higher scientific and technological studies, but I think, even to spread knowledge of science in our schools, we must teach it widely through the national language."

(April, 1963)

## DEVELOPMENT AND PROGRESS.

"India is an ancient country. We have to maintain the age old traditions. At the same time, we should not lag behind other countries in the scientific and technological spheres. We cannot ride motor cars with a bullock-cart mentality."

(March, 1963).

"Slow-moving methods must give way to a Faster tempo of work both in agriculture and industry if our country has to become strong."

(March, 1963)

## WAR

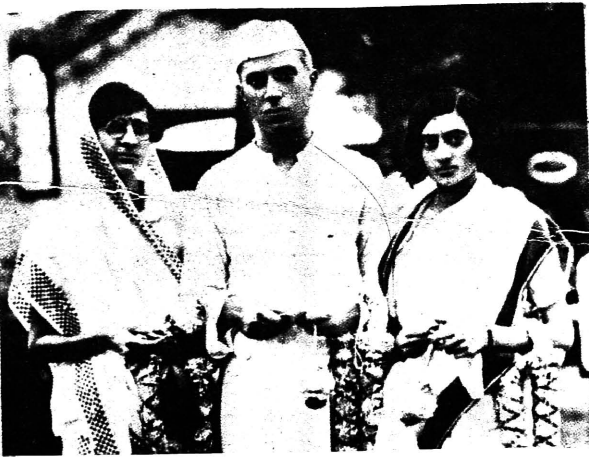
"War must be eliminated not only from life, but also from the consciousness of men—from people's minds."

"War will not be fought only on the battle-fronts. We have to fight it in the fields and factories, even in our schools and colleges."



# Nehru on Women's Emancipation

PROF. PREMA PANDURANGAN



Jawaharlal Nehru, the multi-faceted personality, is the most fascinating figure of our century in India. He was the co-architect of India's freedom, with Gandhiji. Not only was he the fighter of India's freedom but also the great builder of modern India, on scientific and rational lines. C. Rajagopalachari called him 'the most civilised person among us'. Gandhiji spoke of him in glowing terms; "In bravery, he is not surpassed, who can excel him in the love of the country?.... He is pure as a crystal, he is truthful beyond suspicion.... The nation is safe in his hands."

Nehru's view on woman and her position in society finds candid expression in his writings and his speeches. In "The Discovery of India"—he records with great thrill and pride the events that brought Indian women into the forefront of India's political scene.

"Most of us menfolk were in prison. And then a remarkable thing happened. Our women came to the front and took charge of the struggle. Women had always been there of course, but now there was an avalanche of them, which took not only the British Government but their own menfolk by surprise. Here were these women, women of the upper or middle classes, leading sheltered lives in their homes, peasant women, working class women, rich women, poor women, pouring out in their tens of thousands in defiance of government order and police lathi. It was not only that display of courage and daring, but

what was even more surprising was the organizational power they showed".

Never can I forget the thrill that came to us in Naini Prison when news of this reached us, the enormous pride in the women of India that filled us. We could hardly talk about all this among ourselves for our hearts were full and our eyes were dim with tears.

My father had joined us later in Naini Prison and he told us much that we did not know. He had been functioning outside as the leader of the civil disobedience movement and he had encouraged in no way these aggressive activities of the women all over the country. He disliked, in his paternal and some what old-fashioned way, young women and old messing about in the streets under the hot sun of summer and coming into conflict with the police. But he realized the temper of the people and did not discourage any one, not even his wife and daughters and daughter-in-law. He told us how he had been agreeably surprised to see the energy, courage and ability displayed by women all over the country. Of the girls of his own household he spoke with affectionate pride

Nehru believed in the emancipation of women and he made no fuss about giving it unequivocal expression too. In the same book, Nehru mentioned the legal position of women according to Manu

