

PLACE IN RETURN BOX
 to remove this checkout from your record.
TO AVOID FINES return on or before date due.

DATE DUE	DATE DUE	DATE DUE
APR 22 1999		
NOV 29 2010		
0411 11		

A COMPARISON OF THE IMAGES OF GANDHI
AND NEHRU IN AMERICA AND INDIA:
A STUDY IN CONTENT ANALYSIS

by

Ramchandra Desai

AN ABSTRACT

Submitted to the School for Advanced Graduate Studies of
Michigan State University of Agriculture and Applied Science
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Division of Social Science

1960

Approved by J. W. Shinn

Gandhi and Nehru, the two Indian leaders whose images are the central topic of the present study, held unique positions in India and their names are familiar to many educated persons all over the world. Most Americans as well as many Indians have met neither Gandhi nor Nehru, yet they do carry in their minds images of these leaders. We have in this piece of research attempted a comparison of the images of Gandhi and Nehru as reflected in the writings of the American and Indian writers, from 1947 to 1957. The leadership role of the two Indian leaders is examined cross-culturally through images. Why do Americans and Indians perceive Gandhi and Nehru the way they do? Do the images fluctuate? Why? What aspects of Gandhi and Nehru's leadership role are emphasized by American and Indian writers?

In response to these questions we have formulated certain hypotheses. Insofar as our research required analysis of fluctuations, periodicals were the most ideal instruments for collecting data.

The fluctuations in favorable and unfavorable images of a leader in another country depend upon the extent of agreement existing between the governments of the two countries. When a leader is dynamically associated with the policy making process of his government, his images in another country are often the result of his policies - that is to say, that should these policies be compatible to the interested country, he will be looked upon favorably. Our data clearly showed that the images of Nehru in American periodicals were directly related to his political utterances and policies affecting the position of the American government of those issues. We have also shown that during years 1951, 1953 and 1955 Nehru's policies consistently collided with the American Government's policies - hence, he was viewed in an unfavorable light.

Yet the above finding that the differences in the policies of the two

governments will result in the unfavorable image of their leaders, is by no means an absolute. Gandhi, for example, implies universality. He is looked upon favorably in both the countries during the period under examination.

We have established in the present study that the sources of American and Indian writer's images are independent of each other. We have shown that during the years 1950 and 1955 Nehru had relatively unfavorable images in America but enjoyed favorable images in India. In 1951 he had unfavorable images in both countries. Americans criticized Nehru for his non-alignment foreign policy, while Indians criticized Nehru because he had undertaken to reform some of the centuries old features of the Hindu society. In 1957, Americans praised Nehru because they came to realize his importance in Asia as well as his devotion to democracy. Indians hailed him because he integrated the Indian held part of Kashmir into the Indian Union.

We also found that both American and Indian writers emphasize personal attributes such as courageous, sincere and hypocrite more than the political attributes. Since Gandhi and Nehru are political leaders, we had expected that writers would emphasize political attributes more than the personal attributes.

We have explained in the present study that images and facts may or may not correspond but at least an outward sign, act, or appearance is necessary to offer some basis for the formation of images. The images of India in America as 'moralist,' 'spiritual advisor,' or 'a kind of prophet' may well be attributed to the leadership role of Gandhi. Leaders, as the spokesman of a group, help to popularize the image of that group. India's images as a 'moralistic' and spiritual leader apparently derives from the emphasis that Gandhi put upon religious and moral tenets: this was compatible with his insistence on raising political activities to spiritual levels.

**A COMPARISON OF THE IMAGES OF GANDHI
AND NEHRU IN AMERICA AND INDIA:
A STUDY IN CONTENT ANALYSIS**

by
Ramchandra Desai

A THESIS

**Submitted to the School for Advanced Graduate Studies of
Michigan State University of Agriculture and Applied Science
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Division of Social Science

1960

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The author wishes to express his gratitude to Dr. Iwao Ishino of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and Dr. Ralph Goldman of the Political Science Department for their patient guidance on the thesis and many helpful suggestions during the preparation of the manuscript.

He is also greatly indebted to Mr. Simon Greenfield whose patient editorial efforts improved this work immeasurably.

Special gratitude goes to Dr. Harry H. Kimber for counsel and assistance throughout his graduate program.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	1
A. Purpose of the Study.	3
B. Image as the Basic Concept.	13
Functional Role of Images in Human Behavior	17
Image vs. Reality	19
C. Organization of the Remainder of the Thesis	20
II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	23
A. The Concept of Image	23
B. Impressionistic Studies	27
C. Methodological Studies	31
D. Summary	41
E. Development of Hypothesis	42
III. METHODS AND PROCEDURES	46
A. Selection of Techniques	46
B. Universe	50
C. Significance of Written Words and Their Relation to Images	52
D. Selection of the Word Image	55
E. Limitation of Our Data.	57
F. Favorable, Unfavorable and Neutral Images	58

Chapter	Page
The	
IV. / NEHRU IMAGE	66
A. Most Frequent Images of Nehru in America	69
B. Most Frequent Images of Nehru in India	72
Generalizations.	73
C. Commentator's Interpolations	74
D. Trend Analysis of the Image of Nehru in India and America.	76
Images of Nehru in America and India During the Years 1950 and 1955.	79
The Nehru Image During the Year 1955	85
The Nehru Image During the Year 1951	90
The Nehru Image During the Year 1957	95
E. Commentator's Interpolations	101
Area of Agreement.	101
Political Events and Images.	102
The Transformed Image.	103
V. THE GANDHI IMAGE.	105
A. Most Frequent Images of Gandhi in America.	108
B. Most Frequent Images of Gandhi in India	109
C. Commentator's Interpolations	111
D. The Gandhi Image in America	112
E. The Gandhi Image in India	116
F. The Commentator's Interpolations	119
VI. CONCLUSION	121
A. Image Studies are Important.	121
B. Leaders and Images	122

Chapter	Page
C. Important Findings and their Significance	123
D. Suggestions for Further Research	126
APPENDIX I	128
APPENDIX II	151
APPENDIX III.	154
APPENDIX IV	155
APPENDIX V	156
APPENDIX VI	157
APPENDIX VII.	158
APPENDIX VIII	159
APPENDIX IX	160
APPENDIX X	161
APPENDIX XI	162
APPENDIX XII	175
APPENDIX XIII	177
APPENDIX IVX	183
ELELIOGRAPHY	185

LIST OF CHARTS

Chart	Page
Trend Chart Showing Yearly Fluctuations of Favorable and Unfavorable Images of Nehru from 1947-57.	
One American Magazines	77
Two Indian Magazines	77

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
I. List of Books, Magazines and Articles Used in the study.	51
II. Favorable, Unfavorable and Neutral Images of Nehru in American and Indian Books and Periodicals	67
III. Predominant Images of Nehru in America	70
IV. Predominant Images of Nehru in India	72
V. Personal, Leadership, Political and Status Attributes Ascribed by American and Indian Writers(Nehru)	73
VI. Favorable, Unfavorable and Neutral Images of Gandhi in American and Indian Periodicals and Books	106
VII. Predominant Images of Gandhi in America	108
VIII. Predominant Images of Gandhi in India	109
IX. Personal, Leadership, Political and Status Attributes Ascribed by American and Indian Writers (Gandhi)	110

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A large part of the human behavior is governed by images.

"What you think you see in a person," said Alistair Cooke, the veteran journalist, "is more important than what is actually there."¹ The misconceptions which constitute what people think they see can strangle relations between countries like the United States and Russia, and can put the whole world in mortal danger. Take, for example, the popular image of communism in the United States at the present time: to an average American, communism is the most cruel and ruthless of all political ideologies. The United States perceives itself as insecure and hence increases its armaments. By doing so, it seeks to increase the image of its own security. The favorable image of the Soviet Union which the Indian leaders formed during the struggle for national freedom continues to wield an uncommon influence on the present policies of the government of India.² In international relations, the symbolic image of a nation is of extraordinary importance. Political images of leaders, parties, and labor unions are likewise guiding factors in determining an individual's attitude toward them.

Indeed the creation of a symbolic image of a nation, national leader or religion, is almost unavoidable. Images represent one way of

¹ Michigan State News, Vol. 50, No. 116 (January 21, 1959), p. 1.

² Chatter Singh Samara, Soviet Interests in India (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1959), p. 237.

conceptualizing some very complex phenomena. In Islam, for instance, the symbol of the Mosque or of the Prophet has exercised an enormous evocative power through the centuries, because these symbolic images summarize a whole attitude of life and a value system of the Moslems. An ordinary person can only bear a certain degree of complexity. To know Gandhi, for example, in his multirole as a religious person, a social reformer, a family man, and a political leader, and to perceive his views on economics, the American Negro problem, or Untouchables of India becomes impossible for an average writer as well as for his readers. When this complexity becomes unfathomable, individuals, in general, normally retreat into symbolic images. Susanne Langer, commenting on the role of symbols in human behavior, says:

This basic need which certainly is obvious only in man is his need of symbolization. The symbol-making function is one of man's primary activities, like eating, looking, or moving about. It is the fundamental process of the mind, and goes on all the time.³

Many would be content knowing Gandhi merely as "The Father of the Indian Nation," "The Great Soul," or "The Naked Hindu Fakir." Hence images are essential to one's ability to see and to assess things and people alien to one's native environment.⁴ Thus, images are subjective knowledge on which most people base their attitude toward a given leader, political party, or nation. As Leighton insists:

³Susanne Langer, Philosophy in a New Key, quoted in S. I. Hayakawa, Language in Thought and Action (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1949), p. 14. Also quoted in O. L. Reiser, The Integration of Human Knowledge (Boston: Porter Sargent Publisher, 1958), p. 87.

⁴Functional value of images in human behavior has been discussed in detail in the section dealing with "The Definition of Image."

. . . the people of one nation--and the United States is no exception--harbor stereotyped images of other nations, starkly simple and exceedingly inaccurate. Yet these images are the basis upon which people feel for or against other nations, interpret their behavior as villainous or good, judge their actions, and judge what they themselves as a nation should do in relation to others. It follows, of course, that the images are false; the resulting course of action can hardly ever be adequate.⁵

Interpretation of the analysis of images results in recognizing cause and effect relationship. This analytical interpretation can prove to be of some value for appraising Gandhi and Nehru and for eliminating misconceptions about the two leaders. Such an analysis may be equally applicable to India.

A. Purpose of the Study

In this piece of research we intend to examine the images of Gandhi and Nehru by way of leadership phenomena. The constituents that go to make up leadership phenomena embrace a number of things. In the interest of brevity and specificity we feel obligated to break leadership phenomena down into four major components: personal attributes, political attributes, leadership role attributes, and status recognition. Until collective research datum is available for analysis, there is nothing concrete enough to merit manipulation. Only after enough data are accumulated will a coherent conceptual framework of leadership phenomena emerge. The exploration of the images of the two Indian leaders involves two aspects: first, most predominant images may indicate the representative dimensions of the leadership role of Gandhi

⁵A. H. Leighton, Human Relations in a Changing World (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1949), p. 106.

and Nehru; second, they may also indicate the character of acceptance by followers.

Studies similar to the one on hand provide a cross-cultural insight into the elements that make up leadership patterns in given countries. It is becoming expedient among political leaders to create favorable images of their leadership roles abroad.⁶ The creation of favorable images in foreign countries has tended to enhance popularity status at home. The following passage from an article by James Reston of the New York Times furthers the point:

Prime Minister Macmillan of Britain is demonstrating the modern way to win elections His theme is the old theme, peace and prosperity, but his route is different: not the little towns at home, but the great capitals—London, Paris, Bonn, Moscow, and Washington

Macmillan may or may not manage to find a just accommodation of allies and Soviet differences in his current trip; but even if he doesn't, the image of the British Prime Minister flying about the world trying to settle international differences is probably the most effective campaign asset he has.⁷

It is generally recognized that Nehru's popularity abroad enhanced his popularity at home. The present study of the images of Gandhi and Nehru in the works of American writers may help Indian leaders to know what factors make Indian leaders popular and unpopular in America.

⁶A member of the French diplomatic corp was at pains to observe that, ". . . Americans campaign from Krushchev's office." See C. K. Sulzberger, "Europe and Our Electoral Campaign," New York Times, December 30, 1959, p. 20. Sulzberger further states, "Several leading Democratic aspirants have also made a habit of touring the globe. Adlai Stevenson went to Europe, Asia, and Africa. Senator Symington . . . reviewed foreign policy questions with African and European statesmen. Senator Humphrey virtually started his campaign by a marathon interview with Krushchev. Senator Kennedy journeyed earlier." Ibid., p. 20.

⁷James Reston, "A New Way to Win Elections," New York Times, Section 4E, March 28, 1959, p. 8.

Likewise, the findings in this study should help American leaders to realize traits that Indians admire most in a leader.

If one wishes to find the way toward real cooperation among countries having widely different cultural backgrounds such as India and America, studies such as this are essential because they add to our total and ultimate understanding. It sheds a good deal of light on some of the preconceived prejudices and rationalizations which inevitably lead to misunderstanding and tension between the two countries.

For the promotion of harmonious American-Indian relations what could be more pertinent than the five-day conference that took place in New Delhi between President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Nehru in December of 1959. Time alone will tell the significance of the meeting between two heads of state. The conversations that were recently completed are both part of and the product of various efforts⁸ and means to bring the world's two largest democracies together.

Among these endeavors the populace of both countries have a tangible stake in mutual understanding. This involves efforts in the field of economic aid as well as on behalf of cultural exchange.

With regard to cultural exchange, academicians on either side of the Pacific Ocean have interests in acquiring human profile data on one another. Apropos of scientific data in profile, the study of image comparisons becomes relevant. Social scientists in general agree that prejudicial conceptions which national groups maintain with respect to others are barriers to international understanding. How men in one

⁸To mention a few: technical assistance to India under Point Four Program, gifts of farm surplus, loans, exchange of cultural delegations, etc.

country see those in another is a matter that needs to be explored first in the long process of establishing international harmony.

Most individuals do not ordinarily have the opportunity to acquire firsthand information pertaining to events and people of other lands, as they do in the case of a local fire or their newspaper boy, for example, our political world, Walter Lippmann says, is "out of reach, out of sight and out of mind."⁹ What an average man thinks of others is based not on personal experience but on "pictures" made by himself, as given to him by the agents of mass media. Individuals in modern society try to comprehend great happenings of the world with which they have had no personal experience. "The only feeling," Lippmann insists, "that anyone can have about an event he does not experience is the feeling aroused by his mental image of that event."¹⁰ Educated people in most parts of the world spend much of their time acquiring information from the mass media.

Yet the typical writer finds it difficult to convey in the mass media the celebrations of the Indian people or any other foreign group. When events call for information about India, writers, in general, associate these events with the leaders as the spokesmen or symbolic representatives of the country in question. Thus, broadly speaking, an image of a given group is formed by what their leaders do and say.¹¹

⁹Walter Lippmann, Public Opinion (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1922), p. 29.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 13.

¹¹No political leader has explained leadership phenomenon as candidly as President Sukarno, when he said:

Gandhi and Nehru, the two Indian leaders whose images are the central topic of the present study, hold unique positions in India, and their names are familiar to most educated persons all over the world. Contributions of Gandhi and Nehru in making modern India what it is today are very substantial. For over a quarter of a century Gandhi played a dominant role in the political and social struggle of India. His efforts to lift politics to the lofty ideals of religion earned

My friends and my children, I am no Communist. But I am open-minded. I am not prejudiced. I am no dictator. I am no holy man or reincarnation of God. I am just an ordinary human being like you and you and you Why is it that people ask me to give a speech to them, even when the sun is at its hottest? The answer is this: What Bung Karno says is actually already written in the hearts of the Indonesian people. The people want to hear their own voice but . . . they cannot speak eloquently for themselves . . . when I die . . . do not write on the tombstone: 'Here rests His Most Exalted Excellency Dr. Ir. Raden Sukarno, the first President of the Republic of Indonesia' . . . write . . . 'Here rests Bung Karno, the Tongue of the Indonesian people.' American Universities Field Staff Reports Service, Southeast Asia Series, Vol. VII, No. 17 (WAH-13-1959), p.3.

Cecil Gibbs for example says that the standing of a leader is "dependent not upon special qualities as such, but upon the extent to which his followers perceive him as having these qualities." The leader in turn should be able to know the members' perception of him and fill the group needs and requirements. See C. A. Gibbs, "Leadership," Handbook of Social Psychology (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison Wesley & Co., 1954), p. 877.

See also R. M. Stodgill, "Personal Factors Associated With Leadership: A Survey of the Literature," Journal of Social Psychology, Vol. 25 (1948), p. 65. Stodgill asserts that "leadership is not a matter of passive status or of the mere possession of some combination traits. It appears rather to be a working relationship among members of a group"

Seligman insists that "Leadership is a function of acceptance by followers . . . and a leader is related to the tensions and values of a particular situation." American Political Science Review, Vol. 44 (1950), p. 904.

him the title of "The Great Soul."¹² Since Gandhi's death Nehru has become what Margaret Fisher calls "Idol Number One"¹³ of the Indian people. Nehru's towering pre-eminence in India today has prompted observers to remark, "Nehru is India!"

Most Americans as well as many Indians have met neither Gandhi nor Nehru; yet they do carry in their minds images of these two leaders. As suggested above, most persons form impressions of the people and events outside of their immediate environment from mass media. Therefore, what the writers have to say about Gandhi and Nehru is of great significance. It is common knowledge that writers wield a great deal of influence in moulding public images. These writers, as image constructors, do more than simply furnish the reader with impressions; they disseminate these images through the channels of communication at their command.

"Part of our images of the world," says Kenneth Boulding, "is the belief that this image is shared by other people like ourselves who are also part of our image of the world."¹⁴ This statement also applies to the writers examined in the present study. How accurate are the perceptions of the writers, the reader might ask. No simple answer is available because it depends on the background and personality

¹²"Gandhiji exhorted us to achieve inward freedom by getting rid of fear, greed, and blind passion, and outward freedom by throwing off the foreign yoke." S. A. Hussain, The Way of Gandhi and Nehru (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1958), p. xiii.

¹³R. L. Park and I. Tinker, Leadership and Political Institutions in India (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1959), p. 41.

¹⁴Kenneth E. Boulding, The Image (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1950), p. 14.

of the observers and the amount of information they possess about Gandhi and Nehru. Writers act as if they possessed partially the same image of the world as their readers do.¹⁵ Those who read Time Magazine will probably hold the same image of Gandhi and Nehru as do the writers who staff that periodical. The existence of particular public image depends, therefore, on certain basic assumptions shared by the writers and readers alike. David Lawrence, for example, has his particular audience, just as Eric Sevareid has another. It goes without saying that a silent concurrence exists between the writer and his reading audience. It is in this realm that individual research starts to bear fruit. By the same token, the study of a comparison of American or Indian writers' images of Gandhi or Nehru assumes a special pertinence.

The first objective of the study is to present a comparison of American and Indian writers' images of Gandhi and Nehru covering a ten year period (1947-1957). We are making use of comparative techniques in a simple, unambiguous manner. Far from comparing Gandhi with Nehru and far from matching India with America, we simply want to compare the kind and number of images of each leader within both countries.

The research concerns itself with the information and affective qualities that the American and Indian writers impart about Gandhi and Nehru. 'Knowledge' is perhaps not the right word, for 'Knowledge'

¹⁵G. K. Galbraith, The Affluent Society (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1958). See chapter on "Conventional Wisdom," pp. 7-20. The author observes: "Ideas came to be organized around what the community as a whole or particular audience finds acceptable. And as the laboratory worker devotes himself to discovering scientific varieties, so the ghost writer and the public relations man concern themselves with identifying acceptable." p. 8.

implies validity and truth: we should probably speak of the 'writers' image of Gandhi and Nehru. In other words, what is being studied is the affective character of which the subjective knowledge is held by American or Indian writers regarding Gandhi and Nehru.

The second objective is to describe how and to what extent people differ in their perceptions. Gandhi, for example, once a comic, is regarded as a saintly person in America;¹⁶ whereas Indians, who once regarded Gandhi as an odd sort of politician,¹⁷ now consider him a "great soul."¹⁸ Nehru who was once admired in the American press as a "western style Democrat,"¹⁹ is now looked upon with "baffling frustration,"²⁰ as an object of bewilderment. In India he was once regarded as an "impatient revolutionary"; he is now looked upon as a great "moral force"²¹ in the world. It is suggested that these perception differences which occur in the images held in two nations have not evolved by chance, but have developed systematically. The investigation deals with fluctuations in images through units of time and with the character and significance of the changes. It attempts to understand why people differ in their perceptions.

¹⁶Kenneth Boulding, op. cit., p. 18.

¹⁷Harold R. Issacs, Scratches on Our Minds (New York: John Day & Co., 1948), see inside of cover.

¹⁸Jawaharlal Nehru, Autobiography (New York: John Day & Co., 1937).

¹⁹Mahatma, when translated into English, means "great soul."

²⁰Newsweek, Vol. XXXIV, No. 16 (October 17, 1949), p. 33.

²¹Hindustan Times (Air Mail Weekly), Vol. IX, No. 17, (April 23, 1954). p. 4.

Third, the study seeks to prove that favorable and unfavorable images of Nehru and Gandhi in America may be associated with the relationship between the governments of the two countries. If the relationship between them is cordial, Nehru is likely to have more favorable than unfavorable images in the American press. The following two quotes from Newsweek Magazine should illustrate the point:

The Washington visit of Prime Minister Nehru of India is an event of exceptional importance. This remarkable man is the most influential spokesman and greatest individual symbol of a new order in Asia. Nehru's unique prestige stems primarily from his own abilities and attainments, from his role as Gandhi's right hand man and heir and from his unremitting advocacy of political freedom for all Asiatic peoples. The ideological source of his nationalism are largely Western. This fortunate fact is perfectly exemplified by Nehru who was educated at Harrow, Cambridge and Inner Temple, whose political and economic policy is thoroughly western, and who speaks English with fluency and grace. He is not a Nationalist but a democrat western style.²² (Italics mine.)

The same magazine reported as follows during Nehru's second visit to the United States:

India's Prime Minister Nehru has cast himself in many diverse roles in world affairs: Neutralist, international moralist, peacemaker and crusader against the evils of western colonialism and alcohol. But above all, he regards himself as a link between the east and the west.

Nehru remains in manner the high-born autocrat, a man who has been known to silence a shouting crowd by casually extending an imperious hand.²³ (Italics mine.)

The striking contrast in the images of Nehru in the above paragraphs does not appear to be a random one. The images of other foreign leaders are seen to follow the same pattern. For instance, it is interesting to note the trend of articles referring to President

²²"Importance of Nehru's Visit," Newsweek, Vol. 34, No.16(October 17, 1949), p. 21.

²³"Nehru's Christmas visit," Newsweek, Vol.48, No.24(December 10, 1956), p. 36.

Sukarno in Time Magazine. Of the first ten articles, covering the period prior to President Sukarno's visit to Russia, five were either favorable or moderately favorable. Two were neutral, and only three were moderately unfavorable. But since his visit to Russia there has not been a single favorable or moderately favorable article, and only one has been neutral. This is not to say that his visit to Russia is the reason for his loss of favor in Time Magazine,²⁴ but this was undoubtedly a turning point.²⁵ It is a reasonable assumption that the same pattern is likely to follow in the case of many other foreign leaders. It is hoped that the analysis of the images of Gandhi and Nehru will shed light on the relationship of images to international problems.

A fourth objective is to show the importance of images for understanding leadership techniques or patterns. Predominant images of Gandhi or Nehru, it is assumed here, are the representative dimensions of the leadership of Gandhi and Nehru. If Gandhi is perceived as "religious," the religiousness is one attribute that makes up his leadership. The study of the images, therefore, will afford clues to the components of their leadership roles.

Fifth, another objective is to demonstrate how content analysis can be used to study problems in cross-cultural relations. The

²⁴Ram Desai, "Images of President Sukarno" in Time Magazine and N. Y. Times Magazine (Unpublished paper).

²⁵It might be of interest to the reader that N. Y. Times Magazine, supposedly a "quality" type periodical, and Time Magazine, "popular" type, showed a nearly perfect similarity. Ibid.

technique employed in the process of gathering data has been content analysis, with some emphasis on trend findings.

B. Image As The Basic Concept

The widespread use of the term "image" in current scientific as well as popular literature calls for clarification of its meaning. In the literature dealing with images it is almost impossible to find an adequate, well-rounded definition without ambiguous statements. The term image has been used interchangeably with stereotype, perception, conception, cognition, and "picture in the head."

In the present study "image" refers to an individual's awareness of objects. Images are the way things look or appear to him. How a given person or an object appears to him depends on both "structural" and "functional" factors. Structural factors are those which derive from the nature of the physical stimuli,²⁶ while functional factors are those which arise from the internal conditions of the individual perceiving the image. Gestalt psychologists emphasize that the sensory factors are primary in accounting for the "look of things."

Those who emphasize functional factors in the image formation believe that needs and past experience play significant roles in the process of perceiving. When we meet another person, we form an impression of that person's height, weight, color and body structure. Such characteristics are unambiguous and, therefore, would be perceived in the same way by different persons. But in making inferences about

The term "autectheneous" is used by the Gestalt psychologists when referring to structural factors.

his intellectual ability, honesty, charm and friendliness, we find such traits more ambiguous because our own attitudes, needs, and motives enter to influence our perception of the individual. For many other characteristics we form an impression on dimensions of ability, character or personality, in terms of which we can compare the perceived individual to others.

An image is usually formed in terms of categories and dimensions we have learned from previous experience. Many concepts used to categorize non-social objects also can be applied to persons. Such social objects, however, are different from stones, buildings and trees: social objects themselves create images, and react to these images.

As a consequence we come to form exceedingly complex, differentiated conceptions of what people are like. People differ, moreover, in the extent to which their conceptions, or images, are simplified or complex. Accurate and complex images depend upon intellectual competence and upon the motivation to understand the object of the image. An imbecile is unable to form a complex image of Nehru, and someone who is totally uninterested in Nehru will have only a highly oversimplified conception of Nehru if any at all. A personal enemy of Nehru may be motivated to maintain a certain image of him and will resist a well-rounded, complete and accurate picture.

Neither structural nor functional factors operate independently of each other, for the process of perception involves interaction between the two. Functional factors may be further analyzed in other terms, such as culture. On the other hand, maybe culture, group membership, etc., may be treated as situational factors. An individual's

image is to a very large extent determined by his culture.²⁷ Typically, an individual's image of things and persons observed is affected by his political party, his club, his church, his place of work, the newspapers he reads, and other group memberships. However, it is not always easy to specify under what conditions these influences will affect one's images. Social attitudes like race prejudice and rigid conformity to social norms, or the attitude of some powerful group like the American Legion, may also influence the image of its members. Individual tastes and temperament also are of importance. Bartlett, commenting on the importance of inherent interests in the process of perceiving, asserts:

These experiments (on perceiving) repeatedly demonstrate that temperament, interests and attitudes often direct the course and determine the content of perceiving.²⁸

Allport takes a similar position when he says:

The prevailing state of the individual helps to determine the world as it appears to him . . . motivation and past experience under certain conditions, not only determine selectivity of what is perceived but also can modify the speed, accuracy and vividness of the perceived act, and even the perceived dimensions of the object . . . there are temperamental personality characteristics of the individual, the emotion prevailing at the moment, his changing needs within the shifting situations; and always there is the same aspect of the way the world looks that is likely to be determined by the value to the individual of perceiving it in this way rather than that.²⁹

²⁷Malinowski reported that Trebriand Islanders of New Guinea formerly held to a basic belief that a child can never physically resemble his mother, brothers and sisters. Even when to an outsider there was a striking physical resemblance between two brothers, the natives apparently were unable to detect any resemblance.

²⁸F. C. Bartlett, Remembering (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1932), p. 331.

²⁹F. H. Allport, Theories of Perception and Concept of Structure (New York: Harper Brothers, 1957), p. 14.

As suggested above, an image is influenced by both the structural properties of the object perceived and the motivational and other personality characteristics of the perceiver. The image one forms of Gandhi certainly depends in large part upon what Gandhi was "really like." Certain features of every person are objective and obvious, and the images formed around such traits will be similar and accurate. Gandhi's physical characteristics, for example, were readily observable, and the images of Indian and American writers were about the same. Here the structural characteristics were clear and unambiguous.

When dealing with other than structural characteristics of Gandhi and Nehru, who do many things and say many things about complex issues, relative ambiguity is likely to occur. Here the motivations of an observer will influence the meaning of the situation for the individual. In that famous and often quoted experiment titled "Perception of Coins by Poor and Rich Children" conducted by Brunner and Goodman³⁰ the functional factors were clearly shown. The central thesis of the experiment is that need is an important factor in the process of perceiving and that what the subject sees or hears may be in large part determined by what he wants. Lawrence Lowell put it similarly nearly four decades ago:

Each looks at and looks for the facts and reasons to which his attention points, perceiving little, if at all, those to which his mind is not directed. As a rule, men see what they want to see, and observe the things they expect to see.³¹

³⁰J. S. Brunner and C. C. Goodman, "Value and Need as Organizing Factors in Perception," Journal of Abnormal Psychology, Vol. 42 (1947), pp. 33-34

Laurence A. Lowell, Public Opinion in War and Peace (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1932), p. 22. Quoted by Bernard Berlsen, P. Lazarsfeld, and W. N. McPhee, "Political Perception," chapter in Voting (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954).

William I. Thomas put it this way:

If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences. Men respond not only to the objective feature of a situation, but also more often than not to the meaning this situation has for them.³²

If we were to rephrase the above two quotes it should read:

Men see what they believe, instead of the popular notion that men believe what they see.

Functional Role of Images in Human Behavior

Mace contends that, "At the very basis of human knowledge are images. They may in part reflect the residual impressions of many observations. They serve in ordinary thoughts the function which in scientific thought is served by an average, a media, or mode."³³

Kenneth Boulding views human behavior in terms of images.³⁴ Newcomb, in emphasizing the functional aspect of images, asserts that without them it would be necessary to interpret each new situation as if it had never been encountered before.³⁵ Bergardus in somewhat categorical terms says that the images are the product of ". . . the fact that the varieties of personalities and of groups are so numerous that it is almost impossible for most people in a busy world of activities to

³²Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959), p. 545.

³³C. A. Mace, "National Stereotype - Their Nature and Function," *Sociological Review*, Vol. 25 (1943), p. 29.

³⁴Kenneth Boulding, *Image* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1956), p. 6.

³⁵T. M. Newcomb, *Social Psychology* (New York: Dryden Press, 1950), p. 214.

weigh every reaction of every person, minute by minute, in terms of its individual meanings and merits."³⁶

Many other students of this concept have taken this view that images are a "regrettable but useful time-and-effort-saving process which enable humans to deal with a very complex world."³⁷

There are others such as Lindsmith and Strauss who emphasize the oversimplification and inaccuracy that is generally involved in images. "Images," they point out, "focus on one or a few aspects of personality and ignore many others; they are based on insufficient observation and experience, not to say faulty sampling."³⁸

One cannot ignore that images have a tendency to gloss over or forget many other elements in their formation and retain only those which the person can comprehend and accept. But despite this faulty process involved in image formation, one cannot afford to ignore their functional importance in human relationship. It is generally recognized by social scientists that human behavior, to a very large extent, is governed by images. Images, in the final analysis, are the subjective impressions that people have about the outside world. The formation of subjective impressions of others is a function not only of the characteristics of the things being observed, "but also to a considerable extent, a

³⁶E. S. Bogardus, "Stereotypes vs. Sociotypes," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 34 (1950), p. 286.

³⁷J. A. Fishman, "An Examination of the Process and Function of Social Stereotyping," The Journal of Social Psychology, Vol. 43 (1956), p. 31.

³⁸A. R. Lindsmith and A. L. Strauss, Social Psychology (New York: Dryden Press, 1949), p. 291.

function of the underlying perceptual-cognitive organizing process in the observer."³⁹

Image vs. Reality

It is fashionable among the students of public opinion and advertising men to claim that there is no necessary correspondence between images and reality and that images can improve on reality.⁴⁰ Thus a leader may be corrupt but it is possible with the help of the "Image Merchants" to depict him as an honest god-loving person.⁴¹ The George Gallop school believes that what you think you see in a person is more important than what is actually there. Some say that it is possible to create⁴² an image of Nixon as a religious man even though he may not be a religious man. Others contend that there must always be some factual basis upon which images are formed. Thus, it is argued that President Eisenhower may or may not be a religious man, but the fact that he goes to church every Sunday, which is shown on television

³⁹E.S. Collin, "Forming Impressions of Personality," Journal of Personality, Vol. 25 (September, 1954), pp. 65-76.

⁴⁰Images may or may not correspond but on some characteristics there is agreement and accuracy.

⁴¹Irwin Ross, Image Merchants (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1959). According to the author, the Image Merchants are the men who endlessly "create," delineate," "adumbrate," and project the most available images of their clients. An unsuspecting and naive public can be deceived by developing a public image of a person.

"A world of unseen dictatorship is conceivable, still using the forms of democratic government." Kenneth Boulding, op. cit., p. 168.

⁴²"Where the object was once perceived but is not present before us now, we speak of 'memory images,' where it has never existed, we speak of 'created images.'" See D. Krech and R.S. Crutchfield, Elements of Psychology (New York: McGraw Hill, 1958), p. 365.

and other modes of mass media, constitute valid reason for the public to perceive him as a religious person. Since it is not possible for most of us to observe Eisenhower in his private life, the mass media remains the only source of our information. It is quite possible for the mass media to create an artificial image of Eisenhower as a church-goer and, therefore, a religious man. It was reported by the Associated Press that two networks acknowledge having dubbed in artificial sound of the crowd noises and applause in the television news films of the Eisenhower trip to Europe in order to create an image of Eisenhower as "popular."⁴³

Images of Van Deren as a "wizard," "genius," "walking encyclopedia" did prevail for quite some time. National Broadcasting Company paid him \$50,000 a year on the basis of the image that was created. The social psychologists even explained how the great mind of Van Deren could store such a vast wealth of information. The later events showed that the image of Van Deren was far from being real.

It appears to the researcher that the image and facts may or may not correspond, but at least at outward sign, act, or appearance is necessary to offer some basis for the formation of image.

C. Organization of the Remainder of the Thesis

We have already made clear our purpose for this study: namely, a comparison of the images of Gandhi and Nehru individually in India and America. Moreover, the significance of the study lies in its cross-

⁴³ State Journal (Lansing, Michigan), December 3, 1959, p.50.

cultural exploration of leadership phenomena: the manner in which one phase of leadership qualities takes precedence over other phases within a given culture. Naturally, since images occupy the focal point, we had no choice but to explain what images are and what their role in human behavior is.

In pursuit of this undertaking we have ahead of us the unfolding of the things attendant to our goal.

It was inevitable that our own study involve the perusal of other studies in the area. Chapter II is, therefore, devoted to a review of imagery literature and the development of hypotheses. With the benefits of the written word and the assumption of the structural postures gained from the development of hypotheses we were able to choose methods and techniques that would best serve our purpose. In Chapter III, look for a discussion of the methods and procedures.

Once the techniques and methods for processing data have been laid, we can present the meat of the problem. The first part of Chapter IV covers the content and trend analysis of the images of Nehru as seen in American and Indian periodicals and books. The graphic treatment of trends will show a year by year fluctuation in India, as well as in the United States. The rest of the chapter is devoted to the discussion of fluctuations in images, the character and significance of the changes, and plausible explanations for given images. Naturally these revelations may provide an insight into the relationship between political differences and fluctuations in images.

Chapter V gives the same treatment to the images of Gandhi as mentioned above in regard to Nehru. Likewise, interpretation of these data is concerned with the same problems already suggested in connection with Nehru.

Chapter Vi, in conclusion, describes the degree of success and failure of the hypotheses in the light of the findings; it furthermore summarizes the stated objectives and points to the guideposts on the road to further research.

For the readers who are curious about the personal history of Gandhi and Nehru, the Appendix includes brief biographical notes.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Inasmuch as the preceding chapter was concerned with the objectives sought in the research, its significance and the exposition of the term 'image,' it seems in keeping now to discuss the literature relating to the topic at hand. In this chapter we shall review the literature dealing with imagery studies. This review will involve three considerations:

- a. To give leavening to the bread, it behooves us to familiarize the reader with the literature available, as well as to mention some of the contributions made in the area of image understanding.
- b. Another aspect of concern is to delineate the methods used by specialists in the field.
- c. Perhaps the findings of the other studies would be of value in verifying and reinforcing our own position.

Literature dealing with images falls into three main categories: one, books and articles treating the concept of 'image' and its significance in human behavior; two, literature positing highly impressionistic studies; three, image studies adhering to empirical techniques.

A. The Concept of Image

The veritable concept of image evokes the thought of Walter Lippmann,¹ a seasoned scholar in the field of public opinion and

¹Walter Lippmann, op. cit.

propaganda. His book entitled Public Opinion² is primarily an analysis of the means of propaganda, such as newspapers, magazines, and other interest groups in composition of public opinion.

The author maintains that the problems and personalities of the world are becoming more and more complicated for the man in the street. An average person tries to understand these problems and personalities with which he has had no personal experience. For this reason his behavior is not based on experience but on 'pictures made by himself or given to him'. Lippmann asserts:

The pictures inside the heads of these human beings, the pictures of themselves, of others, of their needs, purposes and relationship are their public opinion... Public opinion must begin here, by recognizing the triangular relationship between the scene of action, the human picture of that scene and the human response to their pictures.³

Briefly, according to Lippmann any mental image shared by a group of people constitutes public opinion. Stereotypes or images that form the basis for public opinion are often dangerously false and unreal. To remedy this situation Lippmann recommends the analysis of images. Lippmann's use of the figurative connotation, 'pictures in head,' appears to have been responsible for the wide currency the concept acquired and to have lent itself well to a large number of experiments to date. He deserves credit for arousing interest and provoking curiosity among image students.

²Walter Lippmann, op. cit.

³Ibid, p. 8.

Another important work dealing with the concept of 'image' appeared thirty-four years later. Kenneth Boulding in his book The Images⁴ attempts to synthesize the behavioural sciences: anthropology, philosophy, biology, economics, merged into one, EICONICS (which may be translated as Image-ology). In order to make 'image-formation' easier to handle, Boulding has theoretically selected and named ten areas under which images fall.⁵ By so doing Boulding lays claim to a theory, revolutionary enough to justify itself as a new discipline which he hoped would facilitate matters pertaining to not only the learning but research as well. Moreover, he also contends that his new science would help to integrate the fields of human knowledge and thus ultimately simplify the tasks of education by closing gaps between the sciences.

⁴Kenneth Boulding, op. cit.

⁵These divisions are:

1. Spatial - man's location in space around him.
2. Temporal - man's picture of the stream of time and his place in it.
3. Relational - man's picture of the universe around him as a 'system of regularities.'
4. Personal - man's picture of the universe of people, roles, and organizations.
5. Value - classification, as better or worse of the various parts of the whole image.
6. Affectional, Emotional - the feeling with which items are imbued.
7. Un-, sub-, consciousness - areas into which divisions of the image fall.
8. Dimension of certainly, uncertainty.
9. Reality, unreality - an image of the correspondence of the image with 'outside' reality.
10. Public - is the private image shared by many.

Had Boulding taken the trouble to establish precisely the distinction between terms that are used interchangeably with reference to 'image,' he would have lent weight to the claim that EICONICS could become a semantic bridge for all the sciences. However, one would hardly be overshooting the mark by affirming that Boulding simply modified the language and texture of the very concept that Lippmann had adequately described thirty-four years ago.

The third book exploring the creation of images appeared in the latter part of 1959. Appropriately titled, The Image Merchants⁶ was written by an executive of the New York Post. Image merchants are men who according to the author 'create,' 'delineate,' 'adumbrate,' and 'project' the most flattering images available for their clients. The book is mostly devoted to the doings and undoings of public relations men to create the most favorable images of their clients. For Irwin Ross the underlying idea barely differs from that of either Walter Lippmann or Boulding. Although, the significance of images in human behavior is never lost on Mr. Ross, he devotes a good portion of his work to advertising techniques: proving how these techniques help to artificially create images - images that have little, if any, correspondence to reality.

The fourth and final work reviewed here is of the same nature - if not of the same vintage. The Hidden Persuaders⁷ was written by Vance Packard as late as 1958. Here also the author devotes his

⁶Irwin Ross, The Image Merchants (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1959).

⁷Vance Packard, The Hidden Persuaders (New York: Pocket Books Inc., 1958).

analysis to the techniques of advertising and public relations men. The author of the Hidden Persuaders further states that in many of their attempts to manipulate the process of group thinking, the professional persuaders have received direct help and guidance from respected social scientists. In the light of Packard's exposition, professional persuaders are seen in action in politics, in religious organizations, in merchandising, and in industrial relations. The author very effectively explores what makes us buy, believe, or even vote the way we do.

B. Impressionistic Studies

Professor Schlesinger at one time commented that 'image formation,' 'image-research,' and similar concepts are 'chic in the sociological circles.' As the reader will soon discover the term 'image' is even more of a fad in literary circles. Many poets, novelists, and free-lance writers have used the concept of image so freely that it must have been quite fashionable among them before the term acquired wide currency among social scientists. Yet, despite the popular bandying about of the word, we must bear in mind that in many cases its use had little or no relevance to the subject matter.

⁸Three novels: Guelyn Brooke, Image of a Drawn Sword (New York: Alfred Knopf Co., 1951); William Baxter, Image and the Search (New York: Putnam and Co., 1954); Barnard Pryer, Image Makers (New York: Harper Brothers, 1958), are for obvious reasons excluded in the review.

David Cairns' The Image of God in Man⁹ is an example of impressionistic study. Cairns defends the dignity of man, especially in relation to Marxism and Freudianism. The author traces the doctrine of responsibility from the Bible through Augustine down into such modern polemicists as Barth and Brunner. Cairns concludes in a mystical way that life rests upon three basic relationships which he calls the 'I-thou,' the 'I-it,' and the 'I-God.' According to the author, historic christianity, which finds the image of God in man, adequately solves all the problems arising from the above three relationships. The present day social scientists are too pragmatically minded to endorse the logic inherent in his conclusion. Rossi's The Image of America in Mazzini's Writings¹⁰ is likewise a book which draws heavily upon historical works but without any systematic approach. The author makes a good case for his thesis that Mazzini exerted considerable influence over American liberals, and that America in turn loomed heavily in Mazzini's mind as the champion of a drive for the freedom of all subjugated peoples. In spite of the lack of a systematic approach in Rossi's book, it is the best among the works reviewed so far. The author states his purpose clearly and marshalls evidence to prove his point. The only criticism this researcher has is that Rossi is inclined to ignore the evidence that does not suit his purpose, a fact which makes his study devoid of objectivity.

⁹David Cairns, The Image of God in Man (New York: Philosophical Library, 1953).

¹⁰Joseph Rossi, Image of America in Mazzini's Writing (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin, 1955).

Barghoorn's Soviet Image of the United States: A Study in Distortion¹¹ is considerably more objective, compared to any of the other studies mentioned above. It was published during an era when anti-soviet feelings in America were relatively high. Since it was written by a person who was a member of the American Embassy in Moscow, this lent weight to the author as an authority on the subject. The author has given innumerable citations culled from the Soviet press. The author tells his reader how the government of the Soviet Union has switched from the wartime friendliness towards the United States to "cold war" unfriendliness. Barghoorn devotes nearly one-fourth of his book to the war period when the relations between the two countries were friendly. He then tells how the government of the Soviet Union now presents the United States to its own people. Different aspects of American life and American domestic policies were adopted for the close fit of the Soviet Communist party line.

Mr. Barghoorn's book is an important case study in the moulding of public opinion in a totalitarian state, and the author has made skillful use of the various kinds of evidence that were available. For the data referring to the "cold war" the author relied upon the Soviet press and on personal reactions that he gathered from interviewing the latest Russian emigrants and other foreign observers. Mr. Barghoorn's approach in gathering evidence through interviews, newspaper periodicals, and the like, is a sound one, but the procedure in the collection of data appears to be very haphazard. The organiza-

¹¹F. C. Barghoorn, The Soviet Image of the United States (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1950).

tion of the book leaves a great deal to be desired because some of the author's main findings are buried in the most unexpected places in this book.

The author tries to show how the Soviet government continually distorts the image of America. His subtitle is equally applicable to the Soviet image in America. The main difference is that the image built up in a 'free-enterprize' system is likely to be more complex and occasionally more contradictory than when it is determined by a centrally operated agency like the government of the Soviet Union.

The significance of Barghoorn's book from the standpoint of the present research lies in the realization of how important political encouragement is in distortion of images. The post war unfriendliness existing between the two governments is responsible for the unfavorable images of America in the Soviet Union and vice versa.

Last and probably least important in the category of non-scientific imagery studies falls As Others See Us¹². The book consists of articles contributed by 20 authors¹³, who are men of distinction in their own lands, and a few of whom enjoy an international reputation.

¹²F. M. Joseph, (ed.) As Others See Us (Princeton University Press, 1959).

¹³Five even from Europe, two from Africa, four from the middle-East and three from South and South-East Asia.

The contributors were asked to respond frankly to three questions:

(1) In what respects has your stay in the United States changed from your former ideas about the United States and its people? (2) How does your present view of the United States and its people compare with that held in your country, by the population in general and by its main social and intellectual groups? (3) What, in your opinion, can the people of your country and the United States learn from each other?¹⁴

By the very nature of phrasing of the above questions one cannot possibly avoid being impressionistic. Methodologically the entire book is firmly in the tradition of literary and social impressionism. The editor did not even bother to survey the impressions which the contributors held of the United States. Instead, he boasts of promoting interest and understanding. Moreover, the book is full of raw unprocessed data. There is a need for methodological processing of his data before any claim to international understanding can be made for it. Nevertheless, some of the articles make interesting reading.

C. Methodological Studies

Text material that displays a system-oriented approach and that is amenable to tools applicable to social science - such as use of quantitative data, sampling, surveying, interviewing - falls within the framework of scientific analysis. Instead of permitting ourselves to get lost in a forest of generalizations, let us choose a specific 'culprit' for castigation.

¹⁴F. M. Joseph, op.cit., see inside cover.

In 1932, Katz and Braly conducted the first experiment¹⁵ dealing with images, in which they used the word-list technique and students as subjects. About a hundred subjects¹⁶ were asked to select traits from the list in order to characterize the ten racial and nationality groups. The findings showed that the subjects not only agreed in their preferential ranking of ethnic groups, but they also agreed in the types of characteristics attributed to these groups. The findings were similar in their main outline to the results reported by investigators throughout the United States.¹⁷

In 1942, Child and Doob¹⁸ obtained stereotyped conceptions of eight national groups from Yale University students. Following the word-list method, the subjects were asked to rank preferentially the eight national groups from the trait list. The findings of the experiment indicated that approved traits tended to be assigned to people of preferred countries, regardless of the fact that these traits were also attributed to the subjects themselves. Disapproved traits, which

¹⁵D. Katz and K. W. Braly, "Verbal Stereotypes and Racial Prejudice," Journal of Abnormal Psychology, Vol. 28, 1933, p. 280.

¹⁶Students of the campus of Princeton University served as subjects.

¹⁷W. Buchanan, "How Others See Us," The Annals, Vol. 295, 1954, p. 1.

¹⁸I. L. Child, and L. W. Doob, "Factors Determining National Stereotypes," Journal of Social Psychology, Vol. 17, 1943, p. 203.

were not believed to be characteristic of themselves, the subjects assigned to people of non-preferred countries. The significance of the findings of Child and Doob lies in the general inclination of the subjects to attribute positive images to their own people.

In 1947, Vinacke,¹⁹ though retaining word-list technique and students as subjects, sought to improve upon other studies by utilizing the image process as a double reversible exposure.²⁰ He set out to investigate how each of seven²¹ national racial groups characterize themselves and each other. Vinacke contended that many of the previous investigations ignored that perception is a two-way process. This designation of the traits as approved or disapproved has been suggested by one class of men, presumably white males.

Between 1947-1950 the trend toward broader sampling and sparing of students as guinea pigs was witnessed in the study undertaken by UNESCO.²² Even in the UNESCO study, the major data-gathering technique

¹⁹W. E. Vinacke, "Stereotyping Among National Racial Groups in Hawaii: A Study in Ethnocentrism," The Journal of Social Psychology, Vol. 30, 1949, p. 265.

²⁰It was based on the findings of Bruno Bettelheim in his study entitled, "The Dynamics of Anti-Semitism in Gentile and Jew," Journalism of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 43, 1947, p. 153. Bettelheim points out that stereotyping is a two-way process, for the Jew in Germany has a stereotype of the Gestapo man just as strong and operating in just the same way as that of the Gestapo man of the Jew.

²¹The seven national groups which served as subjects in Vinacke's study were: Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Filipino, Hawaiian, Negro, Samoan.

²²W. Buchanan and H. Cantril, How Nations See Each Other (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1953).

relied upon was the word-list or trait-list. However, a new feature was added to this technique. Up to this time, words in the trait-list numbered as high as one hundred plus: the UNESCO study managed to narrow it down to twelve.²³ Another significant contribution of the UNESCO study was the sample size! The study undertook a mass-survey in eight countries²⁴ and presented the word list to a cross section of one thousand persons in each country.

Although the UNESCO study was intended as a pilot study and was written without any underlying theory or hypothesis, some of the results which are pertinent to the present research are listed below. The finding of paramount importance to our purpose is the fact that the stereotypes of one's own countrymen are invariably in flattering terms.²⁵ A basis for parallelism between this particular finding of UNESCO and our study: the Indian writer's images of Gandhi and Nehru are likely to be more favorable than the American writer's images of these two leaders.

The second finding indicates the prevalence of complimentary over derogatory terms in a national stereotype, suggesting an index of friendliness between the nations.²⁶ Upon the basis of this finding

²³The twelve adjectives were: hardworking, intelligent, practical, conceited, generous, cruel, backward, brave, self-controlled, progressive, peace-loving.

²⁴The eight countries were: Australia, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, and the United States of America.

²⁵G. M. Gilbert, "Stereotype Persistence and Change Among College Students," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 46, 1951, p. 251.

²⁶W. Buchanan, op. cit., p. 1.

a proposition can be made to the effect that, should the number of unfavorable images of Nehru be greater during a given period, the two countries are not on friendly terms.

That friendliness or unfriendliness to another people may be attributed to relationships between their governments is yet another UNESCO finding that is germane to this study. Ultimately the images of Indian leaders in America will be greatly influenced by the kind of states that exist between the governments of the two countries. The reader should be made aware that there are two points of conflict between our piece of research and the UNESCO report. In the first place, the subjects of concern to us happen to be writers, whereas this is not at all the case in the UNESCO study. Again, we are specifically concerned with the images of two leaders within one country: the UNESCO report seeks to determine the images as held by eight national groups of each other.

The weak point in the UNESCO report is its failure to show how images change over a period of time. For instance, it would be interesting to know the changes and shifts that have occurred since the field work of the UNESCO study was completed in 1950. The present research by employing trend analysis shows yearly fluctuations in the images of Gandhi and Nehru in America and India.

In 1950, G. M. Gilbert²⁷ repeated the Katz and Bradley experiment on Princeton University students using a larger sample but

²⁷G. M. Gilbert, "Stereotype Persistence and Change Among College Students," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 46, 1951, p. 251.

otherwise following the same techniques. He found that there was recognition on the part of his subjects that the word lists were forcing them to oversimplify generalizations, which they were reluctant to do. This meant that his subjects were aware of the fallacy of describing a group of people in a few words.

Gilbert's finding appears to have influenced the studies that were to follow. In the early 50's about a dozen social scientists across the country undertook the study of images of America as seen by foreign students. These studies were subsequently published in The Annals.²⁸ There were three new phases to these studies: One, an attempt was made to view America through foreign eyes. Two, most of these studies did not use word-list techniques, even though students still remained as subjects. The major data-gathering instrument was the interview. Three, as yet experiments dealing with images assumed no more value than that of mental calisthenics, but some of the studies included in The Annals were undertaken for the specific purpose of evaluating government-sponsored student exchange programs. Hence, image studies apparently acquired pragmatic value in the field of social science for the first time.

During the year 1958 Harold Isaacs published a study concerning American images of India and China. As far as the research techniques are concerned, Isaacs' work made little or no contribution. The author interviewed 181 Americans carefully chosen for their "professional

²⁸The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 295, 1954.

prominence in industrial, academic, religious, diplomatic, or public relations circles." He calls his panel of 181 'Leadership types' because most of his subjects occupy important positions in their respective professions. The author graciously concedes that his interviews constitute neither a poll nor a statistical survey.

Isaacs says in his work that dominant American attitudes towards China have shifted from one period to another: the Ages of Respect (eighteenth century), Contempt (1840-1905), Benevolence (1905-1949), and Contempt (1949-). As far as India is concerned, the impressions left on American minds are fewer and fainter than with respect to China. This is true because historical contact with China is of much longer duration than India.

With reference to India, Isaacs' figures showed that ninety-eight persons or 54% of his subjects held negative images about Indians. Isaacs explains this situation by saying that "American antipathy was attributable to feelings over foreign policy differences. But it clearly had deeper roots, reproducing in some respects much older American reactions to Hindu life or culture."²⁹ This explanation smacks of garden variety criticism, as colorless as it is layman-like.

The latter part of Isaacs' explanation is in direct contrast to the findings of the UNESCO study. The UNESCO study does not attribute the formation of national images to cultural or religious differences but to the existing state of political relations between the countries. Isaacs has erred and the error is too obvious. Isaacs even

²⁹H. R. Issacs, Scratches on Our Mind: American Images of China and India (New York: The John Day Company, 1958). See chapters entitled: "The Gandhi Image", and "The Nehru Image".

contradicts himself when he attributes American antipathy towards India to older American reactions to Hindu life and culture. In his discussion on China he has shown that most of the shifts in American attitude were associated with political changes in China and the attitude of the American government towards those changes.

The reason behind Isaacs' statement is fallacious because American antipathy towards India is due to differences between the government of the two countries, rather than to the American attitude towards Hindu life. The researcher feels the negative attitude towards India is not due to the American attitude toward Hindu life or culture, but rather to certain international issues between the governments of the two countries. A great number of Isaacs' 98 subjects who evinced a negative attitude towards India probably know little about Hindu ways of life and even less about Indian culture.

Isaacs' book was written during the years 1954-1957. The memories of the Korean War and India's refusal to join with the so-called 'freeworld' forces, India's insistence on seating communist China in the U. N., India's stand on Kashmir against the West's ally Pakistan - - all these issues were fresh in the minds of Isaac's subjects while they were being interviewed.

In the latter part of 1958, George Cohelo, an American-educated Indian, published a revised version of his Ph.D thesis under the title, Changing Images of America - A Study of Indian Students' Perceptions.³⁰

³⁰ George Cohelo, Changing Images of America (Glencoe, Ill., Free Press, 1958).

The study addresses itself to the repercussions of American experience upon Indian students' perceptions of both the home and host countries. Cohelo studied sixty Indian students, mostly in the greater Boston Area. The author divided his subjects into four equal groups on the basis of the duration of their stay: (a) less than one week, (b) three to nine months, (c) eighteen to thirty-six months, (d) forty-eight to eighty-four months. Immediately upon arrival - during the first phase - the Indian student, according to Cohelo, expresses a strong desire to be understood. Concomitantly, the student sees broad similarities between American and Indian aspirations. He has a very favorable image of the United States during this phase.

The Indian student's perception of America becomes progressively less favorable in the second phase. Generalized defensive criticisms are frequently expressed towards both host and home cultures. In the subsequent phase, the Indian student shows a relatively differentiated perspective of the host culture by becoming more favorable to it; however, perceptions are not as favorable as was the case in the first phase. Consequently, certain aspects of the home culture are freely and critically reviewed in a relatively enlarged national perspective.³¹

Cohelo's study confirms some of the findings which have emerged in other researches upon foreign students.³² Furthermore, Cohelo ex-

³¹ Cohelo, op. cit., p. 98.