"The Legal position of women, according to Manu, the earliest

exponent of law, was definitely bad. They were always dependent on somebody—on the father, the husband, or the son. Almost they were treated in law as chattels. And yet from the numerous stories in the epics this law was not applied very rigidly and they held on honoured place in the home and in society. The old law giver, Manu, himself says: 'Where women are honoured, the gods dwell.' There is no mention of women students at Taxila or any of the old universities. But some of them did function as students somewhere for there is repeated mention of learned and scholarly women. In later ages also there were a number of eminent women scholars. Bad as the legal position of women was in ancient India, judged by modern standards, it was far better than in ancient Greece, Rome, early Christianity, the Canon Law of medieval Europe, and indeed till right up to comparatively modern times at the beginning of the nineteenth century."

There is a deep human commitment in his statements and one discovers the basic humanist in him. He is for a respectable dignified and equal-to-man treatment for women. He does not forget the saying of Manu—Yatra naryastu pujayante tatre ramante Devatah !

Nehru believed with conviction that women have a great role to play in society. Education being the main sustenance for a civilised society, was to be thrown open to Women too. In one of his speeches made in Madras in 1955, he makes it clear that women's education is



not a concession, it is theirs by right, contributing to the welfare of society and the country.

"Truly no argument is required in defence of women's education. For my part, I have always been strongly of the opinion that while it may be possible to neglect men's education it is not possible or desirable to neglect women's education. The reasons are obvious. If you educate the women, probably men will also be affected thereby, and in any event children will be affected. For every educationist knows that the formative years of a persons' life are the first seven or eight years. We talk about schools, and colleges which are no doubt important, but a person is more or less made in the first ten years of his or her life. Obviously, in that period, it is the mother who counts most of all. Therefore the mother who has been well trained in various ways becomes essential to education. Most mothers, trained otherwise, I regret to say, are not good mothers. They are too soft. They stuff their children with all kinds of eatables, put too many clothes on them, wrap their necks and heads and ears with all kinds of woollen apparel and make the body or girl almost an imbecile before he or she grows up. Therefore, it is necessary for women to be educated, if not for themselves, at any rate for their children..."

According to Nehru, the education of women makes for sane children and sober children. The woman who rocks the cradle can also light the lamp of learning. She is not a chattel a kitchen maid; she is the builder of personalities, the bedrock of faith and culture and the Indian tradition.

Talking about women's occupation Nehru felt that the modern woman is capable of taking up

#### OUR REPORTER RECEIVES AWARD FOR CHILDREN'S LITERATURE.

The Association of writers for children had awarded the Silver Medal donated by AVM Trust for children's literature in Tamil for the manuscript copy of "Innai Illa Manithar A.V.M." to Thiru P.V. Giri, Reporter, Tamil Arasu Journal.

P.V. Giri, an eminent writer, and a journalist, had earlier won the UNESCO's Certificate for children's literature, the Gold Medal for the AVM Trust, the first prize awarded by the Tamil Nadu Government, he has also won the National Award, and the award for excellence in journalism given by the VGP Trust.

certain position in offices. Had he lived on, he would be pleased to see several high offices held efficiently by women in India, the highest being the prime Ministership, which his esteemed daughter Tmt. Indira Gandhi held with aplomb and dynamism.

Nehru's views on women and their emancipation are clear and precise. He does not throw overboard tradition nor does he accept orthodoxy blindly. As the sagacious poet Kalidasa wanted, he too desires an admirable amalgamation of the best of the new and the best of the old. According to him, the Indian woman is not to be in purdah, nor is she to be an unfeminine creature seeking a brash equality with man. For him the Indian

women is basically feminine, gentle, tender, sensitive and traditional in the wholesome sense of the term without which she is no woman at all

"Women in India have played an important part in our social life and in our history. They have played this part in every branch of national activity, from high learning to valour on the battlefield. But it is their unobtrusive work in the household, in the village or in the larger community, that has moulded the nation.