³² See for example, John and Ruth Hill Useem, "Images of the United States and Britain held by Foreign Educated Indians", The Annals, Vol. 295, Sept. 1954, p. 73.

amines the Indian students' images over a period of time and shows the significant shifts in the perceptions of his subjects. Most of the researches discussed above studied images of a given group at a given time. The trends in the image studies are important because they afford clues that account for the 'whys' of images enjoying favorable status at one time and unfavorable status at another.

D'Antonio is another researcher who focuses attention on the field of imagery studies.³³ His study deals with the images of business and political elites in two border cities: cd. Juarez and El Paso. D'Antonio sets out to prove 'four' hypotheses taken from How Nations See Each Other.³⁴

1. American business and political elites will have favorable images of themselves and of each other.
2. Mexican business and political elites will have generally favorable images of themselves and each other.
3. American business and political elites will have generally negative images of Mexican business and political elites.
4. Mexican business and political elites will have generally negative images of American business and political elites.

D'Antonio has actually utilized one hypothesis instead of four. In fact even this hypothesis is actually a part of the finding of the UNESCO study.

The results of D'Antonio's research showed that cd. Juarez

³³ W. V. D'Antonio, National Images of Business and Political Elites in two Border States (Department of Sociology, Michigan State University, E. Lansing, Michigan, Ph. D. thesis.)

³⁴ W. Buchanan and H. Cantril, op. cit.

business elites had more cultural contact with foreigners than any of the other groups studied. Yet their images did not differ significantly from the political elites of cd. Juarez. This finding is in sharp contrast to Cohelo's study of the Indian students. While Cohelo holds a brief for contacts with foreign culture affecting the perceptions of the Indian students, D'Antonio insists that the images of business elites in cd. Juarez did not differ significantly from the political elites who had little contact, if any, with foreign cultures. While clutching the horns of this scientific dilemma, this writer can see why the results of both exponents, though substantially contradicting each other, can be equally correct.

D'Antonio further found that the four elite groups studied tended to have highly favorable images of American businessmen and government officials. We can make the proposition that there are certain things which are common to both cultures and, therefore, agreed to by the members of these cultures. It is quite probable that both American and Indian writers will have highly favorable images of Gandhi.

Judging from the hypotheses alone which D'Antonio's study set out to prove his research may not be very impressive. However, his research was a part of a larger project and, therefore, it is somewhat difficult to judge the significance of his findings.

D. Summary

Walter Lippmann and Kenneth Boulding furnish us with a valid reason for assuming that image studies can be vital. The source of our conviction stems from their assurance that images are the sum of

what we think we know and what makes us behave the way we do.

Irwin Ross and Vance Packard share the opinion that images are manipulable. Since image formation is a product of external forces, it compels us to be intensively as well as eternally cautious.

In part B of the above review of literature we included studies written in the tradition of literary and social impressionism. They were the product of one man's subjective attitude and therefore lacked objectivity. Surprisingly, most of these studies were uncoordinated and not related to the purpose -- if any purpose ever existed.

Most of the studies included in part C appear to have three features in common: First, the most frequently used technique in these experiments for determining images has been the word-list method. The subjects are given a list of objectives, and then asked to respond to those words which most appropriately apply to national or racial groups. The word-list method as developed by Katz and Braly was to become a classical pattern to be followed by numerous researchers in the area of image studies. Second, it is worthy of notice that students have served as subjects more often than any other group of people. Finally, all of the studies discussed below indicated that there exists among their subjects a tendency to ascribe certain characteristics to certain people.

E. Development of Hypotheses

This section purports to present the results of other studies which should substantiate the hypotheses we have developed to guide the study.

In the literature already discussed, Walter Lippmann and Kenneth Boulding contend that images are the sum of what we think we know and what makes us behave the way we do. Vance Packard and Irwin Ross agree with the proposition above, but highlight the potency of the techniques used by the agents of mass-media to manipulate images.

In his book on Soviet images, Baghoorn compares the images held by Russians about America during the Second World War with those of the cold war period. He asserts that as the relationship between the governments of the two countries became unfriendly, the Soviet images of America also became distorted. Evidence gleaned from the UNESCO study strongly suggests that images of people in one country about the people in another are often associated with the relationship between governments of the countries concerned. Isaacs, in his study of American images of China and India, has shown that American images of China fluctuated from respect to benevolence to admiration to disenchantment to contempt. Throughout these shifts a correlation exists which assures a correspondence between convergence and divergence of the governments' attitudes, and favorable and unfavorable images. We have enough evidence to justify the belief that images of Nehru in America are to a greater extent influenced by the relationship between the governments of the two countries. This affords us the position from which to launch the main hypothesis.

Hypothesis One: When the relations between the governments of India and the United States are friendly, the number of established favorable images of Nehru in America will be significantly high.

Corollary: When the relations between the governments of India and the United States are unfriendly, the number of established unfavorable images of Nehru in America will be significantly high.

Although the previous hypothesis is confined to individuals dynamically tied to the umbilical cord of today's historicity, this phenomenon does not at all apply to Gandhi, despite his demise. Charismatic personalities - Gandhi, Sch^ewitzer, Einstein - do not fall within the time space framework of our first hypothesis. Isaacs observes, "The Gan^dhi image is overwhelmingly triumphant, only a few dissent. He is acknowledged as a man to be admired virtually by all, whether friendly to India or hostile..."³⁵ The absence of Gandhi from the Indian political scene and the ideals for which he stood make it possible for us to formulate a hypothesis that is essentially different from that of Nehru.

Hypothesis Two: Irrespective of the relations between the governments of the two countries, American and Indian images of Gandhi will be favorable.

The proof afforded in the UNESCO study strongly points to the suggestion that images of one's own countrymen invariably amounts to flattery. This is especially applicable to national leaders. Unless the people of India carried quite favorable impressions in their heads of Gandhi and Nehru, these two men probably could not have achieved leadership status. "All leadership," Charles Cooley observes, "takes place through the communication of ideas to the minds of others, and

³⁵ H. R. Isaacs, op. cit., p. 290.

unless these ideas are so presented as to be congenial to these other minds, they will evidently be rejected."³⁶ Any situation in which reliance is placed upon popular favorable imagery and the isolations of supreme recognitions indices must be contingent upon a mutually dependent plenum of action. From this let us postulate the third hypothesis.

Hypothesis Three: Indian writers' images of Gandhi and Nehru will be relatively more favorable than American writers' images of these two leaders.

Now we are confronted with two propositions. One, that it is the relationship between the governments that influences the images of the people in one country about the people in another; two, that people have favorable images of their own countrymen. From the previous statement we can readily deduce the assumption that the process of image formation in any given country is independent of that in any other country. That is to say, American images of Nehru are not based upon what Indians think of Nehru and vice-versa.

Hypothesis Four: There is no relationship between the American and Indian writers' images of Gandhi and Nehru.

³⁶ Charles Horton Cooley, Human Nature and Social Order (New York: McMillan Co., 1902, p. 128).

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

In the previous chapter we have reviewed the literature concerning image studies. The review of these studies involved three basic considerations: to familiarize ourselves with the major contributions made by other researchers in the field; to develop hypotheses for the present research; and finally to delineate the methods used by specialists in the field.

In this chapter our purpose is to explain the methods used in the present study for ordering our data concerning these hypotheses. For example, one hypothesis suggests that when relations between the governments of India and the United States are friendly, the number of favorable images of Nehru in America will fluctuate, and when relations are unfriendly, the converse will be true. In order to demonstrate this hypothesis, we need to establish a way for measuring the images and the existing state of friendliness between the two countries under consideration. In the following pages we will explain the methodology concerning these issues.

A. Selection of Techniques

As seen in the previous chapter the writers have used one or more of the following techniques. Specifically, the reader has already been exposed to the impressionistic treatment as evidenced in Cairns' The Image of God in Man. Again, he has journeyed with us through the roads of journalistic style as seen in M. Joseph's As Others See US. Then too, he has been exposed to the historical approach, a method commonly

used.¹ This involves gathering a vast number of facts pertaining to the subject, organizing these collected data into chronological order, and stating the account in a readable fashion. In recent times this method has been questioned by social scientists such as Lasswell,² Lazarsfeld,³ Berlson,⁴ and others. They maintain that the conventional historian's area of discretion is so vast that his selection of data cannot be objective. He is constantly faced with the problem of inclusion and exclusion; as well as in giving priority for assigning weights to relative data.

For the present purposes the impressionistic, journalistic and historical approaches were believed to be unsatisfactory, because they lacked objectivity and measurability. Berlson, Lasswell, Lazarsfeld, and others advocated that, whenever possible, empirical points of reference should be employed.

The technique employed in the present research is content analysis. When content analysis is used as a technique for research it appears to have as many definitions as there are problems. Kaplan and Goldsen believe that the technique of content analysis, "...aims at a quantitative

¹See for example, Rossi's Image of America in Mazzini's Writing. op. cit.

²Daniel Lerner and Harold Lasswell, The Policy Science Recent Developments in Scope and Methods (Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 1951).

³Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Allen H. Barton, "Qualitative Measurements in Social Sciences," in Lasswell and Lerner, Ibid. p. 155-192.

⁴Bernard Berlson, Content Analysis (Glencoe, Illinois, Free Press, 1951).

classification of a given body of content in terms of a system of categories devised to yield data relevant to specific hypotheses concerning the content."⁵ Bernard Berlsen, a pioneer in the field of communications research, defines content analysis as "...a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication."⁶ Two main assumptions are explicit in the definition given by Berlsen: one, that the relationship between content and intent or between content and effect can be validly made; and two, that the study of manifest content is meaningful. In order to lend some meaningful responses to the manifest content, the technique calls for a systematic approach. Despite the necessity for systematization, content analysis does not involve any single set of rules or type of procedures. The only requisite upon which most experts agree is the quantification of data.⁷ Whenever an array of symbolic material

⁵A. Kaplan and J. Goldsen, "The Reliability of Content Analysis Categories," Chapter 5, p. 83-112, in Laswell and Leites, eds., Language of Politics. Quoted by Berlsen, op. cit., p. 15.

⁶Berlsen, op. cit., p. 18.

⁷"...the technique known as content analysis...attempts to characterize the meanings in a given body of discourse in a systematic and quantitative fashion." A. Kaplan, "Content Analysis and the Theory of Signs," Philosophy of Science, Vol. 10, 1943, p. 230, quoted by Berlsen, Ibid., p. 15.

"Content Analysis may be defined as referring to any technique for the classification of sign vehicles;...the results of content analysis state the frequency of occurrence of signs - or groups of signs - for each category in a classification scheme." J. Janis, "Meaning and the Study of Symbolic Behaviour," Psychiatry, 1943, p. 429, quoted by Berlsen, Ibid.

presents itself and is organized into a kind of quantitative fashion, a form of content analysis inevitably exists.

Content analysis as a research technique deals mostly with certain attributes of the written or spoken material. This may vary from one extreme of counting the frequency of words or key symbols to the other extreme of determining the structure of a given political campaign. In the last instance, it is almost impossible to arrive at objective findings until one integrates the statistics of the communication contents. The emphasis on the quantitative characteristic in content analysis has been questioned by critics of this method. Kracauer, for example, is of the opinion that heavy "... reliance on quantitative content analysis may lead to a neglect of qualitative explorations, thus reducing accuracy of analysis."⁸ He asserts that accuracy can be measured only in terms of total meaning of the subject matter. Kracauer aims his criticism at the "counting" approach in content analysis. There is a great deal of truth in his criticism. Any one who restricts the field of communications research to counting is certainly not taking full advantage of the research technique of communication or of research. At the same time critics of the quantitative aspects of content analysis would do well if they could suggest ways in which qualitative standards could be used more effectively. Most content analysts will recognize that quantification is not the end in itself but simply a means in the search for objectivity.

⁸S. Kracauer, "The Challenge of Quantitative Content Analysis," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 16, No. 4, 1952-53, p. 631.

B. Universe

Although there are a number of ways by which one can collect and study images—monitoring radio and television commentaries, speeches, newspapers, books and magazines—we have chosen periodicals and books. Insofar as our hypothesis required analysis of fluctuations in images, it necessitates time span or arbitrary period. Since random check of the periodicals showed that the relations between India and America fluctuated considerably during 1947 - 1957, we decided upon the ten-year time span to be covered in the present study.

Moreover, because we were primarily concerned with the correlation between prevailing images and the degree of friendliness existing between the countries, periodicals were the most ideal instruments for our needs. Periodical literature makes it easy to show changes and trends over periods of time. Another reason for the selection of periodicals is their popularity and therefore wide circulation. People read magazines because they combine timeliness and brevity with variety.

It is for these reasons that magazine articles and books written by American and Indian authors on Gandhi and Nehru represented our universe of discourse. In the final selection of books and articles on Gandhi and Nehru we followed the procedure stated below:

To begin with, a list of books was prepared from the Michigan State University Library card catalogue under the headings, 'Gandhi' and 'Nehru' and under the minor heading 'India'. The assumption was made that Michigan State University Library would have most of the books required for our purpose. We did not, however, restrict our sources only to those books which were available in the library of Michigan State

University. A check was made of the card catalogues at Wayne State University, the University of Michigan, and Detroit Public Library. In addition, five other books were purchased by the researcher during a trip to India. In pursuit of articles written in American magazines we referred to the Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, from 1947 to 1957.⁹

The following table shows the number of books and articles written by the American and Indian authors for this ten-year period.

TABLE I

	Gandhi	Nehru
American Magazines	25	25
Indian Magazines	8	8
American Magazine Articles	54	146
Indian Magazine Articles	22	22
American Books	4	4
Indian Books	4	2

In locating articles on Gandhi and Nehru published in Indian periodicals we used a Guide to Indian Periodicals.¹⁰ This guide contained simply a list and description as to the type of periodical, the number of copies published, whether a given periodical is weekly, bi-weekly or monthly, and the name and place of the publisher. In short, it approximated a publisher's guide. However, the names of the Indian periodicals were obtained from these sources.

Having obtained a list of periodicals, we searched through the

⁹Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, New York: H. H. Wilson & Co.

¹⁰Guide to Indian Periodicals, Poona, India: Institute of Information Services, 1954.

Union List of Serials in order to locate the issues from 1947 to 1957. We were finally able to obtain the Indian materials from various parts of the country, thanks to the assistance rendered by intra-library loan facilities.

Our ensuing problem was to ascertain the nationalities of the authors. In the case of American writers it was necessary to make certain of their nationality because Canadian and British names are alike and they write in the same language. We checked their nationality in book reviews, and biographical anthologies such as, for example, Twentieth Century Authors.¹¹ Accidental clues resulted in our striking pay dirt: in some cases the author would make a statement leading to identification in his work - such as, "We Americans can learn from Gandhi..." - which simplified the task of determining the nationality of the authors studied.

C. Significance Of Written Words And Their Relation To Images

Attention has already been drawn to the notion that writers are manufacturers of images. The manufacturing of images is practically a definition of the educative process. A great number of people collect information about the leaders and current events throughout the world by reading what this small, relatively more informed minority of people write.

"To say that language is social," says Bess Sondel, "is to say that words make it possible for us to communicate with others."¹²

¹¹Twentieth Century Authors, New York: H.W. Wilson Co., 1958.

¹²Bess Sondel, The Humanity of Words, New York: The World Publishing Co., p. 21.

Words, either written or spoken, reflect, at least in part, human thought and human relations. It is only through words that human beings think together, act together, and share their feelings together. As has been suggested above, human behavior is often governed by images.

Reiss explains how words are related to images in saying:

...the thought process operates in association with images, that is to say, utilizes them (images) for its own ends...while we employ words to formulate or convey our thoughts, we think not with words themselves but with the images to which the words point or suggest in the mind. Thinking, even of the most abstract kind, is expressible only in terms of figurative transfer of meaning from these literal images.¹³

Words are, broadly speaking, concrete symbols representing abstract images.¹⁴ Words are the cues for the images as such. What is inside our minds are images. Words are outside and therefore observable. Words are indices of images. Generally speaking, most persons, and writers are no exceptions, when called upon to describe events and people, use a rather limited set of adjectives. Many individuals employ a set of generally consistent categories in their description of people and events they know about.

¹³Samuel Reiss, Language and Psychology, New York: Philosophical Library, 1959, p. 185.

¹⁴At the beginning of the present century many German, French, English, and American psychologists were involved in a bitter controversy over the problem of 'imageless thought' - images playing no role in thinking. The 'imageless thought' battle ended in a draw like the controversy over the question of 'trans-migration of soul' among spiritual leaders, both lacking concrete evidence. The only way one can know about images is through language - words.

When a writer states that Nehru is an autocrat, he depicts in a word, 'autocrat', his image of Nehru which in turn appears to be the conclusion of his information on Nehru.¹⁵ The basic unit in the present research is a word that is descriptive of Gandhi and Nehru. A descriptive word or an adjective is a concrete symbol representing an individual's image-subjective impressions as such.

Today more people than ever before are literate and even educated, but what the public can avail itself of has to be provided by the writers. "Since the inventions of the press," observed J.J. Callahan, "culture has become more a matter of reading than of speech."¹⁶ Prior to the invention of the press, learning was acquired by an oral exchange of ideas and by cultivating the use of memory. For centuries Brahman priests in India have transmitted Hindu scriptures orally to their disciples. Whenever transmission of information does not take place direct-

¹⁵C.I. Hovland & W. Mendell, "An Experimental Comparison of Conclusion Drawing by the Communicator and by the Audience," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, Vol. 47, 1952, p. 581.

When a writer states that Nehru is a Neutralist, he in reality gives his conclusion. Hovland and Mendell have reported that a greater change in opinion results when a communicator states the intended conclusion. Most people do not care or desire to know all possible available information regarding political leaders or happenings; they often like to be told in concise and comprehensive language. Thistlethwaite and associates observe that "... greater opinion change might be associated with 'directive' communications primarily because they produce superior comprehension of what the communication was trying to say." Many researchers in the field of communication contend that greater opinion change is not likely to result when a communicator merely presents factual information and arguments and lets the audience draw its own conclusions, as compared to the one who states his intended conclusion in concise and comprehensive language.

¹⁶J. J. Callahan, Science and Language (Pittsburg, Pa.: Duquense University Press, 1949), p. 133.

ly between one speaker and another, there exists a risk of distortion and error before it reaches its destination. Normally this would not happen were the messages transmitted by way of the written word.

Inasmuch as the quantity of printed matter in a country is inevitably proportional to its literacy rates, it goes without saying that we enjoy a never-ending feast of books and magazines. "We live in an environment," observed Hayakawa, "shaped largely by hitherto unparalleled semantic influences."¹⁷

D. Selection Of The Word Images

In the preceding section we explained how we selected the magazines and books, and the relation of images to printed words. In the following passages, we will explain how word-images were selected from the books and magazines.

We read each book and article that was selected and chose those words that represented the gist of the author's conclusions about Nehru or Gandhi, as the case might be. This meant selecting single terms that most obviously acted as a representative key to the person or persons designated for our purpose. For example, Nehru is neutralist, arrogant or pro-communist. We would pick all three adjectives.

We also found phrases throughout the publications read. These phrases carried the same popular and comprehensive denotation for Nehru and Gandhi. This compelled us to incorporate phrases into a word image. For example, The Nation described Nehru in the following manner: "That old favorite of our professional liberals." Here we interpreted

¹⁷I.C. Hayakawa, Language in Thought and Action (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1949), p. 30.

that at least some people in America carry the image of Nehru as liberal. We would translate the whole phrase into an image word, 'liberal'.

It is not unusual to find a single word such as 'neutralist' as a caption under Nehru's picture in a magazine or as a one-word title of an article. Despite the fact that the word 'neutralist' stands alone, it does represent an image and it has a referent (picture of Nehru).

An explanation for the inclusion of a phrase is in order. There are complex sentences whose meaning can be understood in context. In the process of gathering data, merely counting the frequency of words alone in content analysis is too mechanical and does not give the reliability which is normally secured when the meaning of a 'word' or of a 'phrase' as a whole is studied. The following example may show the fallacy of the word-counting approach. "Nehru is a kind of neutralist who favors Russia." The individual following the word-counting approach is likely to pick the 'neutralist' image and may miss 'pro-Russian' image of Nehru. This is why we also include 'phrase' in the above definition.

Each selected word-image was transferred on to a McBee card. Holes were punched to a code to accord with year and the word-symbol. Each card then, bore the word image, the title and date of the magazine and article or book read.

Once the task of collecting word images was completed, we ran through all cards and prepared an exhaustive list of word images which amounted to two hundred and eight word images in all.¹⁸ Frequency of

¹⁸See Appendix I.

each word image was recorded separately for Gandhi and Nehru individually.¹⁹

We should like to point out here that no reliability checks were made in the selection of word images.

E. Limitations Of Our Data

In any cross-cultural research, when an attempt is made to compare some aspects of one culture to those of another, rigorous scientific methods are not applicable. Even though the researcher did everything possible to collect the data from "similar" sources in both countries, it was quite difficult to compare the sources in the two countries under study. First, there is no counterpart to be found of Time Magazine in India; nor does there exist the counterpart of the Aryan Path in The United States. Second, to classify Indian magazines on the basis of quality or popularity is an impossible task. Indian magazines contain all sorts of articles. Third, the average life expectancy of Indian periodicals is much shorter than their counterparts in the United States. Therefore, it was not possible to secure all periodicals for the entire period (ten years). Fourth, a country with a per capita yearly income of \$60 and with 82 per cent of her population illiterate obviously will not have as many periodicals as the United States. Out of a list of nearly thirty-five Indian periodicals published in the English language, we were able to locate eight and of these only six had a life span of ten years (needed for our research). Fifth, Indian periodicals were not

¹⁹See Appendix III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, and X.

easily accessible in this country. It must therefore be made clear that we were limited by our data as far as Indian periodicals are concerned.

F. Favorable, Unfavorable, And Neutral Images

Having collected most of the data, our next task was to classify them in some meaningful ways. "Content analysis," says Bernard Berlson,

stands or falls by its categories. Particular studies have been productive to the extent that the categories have been clearly formulated and well adapted to the problem and to the content...since the categories contain the substance of the investigation, a content analysis can be no better than its system of categories.²⁰

As a first step in the formation of categories, we prepared an exhaustive list of word images used by American and Indian writers. Since the list contained 208 images, we started to wrestle with the heterogeneity. Our task therefore, was one of classification. Our problem posed the question: How can we bring order out of this chaos? And what do we expect from the mass of material. The answer was that we would like to know the direction of these images as viewed by Americans and Indians. Is the content of these images favorably or unfavorably manifested?

The task of determining direction of the images was not so simple as it appears. On what basis can we classify a given image as favorable, unfavorable, or neutral? Since we are dealing with two individuals from a single country, in relation to another country, a complex of values and a difference in cultures necessarily arise. To further complicate the

²⁰Bernard Berlson, op. cit., p. 147.

situation, semantic difficulties come to the fore: as, for example, the fact that the connotation of certain words differs within specific frameworks of reference. Let us take, for example, the image of a leader as an 'ascetic'. Such a trait in a leader is favorably looked upon in India by many Indians, whereas many Americans may not consider asceticism very important in a leader.

In order to reach relatively objective agreement regarding the effect of images which would include values and attitudes on the part of Americans and Indians, a panel consisting of thirty members- fifteen Americans and fifteen Indians was appointed. In appointing the panel, our aim was to provide some basis, other than the researcher's own judgment, for categorizing the word images as favorable, neutral, or unfavorable in the minds of the readers from the two countries.

In the initial stage a panel consisting of six members- three Americans and three Indians was appointed. The purposes of this pilot study were twofold: to determine the number of judges on the panel; and to get some clues towards the formulation of categories.

In the selection of members for the panel, three elements were considered important: first, nationality- since we were studying American and Indian images of Gandhi and Nehru, it was imperative that we have members representing both groups; second, educational background, most of the Indian students in the United States are studying engineering at the graduate level. If the judges on the Indian panel were to be picked at random, it is very likely that the panel would have a top-heavy representation of members having a background in engineering. The procedure of stratified sampling, under the circumstances, appears to be

the most efficient technique for insuring representation. This technique calls for the selection of members having different educational backgrounds. It is worthwhile calling the reader's attention to the fact that our main purpose in appointing the panel was to secure 'experts opinion' regarding the effect of the word images. It is not our aim to claim that the panel's verdict is 'cultural agreement.' It is realized here that any claim regarding cultural agreement would require a very extensive and elaborate procedure of sampling method. The third element considered important was contact with foreign cultures. It was desirable that judges on both American and Indian panels should not be exposed to foreign cultures for a considerable period. This researcher has interviewed in his 'sub-pilot' study three Indians who have been in this country over a period of five years, and three Indians who were in this country for an average of less than three months; he found that the two groups did not show any significant differences in their perception of the two hundred and eight word images that were given to them. Ralph Linton and other social scientists contend that the greater the frequency of contact with a foreign culture, the greater the acculturation. They appear to be possessed by the idea that this is universally true. In our opinion this is a 'fetishized concept', to use Mill's terminology.²¹ The present writer is of the opinion that exposure to a foreign culture even for a fairly long period may not influence an individual's value system as much as his family background

²¹Wright C. Mills, The Sociological Imagination, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 48.

(or other factors).

It was, however, decided to select judges who were not exposed to the foreign culture for a considerable length of time. We felt safe in the use of this approach because it carried built-in reflections of their respective cultures.

After the selection of the panel by means of the foregoing criteria each member was given a list containing two hundred and eight images and was asked to register his spontaneous reaction to an image. However, each member was given an understanding of what the researcher was doing. He was told that the images of the list referred either to Gandhi or to Nehru. We were primarily interested in their perception of the image as such, because it was assumed that most of the American judges might not know much about Gandhi and Nehru. If we knew their perception of a given image in terms of favorable or unfavorable, we could then deduce their attitude toward Gandhi and Nehru.

Surprisingly enough, a great deal of agreement was displayed in the Indian and American reactions to words listed in the pilot study. The American judges showed either high or moderate agreement on 92 percent of the images in classifying them into favorable, neutral, and unfavorable categories, while the Indian judges showed either high or moderate agreement on 95 per cent of the same words. Since there existed such a high degree of agreement, it was found unnecessary to augment the number of judges on the Indian and American panels.

The findings of the pilot study were shown to the members of the Department of Statistics and also to the statisticians of the Agriculture Experiment station on the campus. Their consensus of opinion was: 'If

carefully chosen, 30 judges are sufficient to insure representativeness.' The unavailability of 'newly arrived' Indians made it difficult to accept the number suggested by the statisticians. Moreover, the high degree of homogeneity achieved by Indians and Americans obviated the need for adhering to any rule of thumb too rigidly. Without becoming unduly arbitrary, it was decided that just half of the number suggested by the statisticians should be sufficient to secure 'experts opinion' regarding effects of the images.

A list of two hundred and eight word images was submitted, therefore, to a panel comprising thirty members - fifteen Americans and fifteen Indians. The panel members were selected on the basis of nationality, educational background, and the duration of contact with foreign cultures.

<u>No.</u>	<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Educational Background</u>	<u>Stay Abroad</u>
2	American	Chemical Engineering	None
2	Indian	Chemical Engineering	1 to 4 months
1	American	Civil Engineering	None
1	Indian	Civil Engineering	4 months
2	American	Mechanical Engineering	None
2	Indian	Mechanical Engineering	1 to 6 months
1	American	Statistics	None
1	Indian	Statistics	3 months
1	American	Psychology	None
1	Indian	Psychology	6 months
2	American	Political Science	None
2	Indian	Political Science	1 to 4 months
1	American	Electrical Engineering	None

<u>No.</u>	<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Educational Background</u>	<u>Stay Abroad</u>
1	Indian	Electrical Engineering	6 months
1	American	Horticulture	None
1	Indian	Horticulture	6 months
1	American	Veternary Surgeon	None
1	Indian	Veternary Surgeon	8 months
1	American	Philosophy	None
1	Indian	Philosophy	4 months
1	American	Social Work	None
1	Indian	Social Work	5 months
1	American	Undergraduate Non-preference	None
1	Indian	Undergraduate Non-preference	3 months

Each member of the panel was given the list containing two hundred and eight images and was asked: "If you were to use these adjectives in reference to Gandhi and Nehru, would you use them when you want to refer to Gandhi and Nehru in favorable, unfavorable or neutral terms?" The researcher indicated his willingness to respond to any query the members of the panel might have regarding the images. Some of the judges on the panel were not familiar with certain words. For example, all Indian judges inquired about what Peter Pan stood for, while most American judges wanted to know who Kerensky, Robespierre, and Walter Scott were. In order to avoid the researcher's image of these men, the judges were given information drawn from the Encyclopedia Britannica.

The plan for developing categories was our next hurdle. The process of categorizing two hundred and eight images proved very frustrating. The writer felt like a dog going in a circle trying to catch its tail.

It is his intention here to enumerate some obstacles and resulting frustrations; however, some points warrant mentioning. For instance, some data which may appear statistically manageable on the surface do not lend themselves to consistency on the basis of statistical analysis. We were unable to classify word images into categories which would picture the agreement between the Indians and Americans. Thus, a given word, when classified as 'neutral', should be agreed upon as such by both Indian and American judges. We found some statisticians too specialized to handle the problem. They suggested the use of either correlation coefficient or standard deviation. Unfortunately, neither method offered any panacea. Their suggestion amounted to using a surgeon's knife to cut carrots.

In categorizing data, our prime motive is to know what Americans and Indians think of a given image. Indians in general do not read American magazines, and by the same token Americans do not read Indian magazines. We should not, therefore, unwittingly commit the error of combining both.

But how shall we determine whether a given image is favorable, unfavorable or neutral in the judgment of Americans and Indians? What actually happens, should all fifteen judges of the Indian panel vote on a given image as either favorable or unfavorable? Should ten out of fifteen judges vote a certain way on a given image....what is the nature of such an agreement? Basically, we established a criterion as ten or more votes on one image-word as showing "High Agreement"; five to nine votes as "Moderate Agreement." "Agreement" could be on the "favorableness," "unfavorableness," or "neutrality" of an image-word.

Once we have settled the task of determining the direction - that is, whether a given word is favorable, unfavorable or neutral in the eyes of American and Indian judges - we now turn our attention to the extent of agreement between American and Indian judges on each word. We have before us two sets of data:

I. Agreement Among Americans:

Highly Favorable (HF), Highly Unfavorable (HUF), Highly Neutral(HN)²² and Moderately Favorable (MF), Moderately Unfavorable(MUF), Moderately Neutral (MN).²³

II. Agreement Among Indians:

Highly Favorable, Highly Unfavorable, Highly Neutral,²⁴ and Moderately Favorable, Moderately Unfavorable, Moderately Neutral.²⁵

In the foregoing we have considered a description of our hypothesis, a statement of our methods and procedures, and a classification for the best use of images. In prospect we would like to share with the reader the products that emanated from these prepared settings.

²²See Appendix III and VII for a complete list of HF, HUF, HN words.

²³See Appendix IV and VIII for a complete list of MF, MUF, MN words.

²⁴See Appendix V and IX for a complete list of HF, HUF, HN words.

²⁵See Appendix VI and X for a complete list of MF, MUF, MN words.

CHAPTER IV

THE NEHRU IMAGE

INTRODUCTION

The present chapter is devoted to the discussion of the two main aspects of study: one, the quantitative results; and two, the qualitative analysis. There would be no point to quantification of the images of Gandhi and Nehru were the qualitative aspect left out of the picture. Quantification of the data is, after all, only a means to an end. The use of tabular, graphic, numerical or some form of statistical schemata needs no apology. Only conclusions based on mathematical presentations furnish a framework within which qualitative analysis can be made less ambiguous and more manageable.

Anyone who is made aware of the study thinks out loud almost instinctively, "It would be very interesting to know how Gandhi and Nehru are perceived in this country. I know both these leaders are popular in India." Well informed persons seem to know that Gandhi and Nehru are popular in India but they are not sure how these leaders are seen in America. The curious reader would further want to know the kind and number of items under consideration and the relative significance of these data to one another. More specifically, he would ask himself: What kind of ratio does exist of favorable and unfavorable images of these two leaders in these two countries. What is the nature of the difference between positive and negative images in books and magazines. Quantitative answers can be found in the table on the following page.

TABLE II

Favorable, Unfavorable and Neutral Images of Nehru
in American and Indian Periodicals and Books.

	American Magazines	Indian Magazines	American Books	Indian Books
Number of Magazines Articles and Books	146	22	2	2
Number of Favorable Images	482	86	35	129
Number of Neutral Images	162	11	8	42
Number of Unfavorable Images	182	10	22	31
Total Number of Images	826	107	65	202
Percentage of Favorable Images to Total Images	73%	89%	61%	81%
Number of Favorable Images per Article and per Book	2.301	3.909	17.5	64.5
Number of Unfavorable Images per Article and per Book	1.246	.454	11.0	15.5

When the foregoing figures are translated into words they should read:

1. That Nehru has more favorable than unfavorable images in American magazines: The ratio of favorable to unfavorable images is roughly three to one.
2. That Nehru has more favorable than unfavorable images in the two American books: The ratio of favorable to unfavorable images is roughly three to two.
3. That Nehru has more favorable than unfavorable images in Indian magazines: The ratio of favorable to unfavorable images is roughly nine to one.
4. That Nehru has more favorable than unfavorable images in Indian books: The ratio of favorable to unfavorable images is roughly four to one.

On the basis of the above four findings, two major conclusions can be drawn.

First, Nehru has more favorable than unfavorable images in both American and Indian books and magazines in our sample.

Second, the proportion of favorable images is slightly higher in Indian publications than in American.

The second conclusion confirms the hypothesis that Indian writers' images of Nehru will be relatively more favorable than American writers' images of Nehru.¹ In a society where selection of a leader takes place in a relatively free environment, it is essential for an individual aspiring to leadership to have more

¹See p. 44.

favorable than unfavorable images. A corollary to this is worth recalling: that people usually hold favorable images of their own countrymen.

The first conclusion -- that Nehru has more favorable than unfavorable images in America -- is an intriguing one. It can be granted that cultures of the United States and India are not alike. The fact that Nehru enjoys relatively favorable images in America despite these cultural differences suggests at least two things: one, that cultural factors may not be very significant in the formation of images, and two, that Americans and Indians might have similar points of view with respect to leadership goals.

Let us take proposition one, namely, that cultural factors may not be significant in the formation of images. One of our hypotheses is that if the relations between the governments of India and the United States are friendly, the number of established favorable images of Nehru in America will be significantly high. Conversely, if the relationship between the two governments is unfriendly, Nehru will have relatively negative images in America. What we are trying to prove is that not the differences in cultures, but rather political differences, affect the fluctuations in the images. In order to prove the above hypothesis, it is important that we hold in front of us the dominant, frequently repeated images of Nehru in America and secondly, yearly fluctuations in the images.

A. Most Frequent Images of Nehru in America

The most frequent images of Nehru in India and America will give us some clues to the way in which Nehru is seen in the two

countries with different cultures. Is it the political image of Nehru in America that accounts for his being viewed differently, or does culture essentially help Indians to perceive him as a hero? Perhaps other explanations for the possessions of a different picture of him are equally valid. The predominant images should also shed light on the representative aspects of Nehru's leadership. In order to fruitfully explore leadership phenomena we need to state what constitute representative aspects. For the purpose of convenience we will break leadership phenomena down into four major classes: Personal attributes (personal qualities or traits such as charming, courageous, etc.); Leadership attributes (such as organizer, peacemaker, etc.); Political attributes (such as democrat, socialist, etc.); and Status recognition (such as popular, idolized, etc.).

TABLE III.

Predominant Images of Nehru in America²
(Images with the frequency of ten or more)

<u>Favorable</u>		<u>Unfavorable</u>		<u>Neutral</u>	
Asian figure	20	Agnostic	16	Neutralist	25
Charming	19	Anti-American	16	Statesman	<u>23</u>
Democrat	13	Aristocrat	14	Total Neutral	48
Energetic	12	Arrogant	13		
Gandhi's heir	34	Confused	11		
Idealist	13	Emotional	17		
Influential	10	Idolized	13		
Intellectual	16	Paradoxical	10		
International figure	10	Politician	17		
Leader	70	Short-tempered	10		
Outstanding	11	Socialist	<u>19</u>		
Nationalist	41	Total Unfavor-			
Non-communist	20	able	156		
Peacemaker	12				
Popular	22				
Western Oriented	<u>26</u>				
Total Favorable	<u>350</u>				

²For a complete list of images employed by American writers, please refer to Appendix III and IV.

- a. Personal attributes of Nehru (ascribed by American writers): agnostic 16, aristocrat 14, arrogant 13, charming 20, confused 11, emotional 17, energetic 12, idealist 13, intellectual 16, paradoxical 10, short-tempered 10, western oriented 26. Total personal attributes: 178.
- b. Leadership attributes of Nehru (ascribed by American writers): leader 70, peacemaker 12, statesman 23. Total leadership attributes: 105.
- c. Political attributes of Nehru (ascribed by American writers): anti-American 16, democrat 13, nationalist 41, neutralist 24, non-communist 20, politician 17, socialist 19. Total political attributes: 151.
- d. Status (recognition) of Nehru (ascribed by American writers): Asian figure 20, Gandhi's heir 34, idolized 13, influential 10, international figure 10, outstanding 11, popular 22. Total status (recognition) attributes: 120.

Out of the total 554 images ascribed by American writers 156 are unfavorable. We shall show later how and when these favorable and unfavorable images were used by American writers. For the time being, let us see what kind of images Indian writers have of Nehru. Do they see in him a political leader or a cultural hero? Or are we overlooking subtle insights that American writers insert into the definition of the situation that concerns us. Perhaps other explanations for the possessions of different pictures of him are equally valid: Isn't it quite likely that the merged impression of the politician who enjoys wide popular support is more than either a political or a cultural chieftainship (cannot the whole be greater than the sum of all parts?) The reinforcement of a local status can be so complex in its composition that any foreign writer is hard put to assess the same.

B. MOST FREQUENT IMAGES OF NEHRU IN INDIA

In keeping with the promise made in the introduction to American images of Nehru we shall now turn to the Indian counterpart.

TABLE IV
Predominant images of Nehru in India³
(Images with frequency of five or more)

<u>Favorable</u>		<u>Unfavorable</u>		<u>Neutral</u>	
Artist	5	Confused	9	Agnostic	9
Anti-military alliance	6	Total Unfavorable	9	Idolized	16
Charming	5			Lonely	7
Courageous	6			Paradoxical	6
Democrat	15			Unlike Gandhi	8
Emotional	11			Visionary	7
Gandhi's heir	9			Total Neutral	53
Hero	5				
Influential	5				
International figure	6				
Leader	11				
Optimist	5				
Popular	11				
Sensitive	6				
Sincere	6				
Socialist	11				
Symbol of India	7				
Total Favorable	130				

In the interest of being consistent let us adhere again to the four group taxonomy in order to classify Indian images.

a. The personal attributes of Nehru (ascribed by Indian writers):

agnostic 9, artist 5, charming 5, courageous 6, confused 9, emotional 11, optimist 5, paradoxical 6, sensitive 6, sincere 6, visionary 7. Total personal attributes: 75.

b. The leadership attributes of Nehru (ascribed by Indian writers): leader

11. Total leadership attributes: 11.

³Since Indian images were considerably less-roughly one third of the total number of American images-where 10 or more constituted high frequency. Five or more images constituted high frequency for the Indian data. See Appendix V and VI for a complete list of Indian images.

- c. The political attributes of Nehru (ascribed by Indian writers):
anti-military alliance 6, democrat 15, socialist 11. Total political attributes: 32.
- d. Status (recognition) attributes of Nehru (ascribed by Indian writers):
Gandhi's heir 9, hero 5, idolized 16, influential 5, international figure 6, lonely 7, popular 11, symbol of India 7, unlike Gandhi 8. Total status (recognition) attributes: 74.

Now we are faced with a problem of depth analysis. By using two sets (American and Indian) of fourfold schemata, we are now in a position to exploit their inherent implications. We want to examine the implications of the data in order to draw inferences. The following table suggests the relative emphasis given by American writers to the four attributes.

TABLE V

Personal, Leadership, Political and Status
Attributes Ascribed by the American and Indian Writers.

<u>Writers</u>	<u>Personal</u> <u>Attributes</u>	<u>Leadership</u> <u>Attributes</u>	<u>Political</u> <u>Attributes</u>	<u>Status</u> <u>Attributes</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>Images</u>
American	178 (32%)	105 (19%)	151 (27%)	120 (22%)	554 (100%)
Indian	75 (39%)	11 (6%)	32 (16%)	74 (39%)	192 (100%)

Generalizations

Generalization one - Personal attributes of Nehru received considerable attention of both American and Indian writers.

Generalization two - Status attributes of Nehru were emphasized

more by the Indian writers than by American writers.

Generalization three - Personal and status attributes of Nehru were given equal emphasis by the Indian writers.

Generalization four - Leadership attributes of Nehru were emphasized by the American writers more than by the Indian writers.

Generalization five - Political attributes of Nehru were emphasized by the American writers more than by the Indian writers.

Generalization six - 'Confused' is the only unfavorable image of Nehru among the Indian writers.

Generalization seven - The dominant image of Nehru as a 'leader' is acknowledged in both America and India.

Generalization eight 'Peacemaker' and 'statesman' are the American designations of Nehru.

Generalization nine - 'Socialist' and 'democrat' are the dominant political images characterising Nehru in America as well as India.

Generalization ten - Inasmuch as American image makers see Nehru in the light of Russia and Communism, they portray him as 'non-communist', 'neutralist', 'nationalist', and 'anti-American.'

Generalization eleven - Both Indians and Americans recognize Nehru as 'outstanding' and 'popular'.

Generalization twelve - While Indians acknowledge Nehru as Gandhi's heir, they picture him as unlike Gandhi.

C. Commentator's Interpolations

It seems apparent that both Americans and Indian writers emphasize

personal attributes considerably in a leader. However, this does not mean that attributes as such are identical in both countries. Both American and Indian writers agree on the personal attributes of Nehru such as, agnostic, charming, confused, emotional and paradoxical. Other personal attributes emphasized by American writers are - aristocrat, arrogant, energetic, idealist, intellectual, short tempered and western oriented. While Indian writers emphasized personal attributes of Nehru such as artist, courageous, optimist, sensitive, sincere and visionary. In spite of the variation in the terms employed by American and Indian writers to ascribe personal attributes, the fact remains that personal attributes are important to both societies as aspects of leadership phenomena.

Personal attributes attached to national leaders are the keystone to the persuasion of masses of people, be they American or Indian. A partial explanation of the enthusiastic welcome that Eisenhower received in India may be attributed to the emphasis given by the Indian press to his personal attributes such as 'sincere', 'honest', 'god-fearing', and so on. It is not unusual to hear someone explaining Eisenhower's popularity in his country, as when one refers to his personal attributes by saying, "Well, Eisenhower may not be a very smart man - but he is 'sincere', - a 'religious' and 'honest' person." If the Indian writers had raised the issue of military aid to Pakistan -(the matter on which India and the United States do not see eye to eye), the popularity of Eisenhower would have been dampened to that extent. We have seen in the table V that Indian writers put more emphasis on the status(recognition) attributes

than did American writers. This finding confirms the belief (in America as well as India) that Indians are status conscious.⁴

We have also established that the political attributes of Nehru were emphasized more by the American writers than the Indian writers. However, it is by no means surprising to associate the images of the Indian prime minister with journalistic impressions of the man within the context of the world communism, especially with his policy of neutralism. In fact the world scene (1947-1957) under study can be witnessed turning around Nehru as the orbital point separating the two opposing forces represented by the East on one end and the West on the other. In the following pages the viewpoint - that political differences are responsible for the fluctuations in images will be discussed.

D. Trend Analysis of the Image of Nehru in India and America

In the chapter dealing with the review of literature we made the observation that the studies undertaken by Buchanan and Cantril, Katz and Braly, Vinacke, Isaacs, and others, did not deal with the changing perceptions of their subjects. Methodologically, one would hope that such studies could be set on a trend basis so that we could gather more and better data about people's attitudes in form and change over a period of time in various countries. The value of the trend analysis lies in the fact that it is a useful instrument in sorting out the probable factors which cause the shifts. Nehru, for example, was once regarded as a western style democrat in 1949 and then became anti-American in 1953. So the value of the trend charts is two-fold: first, it points to the fluctuations; and second,

⁴Richard D. Lambert and Marvin Bressler, "Indian Students and the United States: Cross-cultural Images," The Annals, Vol. 295 (September 1954), pp. 62-72.

TREND CHARTS SHOWING YEARLY FLUCTUATIONS OF
FAVORABLE AND UNFAVORABLE IMAGES OF NEHRU FROM 1947 - 1957

CHART ONE: AMERICAN MAGAZINES

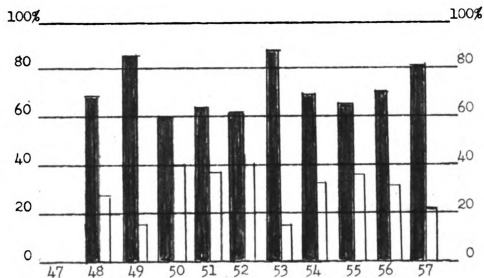
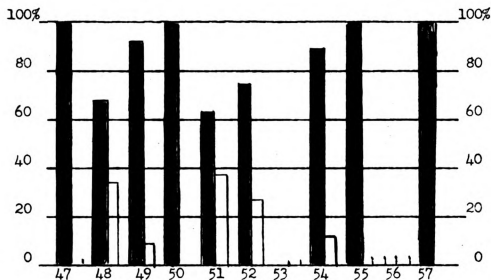




CHART TWO: INDIAN MAGAZINES



 FAVORABLE
 UNFAVORABLE

it affords some clues about the whys and hows of the fluctuations.

In this section we have a fourfold purpose in mind: First, to draw trend charts showing yearly shifts of the favorable and unfavorable images of Nehru in India and America. Second, once we have established the years when the shifts in favorable and unfavorable images took place, we shall pick the abnormal years (the years during which the fluctuations were relatively high). Thirdly, we shall see whether any correlation could be established between the shifts in the images of Nehru and the kind of relations that exists between the governments of the two countries. This is compatible with our hypothesis that fluctuations in the images are associated with the relationships between the two countries. Finally, our purpose will be to compare the Indian and American trends of the abnormal years and see if there exists any correlation between the images of Indian and American writers (we had hypothesized that there is no relation between Indian and American writers' images - they are independent of each other).

On the basis of the trend charts on page 77, we can make the following observations:

1. Images of Nehru during the years 1949, 1953, 1957 were relatively favorable in American Magazines.
2. Images of Nehru during the years 1950, 1951, 1952, and 1955 were relatively unfavorable in American Magazines.
3. Images of Nehru during the years 1947, 1950, 1955, and 1957 were relatively favorable in Indian Magazines.

4. Images of Nehru during the years 1948, 1951, and 1952 were relatively unfavorable in Indian Magazines.

On the basis of these observations, as well as the two trend charts on page 77, we have picked the following years for analysis:

A. We have picked the years 1950 and 1955 because they offer an interesting situation. During these years, Indians have highly favorable images and Americans have highly unfavorable ones of Nehru.

B. We have also selected the year 1951 because the situation here is opposite of what we find during the years of 1950 and 1955. During the year 1951 both Americans and Indians held highly unfavorable images of Nehru.

C. The year 1957 was selected because both Americans and Indians held highly favorable images of him.

Images of Nehru in America and India During the Years 1950 and 1955

A casual glance at the chart on page 77 confronts us with a somewhat paradoxical situation. The number of unfavorable images of Nehru is relatively higher during the years 1950 and 1955 when compared to other years under study. Despite the rise in the number of unfavorable images, the number of favorable images still remains greater. Our task then is to offer a plausible explanation for the rise in the unfavorable images.

Before we delve into the year 1950, it is important to have a brief look at the images of Nehru for the preceding year.

In the middle of October, 1949, Nehru visited the United States. He was well received by the American press (with the exception of the

U. S. News and World Report). Let us see what some of the magazines had to say about Nehru.

Time Magazine hailed him by saying that:

America had a lot of other things to learn about Asia's key man. Nehru has been a somewhat nebulous figure, graceful, great, 'a jewel among men' as his master Mahatma Gandhi said. The cultured patriot with Cambridge accent, luminous eyes, and magnetic smile, who spent thirteen years of his sixty years in British Jail, has become the Orient's most unoriented supercharged public executive.⁵

Nehru was lauded in New York Times, which said of him:

"spokesman of a troubled continent, Prime Minister Nehru, a hero to the millions of Indians, is also the champion of New Asia."⁶

Newsweek Magazine heralded him as a "western style democrat".⁷

Life Magazine called him "the most important man in Asia."⁸

Quite a favorable image of Nehru prevailed among most magazine writers in America during the year 1949. The only dissenting voice that was heard was the U. S. News and World Report, which said: "Prime Minister Nehru coming to the United States for wheat and dollars, keeps free India on a tightrope between Moscow and the West."⁹

⁵"Marching Through Kashmir," Time Magazine, Vol. 54, No. 38 (October 17, 1949), p. 30.

⁶"The Leaders of East Asia," New York Times (Sunday Magazine) (October 9, 1949), p. 12.

⁷"Importance of Nehru's Visit," Newsweek, Vol. 34, No. 16, (October 17, 1949), p. 21.

⁸"Nehru in the U. S.," Life, Vol. 27, No. 19 (November 7, 1949), p. 68.

⁹"Prime Minister Nehru Coming to U.S. For Wheat and Dollars," U. S. News and World Report, Vol. 27, No. 16 (October 14, 1949), p. 38.

During this period Nehru's image as 'neutralist' was beginning to take shape. Most Americans did not understand how one can be neutral between 'the evils of communism' and 'the goodness of democracies'. But Nehru managed to explain his neutralism in a speech before Congress, which placated the American press. In the speech before Congress Nehru declared that he would not "acquiesce in any challenge to man's freedom from whatever quarter it may come. Where freedom is menaced or justice threatened or where aggression takes place, we cannot and shall not be neutral."¹⁰

It is plain to see that the year 1949 throws a brilliant star of light on Nehru's forehead. Inasmuch as Nehru's star was in the heavens, three hundred sixty-five days of honeymoon were enjoyed between New Delhi and Washington, D. C.

Although favorable images hovered about Nehru in 1949, they collapsed with the arrival of the year 1950. The year 1950 saw the trend of the images of Nehru in reverse. The good and fairheaded boy Nehru now is seen as enemy of the west and a source of danger. The American writers' images of Nehru have certainly changed; let us see what brought these changes.

Let us document the events and speeches perpetrated by Nehru, then observe the reactions of the American writers to Nehru's behaviour.

On January 12, 1950, all members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, except India, agreed that Bao Dai's Vietnam in Indochina should have the Commonwealth's support. Nehru argued that many follow-

¹⁰"Friendly Neutral," Time, Vol. 54, No. 46 (October 24, 1949), p. 28.

ers of Communist leader Ho Chi Minh were Indochinese patriots rather than communists....On January 27, 1950, Nehru criticized severely President Truman's decision to make hydrogen bombs...When the Korean War broke out in June of 1950, Nehru refused to send troops against Communist North Korea....On July 13, 1950, Nehru sent notes to Joseph Stalin and Dean Acheson, urging them to restore peace in Korea in order to prevent war from spreading. In the same letter he urged that Communist China be seated in the United Nations....On September 4, 1950, Nehru rejected the United Nations mediator's proposal on Kashmir... On October 9, 1950, Nehru opposed the crossing of the 38th parallel by the United Nations forces in Korea....On October 16, 1950, India abstained from voting on the United States-backed resolution in the United Nations to create a stand-by police force. Nehru said it was a wrong approach, like converting the United Nations into a larger edition of the Atlantic Pact and making it a war organization.¹¹ The foregoing performances on the part of Nehru - undoubtedly political in character - brought about the unfriendliness between the two countries. This resulted in unfavorable images of the Indian leader on the part of American writers.

Time Magazine, for example, ridiculed Nehru's efforts to mediate in the Korean dispute. It wrote:

¹¹Facts on Files: Weekly World News Digest (New York: Facts on File, Incorporated, 1950).

A Spaniard last week contemplated the doings of Pandit Jawarharlal Nehru, India's Prime Minister, and drew a fetching analogy. 'When a torero and a toro are in the ring' explained the Spaniard, 'sometimes somebody from the audience will jump into the ring with a homemade muleta- which up to that moment he had hidden in his pants - wave the cloth at the bull and try to take over the fight. We call him an espontaneo (spontaneous one), and we jail him: he spoils the fiesta and dangerously distracts the torro; Nehru looks like an international espontaneo'.¹²

Life Magazine changed the previous image as 'the most important man in Asia' to the following:

'Nehru is the moral and spiritual leader of non-communist nations in Asia'. This cliché, not precisely wrong, is at least an oversimplification of a complex matter. (For instance, Hindu India does not speak for the Asiatic Moslem).¹³

U. S. News and World Report commented:

India's Nehru with a peace plan for Korea, can't get peace operating in his own backyard . . . Nehru's idea for Korea: Be gentle with Communist China. His idea at home: Be tough and unyielding with neighbour Pakistan. The Nehru approach, a strange double standard, finds its explanation in Mr. Nehru's ambition for India - he wants India to be the strong leader of free Asia, and the enemy of 'white colonialism', 'the champion of world peace'.¹⁴

Newsweek saw in Nehru "...a bitter anti-American mood ... Nehru vigorously champions the Chinese Communist cause."¹⁵

¹²"Spontaneous Pandit," Time, Vol. 56, No. 5 (July 31, 1950), p. 25.

¹³Life, August 24, 1950, Vol. 29, No. 8, p. 28.

¹⁴"India," U. S. News and World Report, Vol. 30 (February 9, 1951), p. 35.

¹⁵"Kremlin Courtship," Newsweek, Vol. 35 (February 20, 1950), p. 27.

The year 1950 was marked with sharp political differences between India and the United States. Nehru's views and actions relating to 1950 international issues certainly did nothing to please the government of the United States. One of the harshest criticism directed against Nehru in America was Nehru's failure to 'keep his promise' before the Congress of the United States to the effect that he would defend freedom and fight aggression anywhere. Another charge levelled at him lay in his failure to get along with Pakistan, while offering advice to the western powers in general and the United States in particular on how to get along with Communist China. Americans were at a loss to understand why Nehru was soft on Communists abroad but tough on the Indian Communists.

Nehru's tough attitude towards the Indian Communists is one of the reasons for favorable images in America. His devotion to the ideals of democracy was also recognized by most writers in America. Moreover, some writers felt that Nehru was to the right of a number of other Indian leaders, an attitude, which resulted in Nehru's becoming a choice between evils. One may readily look upon Nehru's ability to keep India stable and united as sufficiently appreciated to constitute tangible contribution. How could this help but make for favorable images?

The year 1955, like the year 1950, marked the down swing in Nehru's images. He was received favorably at home but unfavorably in America. There were a large number of issues on which Nehru acted or for which he spoke out that caused American writers to comment on him. First we list the issues which created friction between America and India.

The Nehru Image During the Year 1955

On January 29, Nehru declared his intention to play a 'peaceful role' in the Formosa crisis. This certainly antagonized Americans... On February 14, Nehru asked Chinese Premier Chou EnLai for an informal promise that his regime would not use force to take Nationalist-held islands - Nehru was said to believe the Nationalists would evacuate all islands except Formosa and Pescadore... On February 16, Nasser and Nehru issued a statement condemning military alliances as contributing to world tensions... On March 31, Nehru told the Indian Parliaments that Quemoy and Matsu Islands belonged to Communist China and that, barring another war, the islands would go to Red China. Nehru protested 'mad house' western diplomacy in almost every part of the world and said he hoped that India would not behave like the other lunatics... On April 22, Nehru delivered a speech before the Bandung Conference, in which he called NATO a 'powerful protector of colonialism', and further stated that it was intolerable humiliation for an Asian-African country to degrade itself as a camp follower. Moreover, Nehru wondered out loud whether Guatemala was 'an example of another kind of colonialism' as far as the United States is concerned... On June 7, Nehru arrived in Moscow to receive an unprecedented welcome.... On June 23, Soviet premier Bulganin and Nehru in a joint statement urged (a) the necessity for a nuclear weapon bar, (b) Red China's legitimate rights on Formosa, and (c) seating of Red China in the United Nations.... On June 28, in Vienna, Nehru told the newsmen that he never noticed any 'curtain, iron or otherwise, while visiting Czechoslovakia, the U.S.S.R., and Poland'... On July 7, Nehru and Tito issued a joint statement denouncing

military pacts, (b) refusal of the West to seat Red China in the U. N., and (c) U. S. insistence on hydrogen bomb tests...On July 12, Nehru and Nasser agreed upon issuing a statement similiar to the one preceding...On July 22, Nehru urged the British Prime Minister to open pre-election talks in Vietnam. The United States entertained some fear on that score, as there was a good possibility of a victory on the part of North Viet-Minh....On November 18, Krushev and Bulganin arrived in New-Delhi and received a tumultuous welcome....On November 20, Nehru denounced military pacts at a banquet honoring Russian leaders.¹⁶

Now that we have some awareness of the 'sins' that Nehru committed in the year 1955, image reactions to be found below should surprise no one. Nehru is no longer seen as a 'spokesman of the troubled continent', 'champion of Asia' or 'man with a magnetic smile'. He is perceived as 'irritable', 'emotional', 'anti-American' and even 'pro-Communist'.