They are essentially feminine, and that is as it should be. But then I have always felt that India, for all her manly qualities, is specially noted for the feminine virtues, gentleness, tenderness, a certain patient resignation and a quiet and sometimes amazing courage of a somewhat passive kind."

Nehru believed that the greatest revolution in a country is the one that affects the status and living conditions of its women. He records with admiration and enthusiasm the impact Gandhiji made on women's life in India.

"It was Gandhiji, that wonderful man and great revolutionary, who brought a dramatic change among our women, when at his bidding they came out in large numbers from the shelter of their homes to take their part in the struggle for India's freedom. Once the old shackles were removed, it was no longer possible to replace them in the same way. Attempts were no doubt made to goback, but they were bound to fail."

Nehru was a sensitive writer, a zealous patriot, a prince by birth, a democrat by conviction, a believer in values, a modernist in attitude, an Indian at heart, a humanist in outlook. He believed that education would affect women in India but not the essential characteristics of India's women.

In conclusion one remembers the Lord in the Gita, remarking about His immanence in feminine qualities.

"Among women, I am fame, prosperity, speech, memory, intelligence, firmness and forgiveness."

#### RELIGION

"Religion is something more than ritual. It is almost synonymous with duty. Conceptions of duty change with the times. Those who do not meet the demands of the age in which they live lag behind."



# The Leaders of Tomorrow

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU



*Nehru loved humanity especially children.*

Children's bright eyes and innocent faces always held a fascination for him, because they held so much promise for the future. Children all over the world, appear outwardly different in many ways, speaking different languages, wearing different kinds of clothes and yet are so very like one another. If you bring them together, they play or quarrel. But even their quarrel is some kind of play. They do not think of differences amongst themselves, differences of class or caste or colour or status. They are wiser than their fathers and mothers. As they grow, unfortunately their natural wisdom is often eclipsed by the teaching and behaviour of their elders. At school they learn many things which are no doubt useful but they gradually forget that the essential thing is to be human and kind and playful and to make life richer for ourselves and others.

I try to study the millions of faces I see wherever I go and I have seen a good proportion of India's vast population. Although I see them in crowds and in groups, I look into their eyes and try to read what lies behind those eyes. I do this, especially when I meet young men and women, because I am deeply concerned with the future of India which they represent to me.

The future of this country ultimately depends on her young men and women, most of whom are in colleges and universities today. I am very anxious to find out what stuff they are made of. They are large in number; but what really counts, if our country is to progress, is the quality of our human material. The future of India does not depend on her numbers or even on her past, except in so far as the future grows out of the present and the present grows out of the past. It is possible for a country to make progress to some extent even with people of mediocre quality. India has a large number of them. Obviously that is not enough. If a great country like India is to be greater, it is essential for her to have men and women who must be more than mediocre. We produced men and women of quality in the past. Subsequently, however, that quality seemed to have worn off and we became a nation that more or less lived on its inheritance. Of course, nothing is more advantageous and more creditable than a rich heritage; but nothing is more dangerous for a nation than to sit back and live on that heritage. A nation cannot progress if it merely imitates its ancestors; what builds a nation is creative, inventive, and vital activity.

To the youth of the country I would make a special appeal for they are the leaders of tomorrow and on them will be cast the burden of upholding India's honour and freedom.

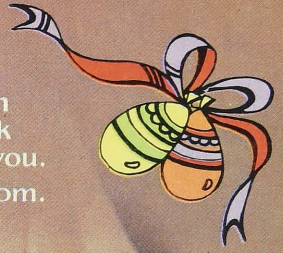
My generation is a passing one and soon we shall hand over the bright torch of India, which embodies her great and eternal spirit, to younger hands and stronger arms. May they hold it aloft, undimmed and untarnished so that its light reaches every home and brings faith and courage and well being to our masses.

There is a time for work and a time for play, just as there is a time for laughter and there is a time for tears. And today is the time for work in this nation.



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