The most important events in which Nehru was the chief participant were:

1. Bandung Conference of the Asian African delegates.
2. His visit to Russia.
3. Russian leaders' visit to India and neighboring countries.

The U. S. government and the Western powers in general were quite apprehensive about the outcome of the Bandung Conference. It was feared that anti-colonial feelings of the Afro-Asian delegates might turn the conference into an anti-West propaganda instrument. Nehru exerted considerable influence over this conference. It is important to bear in mind that his pre-conference pronouncements as well as his

¹⁶ Facts on Files: Weekly World News Digest (New York: Facts on File, Incorporated, 1955), op. cit.

declarations at the gathering were anything but a comfort to the West.

In the words of one of the nationally known American magazines:

He was sought out by many countries, vastly relishing this neutralist role . . . Jawaharlal Nehru is stuck with the thesis that those ole debbil Americans must be causing all the troubles.¹⁷

After picturing Nehru as a 'neutralist' and 'anti-American', the same magazine in another issue dealing with Nehru's role at the Bandung Conference wrote:

Lordly India's Nehru surveyed the gathering...waited for the lesser delegates to approach and pay their respects. Nehru had the air of a man in undisputed command ...Red China's Chou En-Lai was to be introduced to International Society under his chaperonage...from such a conference Nehru would emerge as the spokesman for the world's colored races, the mediator between East and West, the apostle of peace, the leader of the mighty neutralist brood.¹⁸

Another magazine described Nehru's role at the conference in the following words:

"The real issue at Bandung...Nehru's grab for neutralist leadership" was the headline of an article which further declared, "Now he is using the Bandung megaphone to sound even more ambitious scheme...an attempt to bring the Middle East into India's neutralist camp...Nehru's blandishments are far more dangerous than the all too obvious designs of Chou En-Lai."¹⁹

A few months after the Bandung Conference Nehru received a grand

¹⁷"Salam Alikum," Time, Vol. 66, No. 15(April 4, 1955), p. 18.

¹⁸"On The High Wire," Time, Vol. 66 No. 18 (May 2, 1955), p. 27.

¹⁹"Nehru And Us: Some Advice," Newsweek, Vol. 45 (April 25, 1955), p. 38.

welcome in Russia, seldom accorded to a foreign visitor such as this. Such gestures of friendship between India and Russia, America's chief antagonist, accounts for another nose dive in Nehru's image. 'Neutralist and 'anti-colonial' Nehru now was depicted as a 'pro-communist', 'vain' and 'arrogant'.

An ecclesiastical magazine found India under Nehru's leadership in the Communist camp thus:

Ever so often India's Prime Minister Nehru succeeds in trying the patience of those willing to give his country's policy a measure of understanding. That the Indian Prime Minister should publicly associate his views with those of Mr. Bulganin seems to remove India from the neutralist camp.²⁰

One of the popular magazines had this to say on Nehru's visit to Russia:

...last week when the Kremlin gang set out to win India's teetotalling Nehru....who as a neutralist is convinced that his world stature depends on refusing to become a second-string player on either side....it would have taken a man less vain than Nehru to resist the Soviet welcome.²¹

The mirror of Nehru's images achieved its superlative in ugliness in 1955 when Bulganin and Krushchev were accorded a tumultuous welcome in India. A comment typifying this reaction comes from the New Yorker:

Moscow's new tack is to embrace all sorts of anti-Communist leaders in Asia....'capitalist', 'feudal', 'neutralist', or whatever - just so long as they are 'anti-imperialists' or inclined to check the spread of American influence. Since Pandit Nehru fits both these

²⁰ "Exorbitance of Mr. Nehru," America, Vol. 93, No. 15 (April 16, 1955), p. 365.

²¹ "Man With A Knife," Time, Vol. 65 No. 11 (March 21, 1955), p. 31.

specifications, he has been getting the play recentlysome observers think Pandit Nehru is eager for world recognition as a world statesman.²²

Time Magazine, surveying Nehru of 1955 in general and his doings in particular, reflects the ever-pervading picture in this manner:

Nehru is the highest priest of Neutralism...it is bootless to measure Nehru as a friend of the U. S. which he is not. Nehru grows furious when western powers refuse to accept India's judgment as the final word on Asian problems...He preaches anti-colonialism...He berates the world for its use of force, but he holds Kashmir by force, he talks of the rights of people but he denies Kashmir, a plebiscite, he resents the intrusion of other people but he is always ready to intrude elsewhere....Nehru is very close to being a Caesar....Nehru is a socialist...Nehru has not only instilled in many Indians a deep suspicion of the U. S., but has also failed to alert his people to the danger of Soviet imperialism.

If despite his Caesarism and his ill conceived sponsorship of Bulganin and Krushchev, India survives as a unified nation without going communist, Nehru's vanities and eccentricities will become merely a playground for biographers.²³

Even as Nehru hits bottom in terms of American prestige in 1955, he ironically enough reaches the summit at the same moment in his own country. Indians were proud to see their leader champion the cause of Asian and African peoples at the Bandung Conference; Indians were proud to see their leader receive a hero's welcome in powerful Russia, acclaimed in the Middle East, and sought out for advice by the British, Yugoslavia, and France. The Indians hailed him as a 'great moral force' in the world and a statesman of 'great calibre', whose wisdom is sought by all sensible and peace-loving persons, such as Bulganin, Krushchev,

²²"The Russian Travellers in India," New Yorker, Vol. 31, No. 46 (December 31, 1955), p. 32.

²³"Accentuating The Negative," Time, Vol. 68 (July 30, 1956), p. 26.

Nasser, and Tito. His 'constructive' suggestions for peace were appreciated everywhere, if one is to take the word of Indian writers.

March of India²⁴ depicted him as an 'artist', Gandhi's heir', 'genius' and 'influential'. Modern Review²⁵ saw in Nehru an outstanding 'mediator', admired his 'non-violent' approach to the solving of international problems. His 'tolerance' towards Portugal on the issue of Goa and his 'pro-science' outlook in the modernization of India were received with a great deal of admiration.

In summing up the discussion evidence points to a correlation of American images of Nehru and relations between the American and Indian governments. Thus, we establish the years 1950 and 1955 as proof, that Nehru's world role was sensitized by American writers through his personal and intellectual gyrations as prime minister of India.

The Nehru Image During 1951

The year 1951 is characterized by a conspiracy of understanding between the writers in the two countries. Nehru was perceived unfavorably by all concerned. What does this signify? Does this mean that Indian and American scribes saw eye to eye on many questions concerning the governments of the two countries? The international issues on which India and America differed during the year 1950 remained the same a year later. The Korean war was still raging; Communist China remained unrecognized; China had not abandoned her claims on Formosa; India under Nehru's leadership kept insisting on the recognition of the

²⁴"Prime Minister, Nehru," March of India, Vol. 7, No. 3 (July, 1955), p. 43.

²⁵"Jawaharlal Nehru," Modern Review, Vol. 56, No. 8 (August, 1955), p. 36.

new China in the U. N. ; in short, Nehru stuck to his guns with his critical attitude of the United States policies, and Indians backed Nehru's foreign policies all the way. What is it, the, that upset the apple cart? Why were Indians viewing Nehru unfavorably? If Nehru was viewed unfavorably - how did Nehru manage to maintain his leadership role? Let us now recapitulate some of the events in which Nehru was the main participant (during the year of 1951):

On January 15, 1951, India opposed the U. S. - proposed resolution in the U. N. to condemn the Communist Chinese...On January 25, the U. S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee moved to delay food aid to India as an act of retaliation against Nehru's China policy...On March 26, McArthur said in a report to the U. N. that the 'myth of invincibility of Communist military power has been destroyed'....On March 28, commenting on McArthur's statement, Nehru said that the General's statement is 'frought with grave consequences' and 'no field commander is going to lay down the policies of the government of India'...On May 1, Nehru warned that India would not accept a wheat loan with political strings attached. He set off cheers in the Indian Parliament by announcing that 50,000 tons of Soviet wheat purchase on a 'cash basis' was on the way to India...In the summer of 1951, Nehru refused to sign the Japanese peace treaty sponsored by the U. S. Government ... On July 1, a bill giving the Government constitutional rights to place 'reasonable restrictions' on the freedom of speech and the press was passed by the Indian Parliament....On July 22, after three weeks of spirited debate, fourteen amendments to the Indian Constitution dealing with land reforms, nationalization of industries and press curbs were passed....

After one of the most publicized debates in its history Parliament decided, on September 20, to revise India's 5,000-year-old Hindu marriage code. Nehru made proposals for easier divorces, which if carried out under caste or tribal customs, would be recognized, it registered with the government. He also expressed hope for the enactment in the next session of other reforms, one of which would give women equal inheritance rights with men.²⁶

Insofar as Nehru's foreign policies were concerned, Indian opinion was behind Nehru. American impressions of Nehru retained their 'stand-pattism'. Most American writers were annoyed at Nehru, because they came to realize the role of 'the Pandit' or the 'Indian Brahmin' in Asia. This is made clear in the following remarks made by Time Magazine:

Disappointment: The legs-astride position of Prime Minister Nehru on the vast fence that runs through the world is of considerable importance to the U.S. If this great, learned and widely beloved man swings a few inches either way - toward the democratic West or toward Communism his shift can sway the suspended minds of millions in India and throughout Asia. He has told his countrymen and all Asians that the West is their traditional enemy, and that the conflict between Communism and the West is not their concern.²⁷

Nehru's failure to side with the West was disappointment enough, but the realization of his importance in Asia aggravated the feeling of annoyance held by Americans. The same magazine in the same article

²⁶Facts on Files: Weekly World News Digest (New York: Facts on File, Incorporated, 1957), op. cit.

²⁷"Next To Godliness," Time, Vol. 57 No. 19 (May 28, 1951), pp. 33-34.

expressed its rancor thus: "...Nehru is moralistic...agnostic...socialist...paradoxical...confused..."²⁸

However, Nehru found a defender of his foreign policies in the Nation. The substance of this magazine's criticism was that Nehru's disagreement with American foreign policy in Korea and China, and more recently on the Japanese peace treaty, has brought upon him a barrage of criticism which seems deliberately aimed at undermining his position as a leader of the free nations of Asia.²⁹

A breath of fresh air was felt when Indian and American writers both agreed in their criticism of Nehru. The ominous occasion when Nehru sought to curb freedom of the press in India. The Saturday Evening Post, commenting on Nehru's attempt to restrict the Indian press, said:

That old favorite of our professional liberals, India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, seems to be doing a Peron act by attempting to harass the press.

There is plenty of ground that Indians are getting tired of Nehru's one man rule...Opposition to his regime is spreading throughout all major Indian provinces.³⁰

Both groups (American and Indian) of writers were united in their criticism of Nehru when the Indian leader sought to control the press. The following passage is significant, because it offers an example of unfavorable images held by both Indians and American writers alike.

²⁸"Next To Godliness," Time, Vol. 57, No. 19 (May 28, 1951), pp. 33-34.

²⁹The Nation, Vol. 173, No. 14 (October 6, 1951), p. 2.

³⁰"Jawaharlal Nehru," Saturday Evening Post, Vol. 224, No. 4 (July 28, 1951), p. 10.

The New Republic in an article written by an Indian dealing with the bill introduced in the Indian Parliament to restrict the press, remarks as follows:

On June 1, the Indian Parliament passed the Nehru bill which abridges the freedom of speech, expression and press guaranteed as fundamental rights in the fifteen month old constitution***Pandit Nehru 'packed' the Parliament and succeeded. A severe 'party whip' required each member of the Congress Parliamentary Party to be present, to accept Nehru's bill as written, to oppose every amendment moved by non-Congress members....Threat which included cancellation of Congress Party endorsement in the pending electionsA more fundamental reason underlies what the critics describe as the policy of hush-hush and rush-rush. The regime (Nehru) is rattled, even scared.³¹

The criticism in India was easy to understand. Nehru sought to reform some of the fundamental social institutions. He was attacking centuries-old traditions. Besides, his attempts to curb the press, to reform the Hindu marriage code, to make divorces easier to obtain, and to nationalize land and industries, were anything but comforting to many of the interested groups in India. The Indian Social Reformer pictured him as 'intolerant', and 'weak character' and 'short tempered'.³²

The Vigil perceived him as 'confused', and 'weak character', 'impulsive', a 'failure', 'conceited', and 'lonely'.³³

³¹"Nehru," New Republic, Vol. 132, No. 13 (June 20, 1955), p. 4.

³²"Idolatry of Mr. Nehru," Indian Social Reformer, Vol. 61, No. 49 (August, 1951), p. 10

³³"Nehru," Vigil, Vol. 2, No. 32 (September 29, 1951), p. 18.

In the treatment of the year 1951, we have proved the hypothesis that, when the relations between the governments of India and the United States are unfriendly, the number of established unfavorable images is relatively high. We have shown that during the first part of that year, while writers in this country viewed Nehru unfavorably, Indians looked upon the prime minister with a good deal of favor. However, in the latter part of the year while Nehru was vociferously beating the drums on behalf of domestic policy we witnessed the extraordinary phenomenon of assent between American and Indian writers. Nehru's attempt to curb the press contributed in large measure to the coincidence of interests among all the writers concerned. So far from turning any table, we simply step into the other shoe by presenting an unanimity of opinions between all the writers on the other side. In 1957 both the Indian and American reporters, in the main, acclaim Nehru.

The Nehru Image During 1957

Exploring the image(Nehru) form, yet another intriguing coincidence presents itself for 1957. Again reporters from both countries throw a spotlight of cheerful colors on the Indian Prime Minister. Again, we cannot help but shift the spot light in a quest for motivations, whys and hows. Before doing so, let us record some of the events with which Nehru is in some measure associated:

On January 21, 1957, Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Syrian President al-Kuwatly said that "a military approach to the problems of the Mid-East would only serve to create further disharmony and endanger world peace." They also denounced the Baghdad Pact. The two leaders condemned colonialism as an evil which should be brought to

an end...On March 14, the Indian Congress Party won at least 339 of 494 seats in a new lower House of Parliament in elections. Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru was re-elected as Congress Party leader in the Parliament on March 29....On May 17, Indian Prime Minister Nehru, in Ceylon for celebrations marking the 2,500th anniversary of Buddhism, called for an end to all nuclear tests to save the world from extinction ...On July 4, Indian Prime Minister Nehru, in London for the British Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, said that the shift in Soviet leadership represented 'a return from the high pitch of revolution to what might be called normality'...On July 10, Nehru arrived in Cairo for talks with Egyptian President Gamal Abadal Nasser, reportedly on renewal of British Egyptian relations...On October 13, Nehru and Japanese Prime Minister Kishi in a joint statement called for the suspension of nuclear tests as a necessary preliminary to atomic disarmament and the outlawing of nuclear weapons...November 9, South VietNam President Ngo Din Diem ended a four-day visit to India. He said at the Press Conference in New Delhi that VietNam although under SEATO protection would not be given any military alliance...On November 28, the United States Government rejected Nehru's appeal to halt nuclear weapons tests.³⁴

From this turn of events a change in Nehru's point of view is perceptible, however slight it may be. He still denounces colonialism, military pacts, and atomic tests. Also, he is still straddling the fence, only now we see him in somewhat different company.

³⁴Facts on Files: Weekly World News Digest (New York: Facts on File, Incorporated, 1957), op. cit.

President Diem of VietNam and Prime Minister Kishi of Japan are his guests in New Delhi, instead of leaders from the Communist countries.

With the foregoing in mind let us see what Nehru's perennial critic

Time Magazine has to say:

But for all his faults, Nehru is a practicing democrat. Throughout southeast Asia today new nations, hungry for economic growth, are eyeing the progress of democratic India and Communist China. If India falls too far behind, Indians will be tempted to switch to China's totalitarian methods; if they do, nations on India's flank, such as Burma, Ceylon and Pakistan might be drawn by their massive neighbor into the path toward Communism.³⁵

In the year 1957, even Time pleads for understanding of India's problems and assumes a sympathetic tone.

The Nation wrote:

That remarkable photograph of President Eisenhower hurrying down the steps of the White House to greet Prime Minister Nehru who seemed to be leaping forward to grasp the President's outstretched hand...the twain has met and the relations between them are certain to be the better for it...with the exception of the famous Roosevelt-Churchill meetings it is hard to recall another occasion on which an American President gave so much undivided time to private consultations with another head-of-state.³⁶

The Christian Century that declared Nehru in the Russian camp in 1955 rediscovered Nehru:

It seems quite clear that the President and perhaps others in the administration discovered that the Indian leader was not as bad as he has been pointed out by some sections of the press and certain officials...and it is entirely possible that Washington's opinion makers found reason for reappraising Mr. Nehru

³⁵"Flabby Giant," Time, Vol. 70, No. 24 (December 9, 1957), p. 36.

³⁶The Nation, Vol. 184, No. 1 (January 5, 1957), p. 1.

as a world figure. Whatever else is said about him, he has for ten years stood as the most powerful influence in the most populous democracy in the world, pointing its way to the effective self-government and succeeding in spite of unbelievable odds. The United States has real reason to be grateful that Nehru did not go the way of Mao Tse-tung, as he might have had he been a different kind of man. Remembering our difficulties with Sigman Khe and Chiang Kai-Shek, we might even be thankful that Nehru is temperamentally and philosophically closer to the West than they...Nehru's visit will have been a success if it has helped us to reflect with a little more objectivity on what it means to have him and not somebody else as the most influential figure in the greatest non-communist state to emerge after World War II.³⁷

Atlantic Monthly remarked:

India's alarmed reaction to Nasser's abrupt nationalization of the Suez Canal revealed some of the uneasiness that Nehru had come to feel over Nasser's interpretation of Neutralism. For one thing, Nehru's neutralism does not ignore basic economic realities.³⁸

The abrupt and blunt change experienced by American periodicals toward the Nehru personality now amounts to an about-face. This reversal in Nehru's image is nothing short of the ironic. This phenomenon could be attributed to three factors. In a decade, since India joined the family of free nations, the mass-media in the United States have progressively increased and fattened the publicity afforded to that country. A reverse ratio seems applicable: as information about India increases, tensions and misunderstanding lessens. The American image of India as a land of Maharajas, snake charmers, and holy cows has almost disappeared. India in 1957 is perceived as a nation strugg-

³⁷"We Rediscover Mr. Nehru," The Christian Century, Vol. 74, No. 1 (January 2, 1957), p. 1.

³⁸Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 199, No. 1 (February, 1957), p. 6.

-ling to industrialize, that is, Westernize under Nehru's leadership. As the information about India increases, the misunderstanding between the two countries decreases. It is clear from the list of events that a good deal of satisfaction has accrued from the knowledge that, unlike China, India has persevered in retaining a face unblemished by the acne of totalitarianism. In the light of India's ideological direction toward the West, who can deny the American writers' decision that Nehru is an honest democrat?

Now let us take a look at the Nehru image in his own land. The Modern Review³⁹ hailed Nehru as a 'leader' and 'socialist'. Nehru officially and constitutionally integrated the Indian-held area of Kashmir. The people rallied around the leader to support his action, which was hailed almost unanimously by the Indian press. Vigil,⁴⁰ the opponent of Nehru's party, called him 'courageous' and 'dynamic'.

Thus, once again it has been demonstrated that favorable or unfavorable images in India and America exist independently of each other.

VI. Summary.

Hypothesis one: when relations between the governments of India and the United States are unfriendly, the number of established unfavorable images of Nehru in America will be significantly high.

This hypothesis has been well demonstrated in the above discussion.

³⁹ "Pandit Nehru," Modern Review, Vol. 58, No. 10 (October, 1957), p. 43.

⁴⁰ Vigil, Vol. 8, No. 19 (June 30, 1957), p. 20.

We have shown that the reference to Nehru in American periodicals was directly related to his political utterances and policies affecting the position of the American Government on those particular issues. It was also shown that, during the years of 1951, 1953, and 1955, Nehru's policies consistently collided with the American government's policies, hence, he was viewed in an unfavorable light.

Our second hypothesis: Indian writers' images of Nehru will be relatively more favorable than American writers' images of Nehru. The evidence provided by the trend charts substantiates this hypothesis.

On the whole, Indian images of Nehru are much more favorable and much less critical than American images. This was proved in Part Two of this chapter which referred to the frequency of images in America and India.

The last hypothesis: there is no relationship between the American and Indian writers' images of Gandhi and Nehru. We have demonstrated above that during the years 1951 and 1955 Nehru had relatively unfavorable images in both countries. Americans criticized Nehru for his non-alignment foreign policy, while Indians criticized him because he had undertaken to reform some of the features of the Hindu society. In 1957, Americans praised him because they came to realize his importance in Asia, as well as his devotion to democracy despite his neutralism...Indians hailed him because he integrated the Indian-held part of Kashmir into the Indian Union.

The abrupt and blunt change experienced by American periodicals toward the Nehru personality now amounts to an ironic about-face. However, it must be noted that images prevailing in the respective years

were not only independent of one another, but also motivated by quite different causes.

E. Commentator's Interpolations:

Although we had a fair amount of success in ascertaining our contention that the extent of agreement between the two governments determines what people in one country think of people in another, there is no guarantee of the continuity of the same pattern persisting.

Presumably, there is a one-to-one correlation between the quantity of information available and the inevitable increase of knowledge; hence it is much less than wishful thinking to assume that such a condition in the United States with respect to India should result in more understanding and therefore greater tolerance. While the validity of our hypotheses is true for a decade specified, these conclusions may very well be robbed of their certainties for the future. When time serves as a frame of reference for countries and people, it is beyond any kind of predictability to guarantee ultimate consequences. By way of analogy, the limits of prognostication bear the same relationship to ten years of empirical examination as does the operation of the law of probability: that is to say, while flipping a coin one hundred times may result in an equal number of heads and tails, for a specific number of tails the prospect of its reoccurrence is quite doubtful.

Area of Agreement

We have established the fact that Nehru had more favorable than unfavorable images for any one given year under study. What does this signify? Despite the obvious differences in culture between the two countries there apparently exists a vast area of agreement in matters

of political freedom and human rights.

In the event that the area of agreement we have postulated is true, we cannot help but indulge in wishful thinking. Our wish centers around the hope that policy-makers in the United States as well as in India will take advantage of the quantum of assent to exploit its existence for bettering the relations between the two countries. Improved relations between America and India are well and good; only the exploitation of this greater understanding should also result in furthering the greatest good for the greatest number.

Political Events and Images

Until 1950, the United States' knowledge of India and her problems is conspicuous by its absence. The reverse is equally true. The important Asian countries have been too furiously busy gaining their independence and "feeling their oats" to do any hobnobbing with the rest of the world. Moreover, the United States, understandably enough, was specifically resented as a superior power and as an ally of colonial powers. Such resentment did not lead to understanding. This lack of understanding was inevitably reflected in the kind of image evoked about Nehru in this country.

Now a sort of cause-effect simultaneity begins to operate. As the American images of India changed, so did the Indian impressions of America. America's disapproval of the Anglo-French adventure in Suez surprized the Asian leaders, thereby buttressing the U. S. image in their eyes. In a single breath the pro-colonial image of America was shaken, while that of the Soviet Union (as expansionist) caught on fire. Nor did Russia's suppression of the Hungarian revolt harm the Indian

leaders' benign attitude towards the U. S.

The Transformed Image

The transformed image of India is an intriguing one. From a land of snake-charmers, cow-worshippers and Maharajas it has within the generation become a full-blown oracle of the East. We mean that, in the eyes of America India has undergone the psychological conversion that was really an integral part of that country all along. India is seen as a 'spiritual leader,' 'moral force,' and 'impartial arbiter'. And while this is jumping too far in the other direction, it does show an extravagant change of heart and mind on the part of the West.

Unfortunately, the new image given to India is as false as the old. The new conceptions of India harbor new dangers. Impositions of far-flung and impressive attributes generate unwarranted expectations. It is no different from making a saint out of a vicious criminal overnight and then expecting him to act in his new role. The following quotation dovetails precisely with what is meant:

No fact has been more disturbing to Western confidence than the refusal of India to side fully with the West in Korean conflict. The long history of India as the spiritual leader of the East, together with widespread moral support of its independence movement, has given that country a kind of sanctuary, so that the rougher appellations applied to other nations in the time of international disagreement have hardly seemed suited to it. We feel that India is a kind of prophet or sage among the nations, whereas the rest are but political hucksters or worse...⁴¹

⁴¹"Nehru, Philosopher, Prophet, Politician," The Commonwealth, Vol. 54, No. 18 (August 10, 1951), p. 432.

No time is more appropriate for the introduction of Mahatma Gandhi than now, while we are concerning ourselves with the growth of the 'moral' and 'spiritual' character of India. Nobody dares deny Gandhi credit and responsibility for the inherently lofty goals that are associated with India. The next chapter revolves around Gandhi's image.

CHAPTER V

THE GANDHI IMAGE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter intends an analysis of Gandhi - just as the foregoing one devoted its efforts to analyzing Nehru. The point central to the hypothesis concerned with the images of Nehru emphasized his reflection in terms of the kind of political relationship that existed between the governments of India and America.

Although success resulted from validating the Nehru image hypothesis, it is scarcely possible to employ similar criteria for analyzing the significance of Gandhi's image. In fact, it has already been pointed out in discussing the development of hypothesis that the aura of charisma that surrounds Gandhi necessarily forces Gandhi's personality and achievement to fall into a unique leader category, incomparable to anything else.

Inasmuch as the knowledge of Gandhi transcends geographic and cultural boundaries, the political motivations employed to ascribe the image of Nehru cannot apply. Hence, the hypothesis for Gandhi is different: irrespective of the state of political relations between the two countries, Gandhi will have favorable images both in India and America. The central purpose of this chapter is to test the validity of the above hypothesis.

The following table should furnish the reader with a quaititative picture of the images of Gandhi in America and India.

TABLE VI

Favorable, Unfavorable and Neutral Images of Gandhi
in American and Indian Periodicals and Books.

	American Magazines	Indian Magazines	American Books	Indian Books
Number of Magazines Articles and Books	54	22	4	4
Number of Favorable Images	411	158	414	378
Number of Neutral Images	27	5	34	2
Number of Unfavorable Images	69	9	63	38
Total Number of Images	507	172	511	418
Percentage of Favorable Images to Total Images	86%	92%	87%	91%
Number of Favorable Images per Article and per Book	7.61	7.18	103.5	94.5
Number of Unfavorable Images per Article and per Book	1.28	.409	15.6	9.5

From the foregoing figures one translates to read:

1. That Gandhi has more favorable than unfavorable images in American Magazines. The ratio of favorable to unfavorable images is roughly six to one.
2. That Gandhi has more favorable than unfavorable images in American books. The ratio of favorable to unfavorable images is roughly six to one.
3. That Gandhi has more favorable than unfavorable images in Indian magazines. The ratio of favorable to unfavorable images is roughly fifteen to one.
4. That Gandhi has more favorable than unfavorable images in Indian books. The ratio of favorable to unfavorable images is roughly ten to one.

On the basis of the four findings above, two major conclusions can be drawn. First, that Gandhi has more favorable than unfavorable images in both American and Indian books and magazines. Second, the proportion of favorable images is significantly higher in India than in America.

Both conclusions confirm the two hypotheses we postulated in reference to Gandhi. These are: (a) That Gandhi images in our sample will be favorable in both the countries; and (b) that Indians in our sample hold relatively more favorable images of Gandhi than Americans.

Let us study the proposition that Gandhi has significantly more favorable images in both countries. Three items call for attention: Gandhi, favorable images and frequency of images in the two countries—what do these signify? The images of Gandhi are clues to the leadership traits, traits the Mahatma shares with other leaders of universal

appeal. That is why the nature and number of images below personifying Gandhi will constitute an index by which one can measure universal appeal.

Our immediate task is to present the reader with predominant images in the two countries. Below is a list of favorable, neutral, and unfavorable images employed by American writers.

A. Most Frequent Images of Gandhi in America

TABLE VII

Predominant Images of Gandhi in America¹
(Words having the frequency of ten or more)

<u>Favorable (I)</u>		<u>Favorable (II)</u>		<u>Unfavorable</u>		<u>Neutral</u>	
Ascetic	10	Non-violent	55	Idolized	20	Hindu	12
Charming	10	Peaceful	11	Martyr	13	Politician	20
Christ	35	Persistent	15	Meek-looking	28	Timeless	15
Courageous	10	Powerful	18	Mystical	13	Total Neutral	47
Energetic	10	Practical	15	Total un-			
Father	15	Reformer	37	favorable	74		
Gentle	11	Religious	52				
Great	37	Saint	43				
Great Soul	23	Simplicity	18				
Humble	11	Tolerant	11				
Idealist	15	Truthful	14				
Influential	24	Universal	21				
Leader	49	Total Favorable					
Loved	18	(I and II)	588				

To be consistent, we will classify the above images into four categories as we did in the case of Nehru:

a. Personal attributes of Gandhi (ascribed by American writers):

ascetic 10, charming 10, courageous 10, energetic 10, gentle 11, humble 11, idealist 15, meek-looking 28, mystical 13, non-violent 55, peaceful 11, persistent 15, powerful 18, practical 15, religious 52, simplicity 18,

¹For a complete list of images employed by American writers see Appendix VII and VIII.

tolerant 11, truthful 14. Total personal attributes: 327.

b. Leadership attributes of Gandhi (ascribed by American writers):

leader 49, performer 37. Total leadership attributes: 86.

c. Political attributes of Gandhi (ascribed by American writers):

politician 20. Total Political attributes: 20.

d. Status (recognition) attributes of Gandhi (ascribed by American writers): Christlike 35, father 15, great 37, great soul 23, Hindu 12, idolized 20, influential 24, loved 18, martyr 13, saint 43, timeless 15, universal 21. Total status (recognition) attributes: 276.

The American perception of images being thus classified, let us do likewise with the Indian writers images of Gandhi.

B. Most Frequent Images of Gandhi in India

TABLE VIII

Predominant Images of Gandhi in India²
(Images with the frequency of five or more)³

<u>Favorable (I)</u>		<u>Favorable (II)</u>		<u>Favorable (III)</u>		<u>Unfavorable</u>
Ascetic	10	Idealist	7	Reformer	22	Anti-heavy ind-
Champion of the		Idolized	14	Revolutionary	7	ustry 9
underdog	7	Influential	35	Saint	10	Mystical 5
Charming	5	Leader	17	Simplicity	8	Religious <u>25</u>
Christlike	10	Loved	11	Sincere	10	Total Unfavor-
Courageous	14	Master	6	Statesman	8	able 39
Devotion	5	Non-violent	24	Successful	11	
Economic	5	Outstanding	13	Symbol of India	10	
Father	5	Peaceful	16	Timeless	8	
Great	19	Persistent	6	Tolerant	10	
Great Soul	5	Politician	12	Universal	<u>15</u>	
Humanitarian	7	Powerful	7	Total Favorable		
Humerous	5	Practical	14	(I, II, III) 388		

²Since Indian images were considerably less than the American images, five or more constituted 'high frequency' for the Indian images.

³For a complete list of images employed by Indian writers see Appendix IX and X.

We will classify the above images into four groups as we did in case of the American writers' images.

a. Personal attributes of Gandhi (ascribed by Indian writers): ascetic 10, charming 5, courageous 14, devoted 5, economic 5, humanitarian 7, humorous 5, idealist 7, mystical 5, non-violent 24, peaceful 16, persistent 6, powerful 7, practical 14, religious 25, simplicity 8, sincere 10, tolerant 10. Total personal attributes: 185.

b. Leadership attributes of Gandhi (ascribed by Indian writers): anti-heavy industry 9, champion of the underdog 7, leader 17, reformer 22, revolutionary 7, statesman 8. Total leadership attributes: 70.

c. Political attributes of Gandhi (ascribed by Indian writers): politician 12. Total political attributes 12.

d. Status (recognition) attributes of Gandhi (ascribed by Indian writers): Christlike 10, father 5, great soul 5, idolized 14, influential 35, loved 11, master 6, outstanding 13, saint 10, successful 11, symbol of India 10, timeless 8, universal 15. Total status(recognition)attributes: 162.

By using two sets (American and Indian images of a fourfold schemata) - we are now in a position to make a few generalizations. The following table gives the relative picture of the emphasis given by American and Indian writers to personal, political and status attributes.

TABLE IX
Personal, Leadership, Political and Status
Attributes Ascribed by the American and Indian writers.

<u>Writers</u>	<u>Personal</u> <u>Attributes</u>	<u>Political</u> <u>Attributes</u>	<u>Leadership</u> <u>Attributes</u>	<u>Status</u> <u>Attributes</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>Images</u>
American	327 (47%)	20 (2%)	86 (12%)	276 (39%)	709 (100%)
Indian	183 (43%)	12 (3%)	70 (16%)	162 (38%)	427 (100%)

Generalizations

Generalization one - The personal and status attributes of Gandhi are considerably emphasized by American and Indian writers.

Generalization two - Political attributes of Gandhi are least emphasized by both American and Indian writers.

Generalization three - American and Indian writers both agree that Gandhi is 'mystical and 'meek-looking'.

Generalization four - Gandhi is identified with Christ, and as a 'reformer' and a 'saint' by the American writers.

Generalization five - 'Revolutionary' and 'master' are the Indian designations for Gandhi, while Americans see him as a 'martyr'.

Generalization six - He is viewed as a 'politician' in both countries.

Generalization seven - Both Americans and Indians recognize Gandhi as the 'father' (of the Indian nation), 'universal', 'timeless', 'idol-like', to be loved.

C. Commentator's Interpolations

The observation that was made in the previous chapter in reference to Nehru indicated that personal attributes are more frequently mentioned than political attributes in both India and America. This has been again demonstrated with reference to Gandhi: namely, that American and Indian writers both emphasize the personal qualities in a leader. Moreover, there is a remarkable similarity in the terms employed by American and Indian writers to describe personal attributes of Gandhi. For example, both groups of writers agree that Gandhi is 'charming,' 'courageous,' 'ascetic,' 'idealistic,' 'practical,' 'peaceful,' 'meek-looking' and

'non-violent'. The fact that writers from two different cultural backgrounds employ practically the same terms to describe personal attributes of Gandhi demonstrates our contention that Gandhi's personality transcends national and cultural boundaries. It seems to this writer that the Indian images of Lincoln may be similar to the American images of him, this is because Lincoln, like Gandhi is a charismatic figure.

D. The Gandhi Image in America

The foregoing tables make it abundantly clear that Gandhi is overwhelmingly admired during the period under examination (1947-1957).

Isaacs, in the following passage, gives us an historical picture of Gandhi prior to the period under consideration.

'This great and powerful Gandhi image climbed but slowly to its present eminence, and it climbed, moreover, right out of the troughs in which we have been wallowing. In the earlier years and decades of Gandhi's lifetime he appeared to many as the quint essential figure of the puny Indian, ribs showing, naked but for a loin cloth or dropped in a dhoti. He was the odd, the strange, the incomprehensible Indian with his mystic hold on the masses, his religiosity, his sainthood.' When he came more closely into view at the London Round Table Conference late in 1931, much was made of his odd appearance and strange ascetic ways, but a New York Times correspondent wrote: 'saint and social reformer, politician and propagandist, he has now shown himself to be a diplomat with one of the subtlest minds that ever came out of the East'. Some of his more captious critics were calling him an opportunist, more rarely a phony, and one American newspaper even called him, in 1931, 'the evil genius of India'.⁴

Although the Gandhi of 1947-57 was not quite as strange as the impression of him painted during the thirties and forties, the images of the man as printed above have not been entirely erased from the American mind.

⁴Harold Isaacs, op. cit. pp. 294-296.

In the late forties Gandhi was mirrored in the following manner
by the Atlantic Monthly:

To Gandhi, the Mahatma saint, politics is not too big and peanuts are not too small. Gandhi is supremely religious. The core of his religion is a faith in God, and in non-violence as the way to God in heaven and to peace and happiness on earth. Gandhi was anti Japanese and anti Nazi but he was anti war because he thought the victorious powers would be incapable of making peace based on armed might.⁵

Time Magazine only a few days prior to his death remarked:

'This frail old man of seventy-eight, who may be a politician among saints, but is no less a saint among politicians'. Thus the Manchester Guardian last week described Mahandas Gandhi. The description was perfect.

Peace promises which the political saint had exacted from Indian leaders through his fast had brought at least temporary calm.⁶

The year 1948 brought in its wake the death of Gandhi Life Magazine remarked:

Gandhi was not just a 'great man', he was a Universal-saint, something the West has not produced for many generations. he was, as John Haynes Holmes said, in 'that unbroken line of saints and seers, running like the stitches of a golden thread through the tangled pattern of human affairs,...' Holmes ranks him with Jesus, Buddha and Saint Francis.

...his final greatness will be voiced not through the nation he sought to create but in the aspiring hearts of all men in all nations and all future times.⁷

Newsweek found in Gandhi, "The man of truth, the apostle brotherhood....The man who took elaborate pains to remain simple and made it his pride to be humble."⁸

⁵"Politics and Peanuts," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 179, No. 1 (January, 1947), p. 51.

⁶"Cometack," Time, Vol. 51. No. 5 (January 26, 1948), p. 28.

⁷"India Loses Her Great Soul," Life, Vol. 24, No. 6 (February 9, 1948), p. 32.

⁸"Mahatma Gandhi," Newsweek, Vol. 31, No. 6 (February 9, 1948), pp. 24-26.

Time Magazine saw in Gandhi an Indian counterpart of Lincoln; it wrote:

More forcibly than anyone in his age, Gandhi had asserted that love was the law, how else should he die but through hatred? He had feared machines in the hands of men not wise enough to use them, he warned against the glib, the new, the plausible, how else should he die but by a pistol in the hands of a young intellectual? ... The parallel between Gandhi's martyrdom and Lincoln's was close and obvious.⁹

Christian Century, immortalizing the role of Gandhi, had this to say:

Gandhi belongs to the coming age of hope. To be understood he has to be seen against the dark background of the age which is now writhing in the agony of death. When a famous journalist said to Gandhi, 'Politics is my religion,' Gandhi replied, 'Religion is my politics'. Thus he gave us a key to understanding both himself and the age. For in the new age, if life survives, the human spirit will be master over earth's forces, beginning with its own 'soul force'.

Into this age came Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi bringing superior insight and a more practical method of application, strangely blended together. Albert Einstein said of him: 'Generations to come it may be, will scarcely believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth.'¹⁰

National Journal of Education commenting upon the strength of the weak remarked:

He was the personification of force. But it is a force which this world, after all these centuries, has not yet learned to fully appreciate.

⁹"Of Truth and Shame," Time, Vol. 51, No. 6 (February 9, 1948), p.24.

¹⁰"Gandhi Belongs to Tomorrow," Christian Century, Vol. 65, No.7 (February 18, 1948), p. 201.

Strenght of character is not weakness. Peaceful methods are not weak methods, particularly if we are willing to die for them. May be this is not always practical, still one can't help wondering if, maybe, there is not a great deal to this idea that the meek shall inherit the very Earth.¹¹

The Contemporary Review nearly a year after Gandhi's death saw in him a social reformer.

Gandhi started his work against untouchability merely thirty years ago, because for one thing he was convinced that India must put her own house in order if she was to claim justice and freedom from Britain.

Gandhi did much more than hold meetings against untouchability. He took amazingly courageous steps...of welcoming an untouchable child into his own family.¹²

A year after his death, articles on Gandhi gradually decreased in number. Even though Gandhi became a distant person(unlike Nehru who is active in his leadership role), articles appearing on him portrayed more or less the same image as before. He was seen as a 'great soul', 'non-violent', 'Christ', 'religious', etc.

Nearly four years after his death, the Atlantic Monthly wrote:

Gandhi possessed every form of courage in the highese possible degree.

To build him up psychologically from European ingredients we must make a combination of early Christian saints... something of a sweetness of Saint Francis...

Gandhi's success throughout his career depended upon a combination of deep religious conviction and astute political insight.¹³

The Christian Century almost eight years after his death had this

¹¹"Shall Inherit The Earth," The Journal of National Education Association, Vol. 37, No. 9 (December, 1948), p. 586.

¹²"Abolition of Untouchability in India," The Contemporary Review, Vol. 175 (March, 1949), pp. 159-162.

¹³"Mahatma Gandhi," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 190, No. 6 (December, 1952), pp. 35-40.

100

to say:

What a genuinely likable, all round sort of 'great soul' this was, who could worship so intensely and think so earnestly, yet enjoy a joke so thoroughly.

... a truly great soul who had learned much from Jesus... ¹⁴

It is clear from the above quotations that there is unanimity among American writers as far as Gandhi is concerned. He is perceived as a man of peace, non-violent and a great soul. The high point in the confirmation of our hypothesis is the indisputable evidence that American images of Gandhi persist in a favorable continuum irrespective of the kind of political relations which exist between the two countries. It will be noted that this persistence of positive Gandhi images is quite different from the American imagery Nehru experienced, in whose case images changed in relation to political relations between India and the United States.

E. The Gandhi Image in India

"Gandhi is the prophet of a liberated life wielding power over millions of human beings by virtue of his exceptional holiness and heroism." This is how the Indian philosopher Radha Krishnan summed up his impressions of Gandhi in the year 1947.

However, this is not the way anyone was able to see Gandhi when he entered the Indian political scene. As a matter of fact, he made a name for himself in South Africa before he returned to India to enter public life. He was admired for his courage in the battle he waged in South Africa. Yet Gandhi was misinterpreted as an odd sort of revolutionary for introducing his passive resistance ideas in order to undermine

¹⁴"We Learned from Gandhi," The Christian Century, Vol. 74, No. 5 (January 30, 1957), pp. 139-140.

100

colonialism in India. Some people even considered his views on social and economic issues to be rather antiquated. Thus, although he was known merely as a mystic and odd sort of revolutionary in the early period of his political career, he did earn the status of the great soul at that time.

Nehru the political heir and close associate of Gandhi, summed up his views of Gandhi in those days as follows:

"Ideologically he was sometimes amazingly backward...It was obvious that we differed considerably in our own outlook on life, politics and economics..."¹⁵

Another writer emphasizing the role of religion on Gandhi's life wrote thus. "...a life devoted to the service of the mother-land and to the cause of religion and humanity..."¹⁶

Gandhi's religiousness is further admired by a historian of some reputation in the following words: "Gandhi's life and career furnishes a study in contrasts, which are but seeming and imaginary being the necessary attributes of a character deeply religious and intensely practical."¹⁷

D.S. Sarma, an educator, saw in Gandhi, "...a true incarnation of Hindu spirituality... his method of religious approach to all political and social problems and his insistence on truth and non-violence in every

¹⁵Jawaharlal Nehru, op. cit., p. 63.

¹⁶Mirza M. Ismail "An Indian Statesman's Tribute," in S. Radhakrishnan, (editor), Mahatma Gandhi (London George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.), p. 149.

¹⁷B. Pattabhisitaramayya, "Gandhi in His Many Aspects," in S. Radhakrishnan, op. cit., p. 225.

sphere of life and his recognition of the spiritual unity of all men even in the details of every-day life are aspects of Hinduism which will be really worthy of its part."¹⁸

Thus we find that Gandhi's image as a religious man is very heavily portrayed by the Indian writers. A man of truth and non-violence are two other images which are brought out again by other Indian writers.

C.F. Andrews, an Indian christian remarks:¹⁹

There are certain cardinal religious virtues where on Mahatma Gandhi put most stress...The first is called SATYA-TRUTH.... The second virtue has its source in God is AHISMA (Non-violent)Mahatma Gandhi is essentially a man of religion. He can never think of any complete release from evil apart from God's Grace.... Mahatma Gandhi is the Saint Paul of our own days.²⁰

The Indian Review saw in Gandhi "an embodiment of piety and patriotism"... He was one with the people and of the people...Gandhi impresses humanity not only as an apostle of peace but the world's savior."²¹

A few months later the same magazine remarked: "Gandhi was Christianity's most important modern exponent...."²²

The Indian Social Reformer felt that Gandhi has revolutionized history merely by revealing the truth to a world steeped in misconceptions.²³

¹⁸D.S. Sarma, "A Great Prophet of Hinduism," in S. Radhakrishnan, op. cit., p. 270.

¹⁹C.F. Andrews, "The Tribute of a Friend," in S. Radhakrishnan, op. cit., p. 49.

²⁰Ibid., p. 49.

²¹Venkatrama Sastri, "Gandhiji," The Indian Review, Vol.49, No.2 (February, 1948), p. 48.

²²Charanjit Sing Bindra, "The Best Monument to Gandhiji," The Indian Review, Vol. 49, No. 4 (April, 1948), p. 8.

²³"Focus," The Indian Social Reformer, Vol.62, No.4 (September 21, 1951), p. 8.

The Aryan Path saw in Gandhi "a devout democrat, humanitarian, anti-heavy industry..."²⁴ As far as the Indian images are concerned, we find almost complete consistency among Indians.

Thus we find almost complete agreement not only among Indians and Americans individually but between the two groups. The hypothesis that irrespective of the relations between the governments of the two countries, Gandhi will have favorable images in both America and India seems to be confirmed by the present study.

F. Commentator's Interpolations

Having established with a fair amount of success that Gandhi enjoys a favorable press, the writer would like to venture some reasoned guesses why this is so. The existence of favorable images that Gandhi enjoys in America may be attributed to three factors: First, during World War II, Gandhi was unfriendly toward Japan. The fact that he was anti-Japanese may have contributed in some measure to a favorable image in America. (The reader should be reminded that the period under examination is 1947-1957 and therefore we are simply making a guess.) Second, he was a deeply religious person. Americans become enamored of renowned figures whose life embodies a spiritual connotation. The image of Eisenhower as a church-going Christian probably was as important as his reputation as a military hero. Probably the combination of these images (even though they are not necessarily compatible) affords him the unique

²⁴The Aryan Path, Vol. 24, No. 10 (October, 1954), p. 7.

popularity he enjoys. The writer is of the opinion that the religious element in Gandhi impressed Americans overwhelmingly. Third, Gandhi was not associated with the later foreign policy of India because of his demise. These are some of the probable explanations for the existence of favorable images of Gandhi in America.

Moralist India

We have already hinted that image and facts may or may not correspond but at least an outward sign, act, or appearance is necessary to offer some basis for the formation of image. The images of India in America as 'moralist', 'spiritual advisor,' or 'a kind of prophet or sage among the nations' may well be attributed to the leadership role of Gandhi.

Leaders, as the spokesmen of a group, help to popularize the image of that group. The ideals for which Washington and Lincoln stood are the images that many foreigners carry of America. India's image as a moralistic and spiritual leader apparently derives from the emphasis that Gandhi put upon religious and moral tenets; this was compatible with his insistence on raising political activities to the spiritual level.

It is of greater import that this study of Gandhi's image substantiates our thesis on why American writers attach a moralistic connotation to Gandhi than that the reality should correspond to our finding. The American images of Gandhi definitely turn out to be spiritual and saintly. It is more important to this study to establish the connection between the American images of Gandhi and India as moralistic, than to ascertain the correctness or incorrectness of the finding per se.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Now is the time to reckon with all the results and garner the thoughts emanating from them. In so doing we have a threefold purpose: in summary to prune the total product of our investigation; to balance the scales between our objectives and the results, and thereby determine the degree of success; and, finally, to suggest humbly possibilities for further explorations.

We have in the foregoing chapters attempted a determination of leadership phenomena cross-culturally through the analysis of the images of Gandhi and Nehru. The study of the images of the two leaders involves three basic assumptions: that images are important in human behavior, that leaders help form the image of the groups they represent, and, finally, that the study of the images of leaders offers clues to leadership phenomena.

A. Image Studies Are Important

We have tried to show that human behavior, to a very large extent, is governed by images. Images are central to an understanding of things and people. In other words, images are the subjective impressions of the outside world. Walter Lippmann and Kenneth Boulding¹ furnish a valid reason for assuming that image studies can be vital in human behavior. They maintain that images are the sum of what we think we know and what makes us behave the way we do.

¹We have discussed at length Walter Lippmann and Kenneth Boulding's views on images in Chapter II.

B. Leaders and Images

Another element in understanding the dynamics of social behavior is leadership. Leadership is not only a matter of passive status or of the mere possession of some combination of traits. As Gibb has suggested, leadership is dependent upon the extent to which his followers perceive him as having those qualities. It is almost too obvious to be worthy of mentioning that there can be no leadership without followers. The phenomenon of leadership is essentially a function of acceptance by followers plus the nature of underlying factors that determine acceptance. What the followers see in a leader is far more important than what he really is. As we have pointed out previously, images and facts do not necessarily correspond with reality, but an outward sign, act, or appearance is necessary for the creation of images. For example, a candidate for a public office may or may not be a religious man in his private life, but the act of going to church on Sunday gives him an appearance of a religious person. Therefore, a clue to leadership phenomenon may be gained by analyzing the images of leaders.

Hence, we employed two variables, namely, images and leaders, in the study. The relationship between images and leaders may be illustrated by these questions: why do Americans perceive Gandhi and Nehru the way they do? What phases of leadership role are emphasized by American and Indian writers? What is it import? Do images reflect changes in leadership pattern?

In the present research, an attempt has been made to answer these questions. The world today is confronted with the intensification of racial, cultural, religious, political, and national conflicts brought

on by cross-cultural relations. Since the broadening of cross-cultural affairs has been expedited on the transmission belts of mass communication techniques, America is now more than a spot on the map to India and vice-versa. These instruments of industrial progress have so definitely shrunk geography that reciprocal understanding between nations has become inevitably necessary and advantageous. Should the study of images of Gandhi and Nehru in America and India add a particle of understanding to the international scene, our efforts will not have been in vain.

C. Important Findings and Their Significance

The central objective was the comparison on the images of Gandhi and Nehru individually as reflected in the writings of American and Indian writers. Yet let it be said that comparison per se is a dead-end street which leads nowhere. Unless we use contrast to uncover new and tantalizing features, it is unrewarding. We knew some of the things we wanted from the beginning, by virtue of studying the literature. This helped us to formulate hypotheses about the relationship of leadership images to the state of friendliness existing between countries. Specifically, the postulate that when relations between the governments of India and the United States are friendly, the number of favorable images of Nehru in America will be significantly high, has been effectively confirmed in the foregoing pages.

Let us generalize the hypothesis that the fluctuations in favorable and unfavorable images of a leader in another country depend upon the extent of agreement between the governments of the two countries. When a leader is dynamically associated with the policy-making process of his government, his images in another country are often the result of his

policies - that is to say, should these policies be compatible with the interests of that country, he will be looked upon favorably there. Our findings in this area help confute the belief that cultural differences result in clashes in the popular thought of two peoples. Our investigation has demonstrated that this need not be true. It is, rather, political differences contingent upon the national leadership that determine the friendliness or animosity that exists among nations.

Our data clearly showed that the references to Nehru in American periodicals were directly related to his political utterances and policies affecting the position of the American government on those particular issues. We have also shown that during the years 1951, 1953, and 1955 Nehru's policies consistently collided with the American Government's policies - hence, he was viewed in an unfavorable light. However, we have established as a matter of fact that Nehru had more favorable than unfavorable images for any one given year under study. Therefore, when we say that Nehru was viewed in an unfavorable light, we mean that the proportion of unfavorable to favorable images in those years was higher than in the years during which he was perceived favorably.

However, the above finding that the differences in the policies of the two governments will result in unfavorable images of their leaders, is by no means an absolute. Gandhi, for example, implies universality, while our study showed that Nehru's image did not follow the same sort of sweep. Our data showed Gandhi's images did not experience fluctuations but remained constantly favorable both in India and in America.

Our study also gives credence to the independent nature of an image with respect to its origin; i.e., for images in a specific year for Nehru,

there is no obvious similarity in both countries. The years 1950, 1951, and 1955 showed more unfavorable than favorable images of Nehru in America, but the converse was true in India. Yet, in the year 1951, he was received critically both in India and in America. However, the reasons for these unfavorable responses were strikingly different in the two countries. Criticism of him in America was due partly to his insistence on the recognition of Red China in the U.N., and partly to his opposition to the U.S.- proposed resolution in the U.N. to condemn the communist Chinese as aggressors in Korea. He was criticized in India because he sought to curb the freedom of the press, and also because he introduced a bill in the Indian Parliament to reform some of the centuries-old social institutions.

Another observation made in the study concerned the emphasis by both American and Indian writers ascribed to personal attributes of the two political leaders studied. Since Gandhi and Nehru are political leaders, we had expected that writers would emphasize political attributes more than personal attributes. However, our findings showed otherwise.

We have also established that Indian writers were inclined to emphasize status(recognition) attributes more than the American writers. Thus, our data confirm the belief prevalent among educated people in India and America that Indians are status-conscious.

Another important thought springing out of our study is the apparent agreement between the ethical and moral preachings of Gandhi and the spiritual ascriptions the American writers give to the Indian people themselves. Gandhi and the Indian people are viewed in America as ethically and spiritually oriented, whereas the writer feels that there is not necessarily correspondence between the spirituality of Gandhi

and the spirituality of the Indian people.

D. Suggestions for Further Research

A sense of completion also carries a sense of obligation. As an obligation to prospective students in the area we wish to offer suggestions that fall obliquely within the frame of reference of the work we have done.

The first suggestion we make revolves around elaborating on our image study. Instead of analyzing Nehru and Gandhi individually, we would like to see projects undertaken which would compare the two Indian leaders with two American leaders of comparable status. By comparing American and Indian images of Gandhi and Nehru we were able to learn why the images are different and how they differ. Further research could attack the problem of comparing the images of Nehru with, for example, the images of Eisenhower - with a view to establishing meaningfulness for contrasting two leaders from two different cultures. Such research should afford clues to a greater understanding of the leadership role.

A ramification of what we have suggested above would entail an analysis along semantic lines. Skirting our thesis were the depth meanings which were inherent in the connotation of the two hundred and eight words we used. We worked on one level of 'meanings' -- favorable and unfavorable. It should prove lucrative to investigate the connotation underlying many of the words we have used, putting these words into the cultural setting which differentiates such symbols as 'saint', 'idol', 'ascetic', and 'neutralist', from their transoceanic usage. Only in this way could one contribute to the method and technique of propaganda

through the analysis of 'loaded words'. We feel that a refined differentiation of the same word, wearing one suit of clothes in India and the other in America, would give us the deeper understanding of assignment to personal and national leadership in all its aspects.

An even finer reduction of the word-configuration problems we have just mentioned would be a sensitive appraisal of verbal symbols in terms of the two aspects we know to be structure and function. The dichotomy here is indeed a very delicate one. It appears to be vague as well as delicate. With full realization of the difficulties in finding a dividing line between the two processes - since structure and function are so integral - we still would like to see somebody interested enough to do a patient job of singling out the disparate element involved. We maintain that the separation of word symbols into the naked constituent entities would furnish us with more and better cues for image analysis and evaluation.

APPENDIX I. BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF GANDHI AND NEHRU

A. Mahatma Gandhi

On the surface Gandhi's personality appears to be a very simple one. He lived in an Ashram in which a few dozen men lived in communal brotherhood. He was the patriarch, the Bapu, who led daily prayer sessions, maintained a day of silence every Monday, spun several hours per day, and asked his followers to do the same. He wore a loincloth and lived mostly on vegetables, fruit and goatsmilk.

There was nothing extraordinary in this, it being a way of life that had been followed by many in India (and in the Orient) for millenia. The appearance of a holy man, an ascetic who gathers around himself a number of followers, is a characteristic pattern of the religious and social life in the Orient. What is it, then, that makes Gandhi stand out so prominently from the others? One answer lies in the review of the Mahatma's biography.

The country in which Gandhi was born is made up of many currents and paradoxes. There is Agra and the Taj Mahal, Benares with its innumerable pilgrims, Amritsar with the Golden Gate. But as impressive as the cities, temples, and palaces are, no less impressive are the villages, poor and primitive though they be. There are 430 million people in India and eight per cent live in rural areas, distributed in more than 700,000 villages. These millions of farmers constitute the basis of the economic life in India.¹ They are, of course, factories and schools which employ white collar workers, factory workers and professional people, but the peasantry constitutes the greatest bulk. Therefore a tremendous gap separates city and country. Often, in Gandhi's time, there were grievances and uprisings of the peasants against their landlords of which the city dweller had no idea. The peasantry was illiterate, had no political education and no press, and knew little or nothing of what went on outside their own little community.

Besides the tremendous difference between life in the city and in the village, life also varied from city to city and from village to village. Differences in language, religion, and social customs separated the people. About 125-130 dialects were spoken in different parts of India. There were Hindus, Moslems, Jains, Sikhs, Parsis, Buddhists, Christians, Jews and tribal religions. The Hindus, which

¹W.E. Muhlman, Mahatma Gandhi (Tubingen: J.C.B. Mohr Verlag, 1950), p. 51.

comprise the biggest group, are also divided into innumerable sub-groups, *castes* and sects which practice different rituals.²

At the time of Gandhi's birth there were already some binding elements present in this heterogeneous country. Although means of communication were still poor, the construction of a new railroad helped to make travel easier, faster, and cheaper. The reorganized postal service was also making communication more facile and inexpensive. The newspapers in English and provincial languages became more numerous, and English-trained lawyers in large numbers were beginning to exploit the poor. These lawyers would soon play an important part in the activities of the All-India National Congress. These binding elements provided a fertile ground for the upsurge of political nationalism.³

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was the fourth and last child of his father's fourth and last marriage. He was born at Porbandar on October 2, 1869. The Gandhis belonged to the Bania Caste, a division in Hindu hierarchy reserved for grocers (indeed the literal translation of Gandhi means grocer). But professional barriers between castes had begun to crumble generations earlier, and Gandhi's grandfather Uttamchand had been prime minister to the princelings of Porbandar, in Western India. Uttamchand had handed the office down to his son Karamchand who passed it to his brother Tulsidas. After Tulsidas, Gandhi's father inherited that position. He changed portfolios to become prime minister in Rajkot and later in Wankaner. Although the Gandhis broke tradition professionally, they were devout orthodox Hindus. In contrast to Nehru, who was so strongly influenced by his father, it was Gandhi's mother who played the most influential role in Gandhi's life; this probably explains his deeply religious nature. The three outstanding characteristics of his mother which left deep imprints on young Mohandas were: affinity for religion, willingness to suffer cheerfully, and firmness of purpose. For his mother would scrupulously observe the Jainist tradition, taking the hardest vows and keeping them without flinching. Gandhi recalled how as children they would look for a glimpse of the sun on rainy days; if when his mother came out to see it, the sun was hidden again in the clouds, she would say cheerfully that God didn't want her to eat that day. Gandhi also admired his mother for her intelligence and common-sense⁴ and claimed that her death touched him even more deeply than that of his father.⁵

²W.E. Muhlman, op. cit., p. 6.

³Hariads T. Muzumdar, Mahatma Gandhi (New York-London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953).

⁴M.K. Gandhi, Autobiography (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1948), p. 13.

⁵Ibid., p. 111.

Education

Gandhi started school in **Porbander** and later attended high school in Rajkot. While he was still a high school sophomore, at the age of thirteen, he was married. This child marriage gave Gandhi a shock from which he did not recover for years. Gandhi admits in his autobiography that he was a slave of the flesh. He couldn't control his desire even when his wife was in her last month of pregnancy. The news of his father's death reached the sixteen-year-old in his bedroom at a time when he should have been taking care of a message to his father. A short time afterwards his wife Kasturbai gave birth to a child who lived only a few days. Such experiences may have motivated Gandhi's condemnation of the pleasures of the flesh and especially his objection to child marriage. Moreover, the ascetism of his later life may also have taken root from these memories.

Although Gandhi's childhood years were uneventful, two outstanding traits were already present: his urge to tell the truth, and his love of experimentation. It was the latter which prompted Mohandas to test meat, although his family being strict Vaishnavas, were vegetarians. A friend who was tall and strong persuaded Gandhi to eat meat, arguing that was what made him and the English strong, and it was the reason why the Hindus who did not eat meat were small and weak.⁶ The eating of meat went on secretly for about a year, but the burden of the secret became too heavy for Gandhi to carry. Unlike his older brother, who remained a meateater, Gandhi said to himself:

Though it is essential to eat meat, and also essential to take up food reform in the country, yet deceiving and lying to one's father and mother is worse than not eating meat. In their lifetime, therefore, meateating must be out of the question.⁷

In England

At the age of 18, Gandhi, like Nehru, went to England for further study. But Gandhi's departure from India was different from Nehru's, for Gandhi belonged to a caste which forbade foreign travel (one could not practice Hinduism everywhere). Despite the fact that Gandhi took an oath to abstain from meat, drinking, and women, and despite the fact that he had the blessings of his mother and the family priest, he was cast out by his community.

Gandhi had come to England at a time when there was a strong reaction against industrialism. In the movement of protest were notable Englishmen, like John Ruskin and William Morris. The basis for their protest lay in a profound concern for human values. Ugly factories,

⁶M.K. Gandhi, op. cit., p. 33.

⁷Ibid., p. 36.

the exploitation of human beings, and low wages characterized English industrialism at that time. Perhaps it was in England that the seeds of the symbolic spinning wheel were sown. Later, in South Africa and India, Gandhi witnessed the same phenomena. Haridas T. Muzumdar remarks:

It was his misfortune to see industrialism at its worst, first in England (1888-1891), then in South Africa (1894-1914) and then in India (1915 - on). These experiences set Gandhi against the cult of the machine and the worship of Industrialism.⁸

Unlike Nehru, Mchandas had to learn English customs, and he did his best 'to do in Rome as the Romans do', excepting of course, the things forbidden by the oath he took in India. Thus he bought an evening suit made in Bond Street and took dancing lessons. His introspective nature was evidenced here, as he writes: "Let no one imagine that my experiments in dancing and the like marked a stage of indulgence in my life...That period of infatuation was not unrelieved by a certain amount of self-introspection on my part."⁹ His sense of economy will be observed again and again in Gandhi's life, as Krishnalal Shidharani remarks:

It seems that thriftiness was with him not only an art or a necessity or a desirable quality, but also an ethical principle. To be thrifty was to be good. It is an attitude most definitely ingrained in the Bania caste to which Gandhi belongs...Even years later, when he was a full-fledged Mahatma, Gandhi used to clip the corners and edges of newspapers given to him in Yeravda Jail and write letters to his disciples on them.¹⁰

Gandhi's vegetarianism helped him in many ways; through it he became a member of the Vegetarian Society and was elected to the executive committee; Thus gave him his first experiments with diatetics. These experiments assumed importance for two reasons: first, they were adhered to from concern with economy and hygiene, but later, in South Africa, religious motives entered in.

Through his study of law Gandhi came into contact with many different people and ideas. Toward the end of his second year in England, Gandhi met a number of Theosophists, who first introduced him

⁸Haridas T. Muzumdar, Mahatma Gandhi (New York-London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953), p. 13

⁹M.K. Gandhi, op. cit., p. 72.

¹⁰Krishnalal Shidharani, The Mahatma and The World (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1946), p. 123.

to the Bhagavad Gita, the essence of Hinduism. He also read the Bible, but was only interested in the new Testament; he particularly liked the Sermon on the Mount, which like the Gujarati hymns and the Bhagavadgita, pointed towards the good deed in return for the bad one.

Among the Western Thinkers who influenced Gandhi most were Ruskin, Tolstoy, and Thoreau. Ruskin's work 'The Crown of Wild Olive' impressed Gandhi because of the social evils that the author points out, together with suggestions for reforms. Tolstoi's influence on Gandhi was particularly strong. The Russian's concept of passive resistance, which was so unique that it has been described as Tolstoism (Tolstovstvo), was greatly appreciated by Gandhi. Later Gandhi entered into correspondence with Tolstoy, who ultimately congratulated him on his successful flight in South Africa. From Thoreau Gandhi took the precise thought of civil disobedience. From all three Gandhi acquired a preference for the simple life, which led to his abstaining from the more artificial and complicated life of modern civilization.

Plato also impressed Gandhi, who translated the 'Apology of Socrates' into the Indian vernacular (the British government forbade the translation in 1919). The problem which Socrates faced, namely the conflict between the authority of the state and his own views, attracted Gandhi, since he agreed with Socrates that one should listen to God more closely than to man.

Homeward Bound

Soon after Gandhi was called to the bar in June 1891, he went back to India. There he learned of the death of his mother, which had occurred while he was abroad. The news grieved him even more deeply than his father's death, which had occurred seven years earlier. Gandhi was faced with a dubious status in his caste position; there were two camps, those who agreed with Gandhi and those who were against his traveling abroad. This rift was bridged by Gandhi's tact and sense of pragmatic confirmity.

Like most Indian students who return from abroad, Gandhi had to get used to the old ways again. However, his elder brother had introduced English ways into the household, in anticipation of the native's return. Coffee, tea, and other little luxuries which were usually saved for special occasions were made the order of the day. Since Gandhi's dress was also Western, he wore shoes and suits instead of the Indian Doty. Thus the expenses went up. As Gandhi soon discovered that he could not start a sufficiently prosperous practice in his little town of Rajkot, he took the advice of his friends and went to Bombay to gain experience and study Indian law.

As a lawyer in Bombay, Gandhi was not very successful. He was by his own admission shy and insecure. Fortunately, the stay in Bombay was of short duration, since the opportunity arose for Gandhi to go to South Africa. A group of Muslims from his home town were engaged in a law suit with a firm in South Africa and hired Gandhi as an assistant to their main lawyer in Durban. Little did they know then that the young barrister who had just returned from England would effect a compromise satisfactory to both parties, one which would become a symbol associating the name of Gandhi with supreme compromises.

South Africa

South Africa, when Gandhi arrived in 1893, was divided into four parts: Natal, the Orange Free State, the Transvaal and the Cape Colony. The first two colonies were Boer Republics in which Dutch had been the official language until 1845 (at which time they were annexed to the British empire). In the small towns the settlers were mostly Dutch, but Durban had a great number of English settlers, mostly businessmen. The Boers seem to have hated the English passionately, considering them arrogant interlopers. Another element which sharpened the friction between the English and Dutch settlers was a third group, the Uitlanders (foreigners) as they were called by the Dutch. This group was made up of greedy adventures, similar to the group that went with Columbus to find treasure, for gold and diamonds had been discovered in the Boer Republics. These Uitlanders were greatly discriminated against- they had neither voting rights nor a voice in government. It is interesting to note the paradox of the Europeans fighting among themselves, yet united in their discrimination against the 'colored' population. Gandhi seems to have taken no notice of all this turmoil, for no mention is made of it in his autobiography. He was only aware of the discrimination against Indians. As Vincent Sheean remarks:

...he behaved like a specific instrument of a specific purpose...In Africa he lived for the Indians and thought only of the Indians. The wild struggle of the others concerned him only as it affected the lives of his own people.¹¹

Largely through his employer, Gandhi became acquainted with the position which most countrymen occupied in South Africa. Most of the merchants were Moslems, many bookkeepers and clerks were Hindus, and a very large number were indentured laborers, whose lot was difficult. All Indians were "coolies" to the Europeans. In order to avoid that word of contempt, the Moslems called themselves Ara's and the Parsees "Persians". Gandhi, who was the only Indian barrister in South Africa, was soon known as the 'coolie barrister'. The Indians in South Africa, whether they were merchants, clerks, or indentured laborers, had no 'esprit de corps' except when something threatened them collectively. It remained for Gandhi to organize them into a self-respecting unit.

After having made a study of the case, Gandhi was sent to Pretoria. It was on this trip that Gandhi first experienced discrimination against the 'colored'. When a passenger who had entered Gandhi's train compartment saw that Gandhi was colored, he summoned two railroad officials to oust him. But when Gandhi was asked to leave the first class compartment for the van, he refused, since he had a first class ticket, a police constable was finally summoned and Gandhi, who refused to go to the van, was pushed out of the train. As he sat shivering in the station, waiting for the arrival of the next train, Gandhi asked himself

¹¹M.K. Gandhi, op. cit., p. 141.

whether he should go back to India now, or go to Pretoria pocketing insults and return to India after finishing the case, or fight for his rights. He decided on the latter, which took tremendous courage and possibly marked the turning point of his life. Once the decision to fight for his rights was made, Gandhi immediately set about it with a stoic determination so characteristic of his later life. More incidents of the kind just described occurred to Gandhi on his way to Pretoria, but he stood his ground every time.

Once in Pretoria, Gandhi met his opponent and worked out a settlement out of court, on his own initiative, contending that a costly lawsuit would ruin both parties. Although he had come here on Abdul Sheth's orders, he acted as a lawyer for both sides and brought about a compromise. Not content with that, he wanted to befriend both parties and went out of his way to find a plan of payment based on moderate installments for the indebted party. Finally the dispute was settled out of court to the satisfaction of all concerned.

Settling down in Natal, Gandhi applied to the Supreme Court for admission as an advocate. This stirred quite a commotion since no coloured man had ever dared to aspire to that high a status. After an inordinate amount of publicity, Gandhi was asked to take the oath. Once in office, Gandhi soon acquired the nickname "honest Gandhi" (note the difference between this title and that of "coolie barrister" which he had been called previously in Durban). Gandhi earned this reputation by taking only cases that he knew to be in the right. On one occasion an Indian merchant who had been caught smuggling came to Gandhi for help. After studying his books, the lawyer found that his client had smuggled much more than the officials knew about. He compelled his client to confess all to the custom officers and thereby win their approval. By his so doing, only a fine instead of a jail sentence was imposed. On another occasion, Gandhi found out in the middle of a court session that the client had falsified facts. He withdrew his defense immediately (and his client later apologized).

So Gandhi grew in stature by expounding the practice of truth. But truth, to Gandhi, was a great deal more than just honesty; it included love and forgiveness, and by adding these dimensions to his own life, he began to feel free from fear, insult and shame.

One day a sentry pushed Gandhi into the street because he was passing in front of the house of the President of the Transvaal. A European friend who witnessed it told Gandhi that he had seen everything and would testify in court; he also expressed his regret for the rude assault. But Gandhi said that all coloured people are the same to the sentry and that he had made it a rule not to react to personal insults. When the sentry later apologized, Gandhi replied that he had already forgiven him.

During the law suit of Abdulla Seth, Gandhi had made the acquaintance of a Christian lawyer who figured prominently in the case of Mr. Baker. This lawyer had immediately befriended Gandhi and tried to foist his religion on the Indian. Gandhi attended the prayer meetings with his friend but told him that he would not think of embracing another before he had fully understood his own. Gandhi also made the acquaintance of other Christians, some of whom were Indians. It stimulated his thought and interest in this area, just as his acquaintance with the English Theosophists had done.

No sooner did Gandhi reach Pretoria than he became keenly interested in the conditions of Indians in that part of Africa. In order to come into contact with them, he sought out Shet Tyeb Haji Khan Muhammad, who occupied the same position in Pretoria as Abdulla Sheth did in Natal, namely that of a successful and influential merchant. After Gandhi met with Muhammad, he expressed his intentions and the two called a meeting of Indians. At that meeting Gandhi emphasized the necessity of maintaining absolute truthfulness in business, improving hygienic conditions, and forgetting the differences between Hindus, Musalmans, parsis, Christians Gujaratis, Madrasis, Punjabis, and others. Not only were the proposals accepted, but more such meetings were held.¹² Significantly enough, the principles first laid down by Gandhi in a speech here became the principles that Gandhi fought for throughout the rest of his life.

Soon after the settlement of Abdullah Set's law suit, Gandhi went back to Durban to make arrangements to go home. By this time he had become almost indispensable to the Indian Community in South Africa. Not only had he united and organized the Indians in Natal, and started an Indian newspaper that was also read by Europeans, but he had become spokesman and lawyer for the downtrodden, indentured Indian laborers. His friends therefore persuaded Gandhi to fetch his wife and children and come back to South Africa to help the Indians defend their rights.

During the short time he remained in India, Gandhi published some pamphlets describing the lot of the Indians in South Africa. The pamphlets were widely circulated and a very abbreviated form reached Reuters, who deliberately misinterpreted it leading the South Africans to believe that Gandhi was planning a mass immigration of Indians to South Africa. The white settlers in Durban who believed this news report almost lynched Gandhi upon his return. Later, when the Reuters news reports proved false and the people had calmed down, the press became more polite. The mood of Durban changed considerably, and the Attorney General came to Gandhi in order to help identify those who had attacked him, so that they might be tried before the law. But Gandhi would not identify anybody, stating that the mob was not at fault. He would not only forgive his opponents, but would seek ways of helping them.

In 1899 war broke out between the British and the Boers. Gandhi decided to fight on the side of the British, because he wanted to prove that his demand for equal rights for the Indians meant Indians, as citizens, also had obligations to the country. Should the country be involved in a war, the citizens should align themselves with it. Since he abhorred violence, he organized a Red Cross unit. In recognition of his good work and courage he was decorated. A statue was also erected near Johannesburg in memory of the Indian corps.¹³

¹²M.K. Gandhi, op. cit., p. 158.

¹³H.S. Hoyland, Songs from Prison (London: Allen & Unwin Publishers, 1934), p. 66.

A New Weapon

After the Boer War was over, new restrictions were placed on the Indians. This prompted Gandhi to wield a new weapon. The government of Transvaal was introducing a bill in the legislature which required every Indian to be fingerprinted and to produce a registration card upon demand. If he failed to do so, he would be subject to deportation. While this bill was pending, Gandhi introduced Stayagraha (insistence on truth). He did so at a meeting of the Indian community, pointing out that the only way to oppose this and other unjust bills was by refusing to obey them and taking the consequences. In order to do so one needed, courage, strength, and conviction. Gandhi asked his listeners to search their hearts and only if they were sure that they had enough strength to go through the perils which such resistance was bound to bring, should they take the oath to disobey. "Submit not to evil and take the consequences cheerfully" was the motto. By not submitting to the tyrant's will, his power is destroyed. Not only did everyone present take the oath, but after the meeting was over, the attending Indians went out to convince the other Indians who had not attended the meeting. Only Gandhi, together with a handful of associates, realized that a new weapon was born. Gandhi now tried to formulate its theory and practice, and find a name for the newly conceived weapon. He rejected the term 'passive resistance' because it was misinterpreted by many people, especially European friends, as being a weapon of the weak: The Indians were small in number and had no weapons, therefore they resorted to passive resistance. Furthermore, the same term was used in connection with the suffragist movement in England. Gandhi's concept of Stayagraha was to gather strength by taking suffering upon oneself. This concept had its roots in the Vedas, which maintained that suffering brought divine as well as worldly results and that self purification led to victory on a higher level.¹⁴ Furthermore, a tyrant has only the power to impose on the victim that which he lacks strength to resist. To discard one's cowardice is therefore crucial and can be done only by self purification and suffering. This is, however, impossible to achieve without believing in the innate goodness of men and the all-embracing power of love.

In this way does Gandhi combine ethics with politics, the abstract with the concrete. Later, in his 'civil disobedience' movement in India, it shall be seen how Gandhi further develops those ideas and puts them into practice.

Fasts

Gandhi's fasting was one of the very effective but often misunderstood means to attain an end. The fast is one of the West's enigmas. Many of those who have a friendly attitude towards Gandhi cannot understand it, while his adversaries have often called it

¹⁴M.K. Gandhi, Hindu Dharma (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1950), p. 186.

political blackmail or coercion. Even some of his collaborators considered it to be an eccentricity on the part of the Mahatma. As a matter of fact, the tremendous power of the fast lay primarily in its morality. It was not isolated from passive resistance but part and parcel of it. Gandhi never fasted to obtain personal gain. He fasted in December 1925 when two boys of his Ashram were found guilty of some sort of immorality. He preferred atonement to punishing them for their crime. Then he proceeded to offer the boys forgiveness and restoration of fellowship. But it was not an easy forgiveness, for it was tainted with Gandhi's personal sacrifice. Nonetheless it was a severe and effective punishment. In 1932 Gandhi undertook a fast unto death as a protest against a separate electorate given to the untouchables: its result was that the Hindus vacated some seats in the Congress for the outcasts. Another death fast followed in 1942 at a time riots and disorder broke out.¹⁵

There are of course many more fasts which Gandhi undertook. It is noteworthy that all of Gandhi's fasts brought about the results that Gandhi set out to achieve. What is it that made the fasts so effective, and would they be as effective a weapon in another man's hand?

Home To India

In 1915, at the age of 45, Gandhi felt the urge to return home to India. By now he had successfully fought for the rights of the Indians in South Africa, giving credit for his success to the achievement of Satya, Ahimsa and Brahmacharya (truth, non-violence and chastity). He had not only given up the pleasures of sex and food, which Gandhi links together, but he also surrendered all his possessions to the community. Thus he felt that he was ready to return to India and assume leadership there, convinced that he could not lead unless he himself were pure. This was not a unique conviction, since it has been said many times that nobody can lead India without having first 'renounced worldly goods'.¹⁶

Upon the advice of his friend and political guru (teacher) Gokhale, Gandhi spent a year away from active participation in public life getting acquainted with the economic and political conditions throughout India. Gandhi organized another ashram, training settlers for Satyagraha. This year of silence came to an end with the opening of the Hindu university at Benares, where he was invited to give a speech. His critical mind, inured to reform and respect for truth, took out once more as he pitilessly criticized the pomp and ceremony while most of India starved. Furthermore, he regretted having to speak in a foreign language at the opening of a Hindu national university. He also spoke of Indian lack of sanitation, and made many points he had earlier uttered in his speeches in Africa. The audience was dismayed, as most of it was

¹⁵E. Stanley Jones, Mahatma Gandhi (New York: Abingdon Cokesbury Press, 1958), p. 108.

¹⁶Vincent Sheean, Mahatma Gandhi (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), p. 87.

composed of upper middle class and upper class Hindus who were the sponsors of the university. Although he was not permitted to finish speaking, what he had said was enough to arouse the public conscience and to make him widely known. It is noteworthy that Gandhi started in India the same way he had in South Africa, by preaching reform and betterment of the Indians, rather than independence from Britain.

As Gandhi had stated in his initial speech in India, and in his speeches in South Africa, it is acts that count, not words; in this manner he did much to improve the sanitation standards of the rural community.

Gandhi came in close contact with the sharecroppers and listened to their plight. The idea of the spinning wheel began to operate in his mind. The thought occurred to him that the farmers, during the rainy season, might utilize idle time in spinning.

Meanwhile, the first world war had broken out, and Gandhi proved his loyalty to the English again by organizing an ambulance corps, as he had done previously in the Boer War. He hoped to gain for India the status of a free dominion, after the war was over. In lieu of expected freedom, England tightened her grip on India by passing the Rowlatt acts, which curtailed the freedom of speech and press. The disappointment affected Gandhi so much that he declared his intention of preaching non-cooperation with the government until these undesirable laws were repealed.¹⁷

Immediately after having informed the Viceroy of his intentions, Gandhi urged the Indians to Satyagraha. This involved the giving up of English titles and offices held by Indians and the establishment of national schools instead of the government-sustained ones, boycott of English goods, refusal to perform military service, and so on. Again Gandhi placed emphasis on the means of achieving these goals, pointing out that the means had to be peaceful regardless of the consequences. Then he set a day of "Hartal" (day of prayer and meditation, and cessation of economic activities), to be on April 6. The effectiveness of this strike was greater than expected. Banks were closed, public transportation was paralyzed, and the whole country seemed to have come to a standstill. Unfortunately, the movement got out of hand and instead of coming to an end at the close of the day, it went on for a week. Nor was it free from violence. At this point Gandhi called off the movement on the assumption that the people were not ready for that kind of resistance. Gandhi initiated three days of personal fasting.

Within five years after his return from South Africa, Gandhi had become the dominant figure in Indian life. In part, the reason for his success and lasting influence lay in the impact he made upon the imagination of the Indian masses. As a result of his experiences in England and South Africa, Gandhi had learned to combine a tremendous confidence with a disarming humility. Men of vastly different talents

¹⁷Will Durant, The Case for India (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1930), p. 73

and temperament came under his spell: lawyers and parliamentarians like Motilal Nehru, humanitarians like Rajendra Prasad, realists like Vallabhbhai Patel, and idealists like Jawaharlal Nehru. They saw in his Satyagraha movement the only alternative to speech-making and bomb-throwing, the two resorts between which the Indian politicians had so far ineffectually oscillated. They by no means shared all his ideas on politics and economics. Few of them agreed with his religious outlook, yet they were tied to him by a deeply emotional bond, a bond which made them forego personal comforts and professional ambitions and spend the best part of their lives in prison. He was not only leader, but the Bapu, the father who deserved affection and respect.

The battles for Indian freedom under Gandhi's leadership were in the main waged on the moral front. His movement was not designed to crush the opponent but to set in motion forces which could lead to his conversion. So it was perfectly possible to lose all the battles and win the war. Gandhi said many harsh things about British domination of India, but even harsher ones about the evils which divided and corroded Indian society from within.

The final transfer of power in 1947 was the consequence of the interactions of numerous national and world affairs, but there is little doubt that the method of British withdrawal was influenced by what Gandhi had said and done for a quarter of a century.¹⁸

In this sketch the writer has put particular emphasis on the early life of Gandhi, since character formation takes place in the early years whereas the latter part of Gandhi's life is well known. Without undue elaboration let us view some of the significant events in his later life.

The first thing Gandhi did after his arrival in India January 9, 1915, was to establish a Satyagraha Ashram. After learning of the hard lot of the peasants, he launched a successful no-tax campaign. Between 1919 and 1942, Gandhi launched various non-violent, non-cooperation movements which often landed him in jail. In March 1922, he was sentenced to six years in prison, but was released after two years on account of an acute appendicitis attack. Then he retired from politics until March 1930, when he initiated the Salt March.

Salt March

A tax on salt levied by the British government affected everybody in India. Gandhi chose to defy the salt levy through civil disobedience. Before organizing the movement, he notified the Viceroy of his intention, and asked him whether it was not possible to discuss these laws and settle them peaceably. The Viceroy was in no mood for conciliation. Lord Halifax, who was then Viceroy, did not dare to imprison Gandhi again, for fear the movement would go on even without Gandhi and perhaps take violent form, whereas if Gandhi led it, it would be non-

¹⁸B.R. Nanda, Mahatma Gandhi (Beacon Press, Beacon Hill, Boston, 1958), p. 516.

violent.¹⁹

On March 12, 1930, Gandhi and seventy-eight members of his Ashram walked from Ahmendabad to the seacoast. The Salt March lasted 24 days and was watched with amazement throughout the world. As Gandhi passed from village to village, he talked with people, admonishing them to live purely, tell the truth only, wear homespun cloth, wash regularly, and be prepared to break the salt laws at a given time. The villagers understood, and accompanied him to the next village. The procession went on and on, involving an ever increasing number of people. The British government meanwhile sat back bewildered at the power of this new movement.

On April 5, 1930, Gandhi went into the water and picked up some salt from the shore. He had broken the law, defying the empire. The signal had been given. All over India people started making salt. The government arrested people from one end of India to the other, but there were always others to take their places. The Congress party organized the illegal but quite public sale of salt through the nation. The money went into the party fund.

Two years later, Gandhi was again imprisoned. While he was in jail, electoral restrictions were established that separated the untouchables from the remainder of the electorate. Gandhi began a fast while in jail, contesting that these restrictions served to perpetuate the separation of the untouchables. Gandhi opposed anything that continued the untouchables in their present inferior status. The outcome of his fast resulted in a change in the electoral rule.

World War II found Gandhi supporting the giving of moral support to the allies. He was against actual participation in violence.

Gandhi's wife died in 1944. His description of their life together is frank. He makes no claims to an "easy" married life and speaks of his great need to adjust to it and of his early lack of consideration for his wife. Although the marriage was never a bed of roses, his love for his wife and sons was sincere.

After the war, Gandhi continued his efforts to promote unity between Hindus and Muslims. His talks with Mohammed Ali Jinnah at an earlier date had proven to be of no avail. At the age of 77, he began tramping the villages of India barefoot, helping the people to realize that they all worshipped but one God and insisting on unity.

Although Gandhi himself was still opposed to it, in 1947 the Congress Party accepted the division of India. Once the division was decided upon, Gandhi worked toward the peaceful executing of the decision.

Gandhi's insistence on tolerance of all religions contributed greatly towards the cause of his death. On January 30, 1948, he was shot while walking to his prayer meeting. The slayer was a fanatic Hindu who felt that India would never be a Hindu state as long as Gandhi lived and preached tolerance and acceptance of all religions.

Although Gandhi is no longer with us, his teachings live on. Principles that Gandhi not only taught but lived can be summarized as

¹⁹Vincent Sheehan, op. cit., p. 155.

follows:

(1) Non-violence of Ahimsa was probably the major principle that Gandhi taught. To Gandhi, non-violence was not only a means to an end, but an end in itself. Non-violence did not mean inaction, for much positive action can be taken without resorting to violence.

(2) Self-discipline of Brahmcharaya was another important element of Gandhian philosophy. The ability to control oneself is important. The use of meat, drugs, and other "harmful" things was felt by Gandhi to awaken man and therefore should be avoided. Birth control, other than through the exercise of self-restraint, was denounced by Gandhi. He associated physical fitness with mental alertness.

(3) Soul Force of Satyagraha in its political form is the civil disobedience movement. Satyagraha inflicts physical injury on no one but the exponent, who by enduring the maximum suffering without counter-violence seeks to shame or inspire the wrongdoer to do right.

(4) The intrinsic goodness of man is accepted by Gandhi. This belief led Gandhi to accept Roosevelt and Hitler equally. Gandhi valued each and every individual. He worked for the upholding of the individual's right to freedom of opinion and action. He looked at the world as made up of individuals, each important.

(5) Desirelessness or Nishkam was preached by Gandhi. An official should have regard for his office only as a means of public service. Gandhi encouraged this ideal in the leaders of India, always urging selfless service.

(6) Self-sufficiency was aimed at making India strong within itself. It included the aim of working toward making India independent economically and embodied the duty to employ your neighbor. Under this also comes Gandhi's opposition to the "craze of machines..." He felt machinery was often used, not to increase wealth of a whole country, but rather to distribute the wealth among a select few.

This has been a thumb nail sketch only, giving some of the main lines of thought of Gandhi. It is an attempt to show why he stands out as a great man.

B. Jawaharlal Nehru

"There are few men in the world today," observed veteran correspondent James Reston of the New York Times, "who can get five hundred Washington reporters out of bed to ask questions at 9:15 o'clock in the morning, but Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India did it today."²⁰

At the same press conference, Frank Holman, the president of the National Press Club, introduced the Indian Prime Minister as "the mystical man in the middle."²¹

The fact that Nehru was able to draw five-hundred reporters illustrates his importance in the world today. Yet to as seasoned a reporter as Frank Holman, Nehru still remains a mystery.

It is significant that more is known about the family life, education, and some of the persons and events which may have influenced the thinking of this "mystical man," so that the aura surrounding Jawaharlal Nehru can be made clearer.

Family Background

Early in the eighteenth century the Nehrus (then Kauls) came to India from Kashmir valley to seek fame and fortune. Raj-Kaul, an ancestor of the Nehrus, was widely acclaimed in India as a great scholar of Sanskrit and Persian. He attracted the notice of the Mogul Emperor Farrukhsiar during the latter's visit to Kashmir. It is said that at the Emperor's request the Kaul family migrated to Delhi about the year 1716.²² As was customary in those days, Raj-Kaul was granted an estate by the emperor, with a house situated on the banks of a canal (nahar). And it is from his residence that the word Nehru came to be attached to his name, which then became Kaul-Nehru. As time passed the name Kaul was dropped and simply Nehru remained.

It is interesting to note that the Nehru family had been associated with the Royal court since the days of Kaul. Nehru's great-grandfather was the first attorney of the British India Company at the court of the emperor of Delhi. Nehru's grandfather was Kotwal (minister) of Delhi for some time before the great revolt of 1757. One of Jawaharlal's uncles was a high official in the Judicial Department of the British Government, while another served as Diwan (chief minister in Maharaja's court) of Kehtri, a state in India.

Nehru's father, Motilal Nehru, was an eminent lawyer. He was a nationalist in a broad sense of the term. Motilal had a wide circle of British friends and he admired the Western way of life. He made a

²⁰New York Times (December 20, 1956), p. 4.

²¹Ibid., p. 4.

²²Jawaharlal Nehru, An Autobiography (London: Jonh Lane, The Rodley Head Limited, 1947), p. 1.



fortune in his law practice and no difficulty in spending what he earned, since he loved the good life in "everyway". It was considered fashionable in those days to adopt Western ways, especially among the upper middle class Indians. Apparently the Nehrus did very well in westernizing themselves.

It is significant to note that the residence of the Nehrus is a huge, palatial building which was divided into two parts - one in the Indian style, and the other in Western style. In the Indian part Nehru's mother was in complete control - here the interior decorations, food, clothes and other comforts of life were wholly Indian. The "Western style" part of the house was under Motilal's control - where servants, cooks and other modes of life were wholly English. It was in this double milieu that Jawaharlal Nehru was born on the 14th of November, 1889. This may partially explain the behavior of this "man in the middle", Neutralist Nehru", and "Fence sitter Nehru".

The struggle between the East and the West is old stuff to Nehru. It began right in his own house, and Jawaharlal seems to have done a fine job of 'walking in the middle'. Even the love Nehru has for his parents lends ample proof of his divided loyalty.

Education

The dualloyalty continues even in his education. Until the age of sixteen when he went to England, Jawaharlal did not attend school. He was educated by governesses and private tutors, Indian and English. F.T. Brooks was the only man who seemed to have influenced the mind of young Jawaharlal; he was recommended to Nehru's father by a wellknown British Theosophist, Dr. Annie Besant. An Indian tutor was also engaged to teach him Sanskrit, Hindu and the Indian classics.

Brooks developed in young Jawaharlal two interests which have endured: "A taste for reading and curiosity in science and its mysteries." He loved the laboratory that Brooks had built for him. His zest for science which his tutor nurtured is evidenced in his recent statements when he admonished his countryman to work harder so that they could get out of the 'cow-dung age' and live in the sputnik age'. During his three years as a teacher, Brooks also introduced his pupil to the great works of English literature by Dickens, Scott, and Thackeray. The two other works which seem to have especially touched his youthful imagination were De Maurier's Trilby and Peter Ibbetson.

When he was fifteen years old, his father decided to send him to England. He entered Harrow in 1905. Jawaharlal knew England through books and through the British friends of his family. Yet by his own admission he "missed India very much". Even though he had little trouble adjusting to his new surroundings, he was "never an exact fit".

Biographer Moraes, explaining Nehru's aloofness, writes:

Already the reserved, somewhat secretive strain in Nehru's make-up was apparent as was also his strength of character. Part of his reserve derived from the mental gap between him and his companions who, like English boys of their age and class were interested chiefly in games. In a letter to his father, Jawaharlal complains how dull most of his colleagues were.

Nehru found the political atmosphere in India 'very dull'. He took to the law and joined the high court. In his own words:

...gradually the life I led, in common with most others of my kind, began to lose all its freshness and I felt that I was being engulfed in a dull routine of a pointless and futile existence.... For the rest there was the Bar library and the club and the same people were to be found in both, discussing the same old topics usually connected with the legal profession, over and over again. Decidedly the atmosphere was not intellectually stimulating and a sense of the utter insipidity of life grew upon me.²⁸

Nehru was not temperamentally inclined 'to die for an idea or do battle over an egg', which seem to be the prerequisites of the legal profession. He grew restless and searched for friends with whom he could talk and exchange ideas with a view to finding such a group he joined the Moderates of the All India National Congress.

Gathering Storm

Nehru was quite disappointed with what he felt was an "upperclass affair" of the Congress Party Convention. Suddenly, in the year 1914, before he reached any decisions as to the future course of his career, the First World War fell upon Europe. A very small group of wealthy Indians gave vocal support to the British Government. Educated Indians were happy to see their British rulers humbled. Nehru confesses in his autobiography that he had mixed feelings in the beginning of the war, but later his attitude had hardened. The Government of India Defense Act decreed that men and supplies should be drawn from India to assist Britain. British persecution of Indian Nationalists during the period brought about a change in Jawaharlal's political outlook. The Easter week uprising in Dublin and Roger Casement's great speech in his own defense at the trial in 1916, influenced him greatly.²⁹ He no longer was willing to remain an impassive observer. Somewhat horrified by the oppressive measures of the British Government, Jawaharlal thought of joining the underground revolutionary group.³⁰ However, Jawaharlal knew his father would not agree to his becoming an extremist.³¹

The events following the First World War drove father and son enthusiastically into politics. Gandhi let the disobedience movement against British rule. An all-India strike was called by the Congress

²⁸ Jawaharlal Nehru, op. cit., p. 28.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 55.

³⁰ Taraknath Das, "An Indian Examines Nehru," American Mercury, Vol. (February, 1951).

³¹ Cornelia Spencer, Nehru of India (New York: John Dacy Co., 1948), p. 32.

Yet he was no prig. It was only that his interests were wider than theirs; he read more newspapers and books than they did, and in general knowledge he was ahead of them.²³

On the whole, Jawaharlal's stay at Harrow was uneventful. There are, however, two incidents worth recalling, for they indicate his zest for politics. One day the teacher asked the class to name the members of the new liberal government. To the teacher's surprise, Jawaharlal, the Indian boy, was the only pupil able to answer the question. Another occasion concerns his receipt of a prize of G.M. Trevelyan's works on Garibaldi for good work at school. The life of Garibaldi fascinated the young man because "visions of similar deeds in India came before me, of a gallant fight for freedom, in my mind India and Italy go strongly mixed together."²⁴

Jawaharlal left Harrow to enter Trinity College, Cambridge. With his partiality to science, Nehru chose natural science, "his subjects being chemistry, geology and botany. But he soon discovered that the conversation that interested him most grew out of politics, history, and economics."

His mind was considerably aroused by some of the political events which took place during this period. The young student at Cambridge eagerly followed the Russo-Japanese war, and when Japan scored a series of victories over Russia, Jawaharlal's Asian pride was greatly inflated. These events greatly aroused his political conscience.

After receiving a Bachelor's degree, Jawaharlal left Cambridge for London in 1910 to study law. Nehru makes the observation that although he was a mediocre law student, he was instinctively drawn to the Fabian society - whose men and ideas were pivotal in moulding the formative mind of the young student.

"I have become," he wrote many years later, "a queer mixture of the East and West, out of place everywhere, at home nowhere."²⁵

Though he was happy to return home, he did not feel exactly at home in his own country. "I am a stranger and alien in the West, I cannot be of it, but in my own country also, sometimes, I have an exile's feelings."²⁶ This comment emanates from Nehru after an absence from home of eight years.²⁷

²³Frank Moraes, Jawaharlal Nehru - A Biography (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1956), p. 31.

²⁴Jawaharlal Nehru, op. cit., p. 70.

²⁵Ibid., p. 36.

²⁶Frank Moraes, op. cit., p. 43.

²⁷Jawaharlal Nehru, op. cit., p. 48.

Party. The suspension of business and means of transportation, arrests and imprisonment, and firing upon the unarmed demonstrators were the order of the day. There followed the tragedies of mob violence and firing by police and military at Delhi and Amritsar; the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh and martial law in Punjab shocked the world. Besides the volatile, atrocious political atmosphere of the day, the social and economic situation was also responsible for Jawaharlal's decision to enter public life. Millions of Indians lived in a state of affairs which was worse than Russia under Czar Nicholas I.³² India's feudal economy was extremely backward, with millions of peasants without land, and an immense gulf between a handful of wealthy people and the teeming millions who lived on the verge of starvation. Jawaharlal himself writes of this period:

The peasantry were a blind, poverty stricken suffering mass, resigned to their miserable fate, and sat upon and exploited by all who came in contact with them - the Government, landlords, money-lenders, petty officials, police, lawyers, priests. I was filled with shame and sorrow, shame at my own easy going and comfortable life and our petty politics of the city which ignored this vast multitude of semi-naked sons and daughters of India, sorrow at the degradation and overwhelming poverty of India. A new picture of India seemed to rise before me, naked, starving, crushed and utterly miserable, and their faith in us, casual visitors from the distant city, embarrassed me and filled me with a new responsibility that frightened me.³³

Motilal, the elder Nehru, needed nothing more to convince him of what he should do. Together, father and son joined Gandhi's disobedience movement. There was no turning back after the die was cast. A few months after the launching of the campaign, father and son were arrested along with the thousands of others and sent to prison in 1921. The story of these three men, the two Nehrus and Gandhi, since the time of their ascent to leadership in India takes on the importance of the Holy Trinity. Through years of campaigning against the British, Nehru traveled throughout the country visiting every nook and corner of India, familiarizing himself with the social, economic and political situation of the day. As noted above, Jawaharlal had had a fine academic education but, like Buddha, he was reared in an exclusive environment which did not expose him to 'real India'. Once exposed to the miserable social conditions of the day, his soul rebelled. Unlike Buddha who sought Nirvana, Nehru proceeded to advance the causes of the Indian masses.

Gandhi's influence on Jawaharlal is of the greatest significance. In 1916 when Nehru attended the National Convention of the Congress Party, he met Gandhi who was to remain a guiding star most of his life.

³²Eric Estorick, Changing Empire - Churchill to Nehru (New York: Derell, Sloan and Pierce, 1950), p. 285.

³³Jawaharlal Nehru, op. cit., p. 52.

Of his first impression of Gandhi, Nehru writes, "All of us admired him for his heroic fight in South Africa, but he seemed very distant and different and unpolitical to many of us young men".³⁴ Nehru and Gandhi were made of entirely different clay. Gandhi's success in influencing Jawaharlal lay mostly in the field of political practice. So strong was his influence that even when Jawaharlal disagreed with Gandhi most, he would bow to the master's will. There appear to be two explanations for Nehru's surrender to Gandhi in matters of political leadership. First, Nehru's father by nature was overbearing and often made decisions for Jawaharlal, for example in matters of school, career to be chosen, girl to be married. Hence, indecisiveness was already a pattern in Nehru's behavior. After the death of Motilal, Gandhi assumed the surrogate, a position in the Weltenschung of Nehru. Secondly, Nehru found it politically expedient to follow Gandhi inas much as the latter enjoyed the support of the masses.

Apart from current policies, Gandhi had had little success in winning him over either to his religiosity or to his social and economic outlook. Although Nehru may be regarded as a religious person, he has no explicit belief in God and is deadly opposed to the dogmas and practices of religions. (Indians who are fundamentally religious follow so faithfully agnostic Nehru.) Nehru says he realizes the importance of religion for it offers:

...A safe anchorage from doubt and mental conflict, as assurance of future life which will make up for the deficiencies of this life. I am afraid it is impossible for me to seek harbourage in this way. I prefer the open sea, with all its storms and tempests...the usual religious outlook does not concern itself with this world. It seems to be the enemy of clear thought, for it is based not only on acceptance without demur of certain fixed and unalterable theories and dogmas but also on sentiment and emotion and passion. It is far removed from what I consider spirituality and things of the spirit, and it deliberately or unconsciously shuts its eyes to reality ... It is narrow and intolerant of other opinions and ideas...And organized religions invariably become a vested interest and thus inevitably a reactionary force opposing change and progress.³⁵

One may wonder how these two personalities, holding such widely divergent views on some of the basic issues of life, could work together. As one reads through Nehru's Autobiography, one senses easily that it is almost impossible to find an event where he was in complete agreement with Gandhi; yet reluctantly he surrendered to the Master on issues of policy. One illustration is worth mentioning, for it throws considerable light on Nehru's inability to withstand Gandhi's conviction.

³⁴Jawaharlal Nehru, op. cit., p. 35.

³⁵Ibid., p. 377.

In 1937, the Congress Party participated in the election to the Provincial Legislative Assemblies set up under the Government of India Act of 1935 to demonstrate to the world that people were behind the party. The guarantee of freedom given in this act of 1935 was so limited that Nehru termed it a 'charter of slavery'. The Congress having swept the polls, most leaders including Gandhi were of the opinion that the Congress Party should accept office. This was obviously contrary to the objective for which the elections were contested. Nehru vigorously opposed the formation of Congress Ministeries. M.N. Roy,³⁶ who was Nehru's next-door neighbour at the convention, gives the following account of the manner in which Nehru condescended.

During the session, I was staying in what was called the 'Leader's camp. Nehru was my next door neighbour, and he dropped in frequently during the sessions of the 'working committee'; on the third day, late in the afternoon, he walked in and threw himself on the bed, a broken man nearly on the point of crying. 'I must resign! he said. I inquired why? Have they rejected your draft?' 'No', he exclaimed in impotent rage; 'they have accepted the whole damn thing, supplemented by a short paragraph dictated by Gandhiji which invalidates the whole rest of the resolution'. The next day, Nehru appeared at the convention, not to resign his presidency, but to recommend the acceptance of the resolution.³⁷

This is typical of Nehru. Time and again he has acted against his own conviction. Nehru made no secret of his policy as well as ideological differences with Gandhi. Of Gandhi he writes,

Ideologically he was sometimes amazingly backward, and yet in action he had been the greatest revolutionary of recent times in India....It was obvious that we differed considerably in our own outlook on life, politics and economics, but I was grateful to him for the generous way in which he tried to come about as far as he could to meet my view point.³⁸

Nehru's personal attachment to Gandhi precluded his moving in a different direction despite the ideological differences. On the other hand it is doubtful it, without Nehru, Gandhi would have attracted the educated middle class. Nehru continually tried to rationalize

³⁶M.N. Roy, was responsible for introducing Communism in India, he was also Stalin's special emissary to China. He later left the Communist Party and died as a friend of the West.

³⁷M.N. Roy, "Nehru," 20th Century, Vol. 151, No. 3 (February, 1952), p. 8.

³⁸Jawaharlal Nehru, op. cit., p. 87.

Gandhi and Gandhism for himself as well as for the educated Indians. Despite the basic differences he was a perfect complement to Gandhi. For the sake of larger loyalties and bigger goals, Nehru has kept his most cherished beliefs in the background.

The Leader And The Led

Almost all the writers³⁹ we have so far examined agree that Nehru is a man of infinite charm, grace, and tenderness, and possesses extraordinary talent for expressing himself in words. Gandhi once referred to him as an artist.⁴⁰ He is also an acknowledged writer.⁴¹ It is through his literary gifts that he appealed to the intelligencia of the Indian society. Although he appeals mostly to the intellectuals--not with intellect -- like a poet, he talks to the heart rather than to the mind.

Having been born into the aristocracy he can never be one of the masses even though circumstances have forced him to mix with common people. "Wherever I have seen him, through the years, he has always stood aloof from the crowd... Although he has assumed mass leadership, he is uncomfortable in his surroundings."⁴² Although he may not feel at ease with them, yet the masses stimulate him. He is always conscious of the fact that he is not one of them. Speaking of this in his autobiography he admits: "I never ceased to wonder how I, who was so different in every way from those who surrounded me, different in habits, in desires, in mental and spiritual outlook, how I managed to gain the goodwill and a measure of confidence from the people."⁴³ It is not always easy to explain his relationship with the crowds in rational terms; at times he scolds them, or lectures on civic duty, and in his moments of emotion he even beats a few members of the crowd. Just as he is emotional himself, he draws his strength from the millions he sways. He is easily moved by the righteousness of a cause. Trade Unions, peasant and student organizations, and the vast majority of the masses in India willingly and joyfully accept his leadership and consider him their champion, but it appears that for the most part theirs

³⁹see for example Louis Fischer, The Life of Mahatma Gandhi (New York, Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1950), p. 142; D.T. Karaks, op. cit., p. 20; Cornelia Spencer, op. cit., p. 32; Austin A.D'Souze, "The Paradox of Jawaharlal Nehru," Catholic World, 1952, p. 22.

⁴⁰Louis Fischer, op. cit., p. 428.

⁴¹His works include: Autobiography; Glimpses of the World History, Discovery of India, Letters to Indira (his daughter), and a few other articles. About his books, Louis Fischer once remarked, "show beauty of soul, nobility of ideal and egocentrism." Ibid., p. 429.

⁴²D.F. Karaka, op. cit., p. 11.

⁴³Jawaharlal Nehru, op. cit., p. 123.

is a blind hero-worship. It is not based on logic or understanding. Idolization of heroes by masses does not have logic as its basis.

It is a strange hold Nerhu has over the people of India, and it is difficult to pinpoint a single factor for this; however, several factors operate together.

First, Nehru was born with a silver spoon in his mouth, yet sacrificed everything for the uplife of the downtrodden masses of India and led a simple life. This ascetic sort of life has special appeal to the Indian masses.

Second, he was the favourite disciple of Gandhi, who once referred to Nehru as his 'political heir'. In the eyes of the masses Nehru is the surviving trustee of India's freedom nominated by the Father of the Nation.

Thrid, since his entrance into politics, he has maintained a very keen interest in international affairs; his presence at various international conferences since 1926 has brought him into contact with world-renowned persons like Einstein, Madame Sun-Yat Sen, Romain Rolland, Bertrand Russell, George Bernard Shaw and many others. This has helped bolster his popularity at home a great deal.

Fourth, his firmness in turning down the personal invitations from Hitler and Mussolini made him a 'devout democrat' in the eyes of the public. All this has endeared him to the people.

Fifth, there is a large quantity of folklore woven about Jawaharlal. This certainly raises his prestige among the illiterate masses. One of the folktales that persisted was that he went to school with the Duke of Windsor. The belief prevailed that his friendship with the Royal family would help India achieve her freedom without bloodshed.

Sixth, in their hours of frustration, the masses need a saviour; Jawaharlal has the talents necessary to fire their imagination. Their faith in him is blind, uncompromising; they appear willing to perish with him beyond reason, since faith binds them to Jawaharlal.

Seventh, one of his colleagues once told Nehru that his aloofness was a bar to having a single real friend. Nehru very slowly and deliberately replied, "I like to open my heart before a crowd." His love for the crowd and the love of the crowds for him constitute one of the great puzzles for the social scientists.

Eighth, Nehru's talent for remaining above the mundane strife of party politics helped endear him to all elements of the party. Even his inadequacy as an organizer could not stop his ascendancy to leadership. The masses had unreserved faith in Jawaharlal. He is all things to all men.

APPENDIX II. A COMPLETE LIST
OF IMAGES OF GANDHI AND NEHRU¹

CODE NO.	IMAGE	CODE NO.	IMAGE
1.	Actor	41.	Controversial
2.	Agitator	42.	Cosmopolitan
3.	Agnostic	43.	Courageous
4.	Ambiguous	44.	Creative
5.	Ambitious	45.	Critical
6.	Anti-American	46.	Democratic
7.	Anti-capitalist	47.	Devotion
8.	Anti-colonialist	48.	Dictator
9.	Anti-Fascist	49.	Dignity
10.	Anti-heavy industry	50.	Distinguished
11.	Anti-Japanese	51.	Does not delegate power to others
12.	Anti-military alliance	52.	Dynamic
13.	Anti-Nazi	53.	Eastern
14.	Anti-press	54.	Economic
15.	Anti-west	55.	Economist
16.	Appeaser	56.	Egotist
17.	Aristocrat	57.	Eloquent
18.	Arrogant	58.	Emotional
19.	Artist	59.	Energetic
20.	Ascetic	60.	Enigma
21.	Asian figure	61.	Enigmatic
22.	Aspires Leadership of Asia	62.	Extravagant
23.	Calm	63.	Failure
24.	Capable	64.	Fair
25.	Capable propagandist	65.	Farsighted
26.	Cautious	66.	Fastidious
27.	Champion of underdog	67.	Father
28.	Charming	68.	Gandhi's heir
29.	Combination East-West	69.	Genius
30.	Combined religion and politics	70.	Gentle
31.	Compassionate	71.	Go-getter
32.	Complacent	72.	Great
33.	Complex	73.	Great Soul
34.	Compromiser	74.	Healer
35.	Conceited	75.	Hero
36.	Confused	76.	Hindu
37.	Conservative	77.	Historian
38.	Considerate	78.	Honest
39.	Contributor to economics	79.	Humanitarian
40.	Contributor to politics	80.	Humanist

¹Proper names are listed together from item 183 onward.

81.	Humble	131.	Perfectionist
82.	Humorous	132.	Persistent
83.	Hypocritic	133.	Philosopher
84.	Idealist	134.	Politician
85.	Idolized	135.	Popular
86.	Impatient	136.	Powerful
87.	Impulsive	137.	Practical
88.	Inconsistent	138.	Precious
89.	Indocentric	139.	Prophet
90.	Individualist	140.	Pro-American
91.	Influential	141.	Pro-China
92.	Integrity	142.	Pro-Communist
93.	Intellectual	143.	Pro-Russia
94.	International figure	144.	Pro-science
95.	Intolerant	145.	Public servant
96.	Intuitive	146.	Pure
97.	Leader	147.	Rationalist
98.	Leftwinger	148.	Reactionary
99.	Legend	149.	Realist
100.	Liberal	150.	Reformer
101.	Lonely	151.	Religious
102.	Longheaded	152.	Revolutionary
103.	Loved	153.	Sacrificial
104.	Love for power	154.	Saint
105.	Lover	155.	Self-confident
106.	Loves crowds	156.	Sensitive
107.	Manysided	157.	Short tempered
108.	Martyr	158.	Shrewd
109.	Master	159.	Simplicity
110.	Meek-looking	160.	Sincere
111.	Mediator	161.	Socialist
112.	Moderator	162.	Statesman
113.	Modern	163.	Stern
114.	Modest	164.	Strong
115.	Moralist	165.	Stubborn
116.	Mystical	166.	Successful
117.	Nationalist	167.	Symbol of India
118.	Neutralist	168.	Timeless
119.	Non-Communist	169.	Tolerant
120.	Non-violent	170.	Truth
121.	Not representing Asia	171.	Understanding
122.	Opportunist	172.	Unifier
123.	Optimist	173.	Universal
124.	Organizer	174.	Unlike Gandhi
125.	Outstanding	175.	Unselfish
126.	Overworked	176.	Vague
127.	Pacifist	177.	Vain
128.	Paradoxical	178.	Visionary
129.	Peace-maker	179.	Warmonger
130.	Peaceful	180.	Weak character

- 181. Western oriented
- 182. Wise
- 183. Marcus Arelius
- 184. Bergson
- 185. Charles Boyer
- 186. Buddha
- 187. Caesar
- 188. Chiang Kai-shek
- 189. Christ
- 190. Franco
- 191. Hamlet
- 192. Kerensky
- 193. Lenin
- 194. Lincoln
- 195. Mazzini
- 196. Napoleon
- 197. Peter Pan
- 198. Robespierre
- 199. Franklin D. Roosevelt
- 200. Ruskin
- 201. Saint Francis
- 202. Saint Paul
- 203. Walter Scott
- 204. Socrates
- 205. Thoreau
- 206. Tolstoy
- 207. Voltaire
- 208. Washington

APPENDIX III. NEHRU
HIGH AGREEMENT AMONG AMERICANS

FAVORABLE		FAVORABLE		UNFAVORABLE	
	Bks. Mag.		Bks. Mag.		Bks. Mag.
Anti-Fascist	1	Realist	0 2	Agitator	0 1
Calm	0 2	Self-confident	0 3	Agnostic	5 11
Capable	0 2	Sincere	1 6	Ambitious	0 2
Cautious	0 5	Stern	0 5	Aristocrat	1 13
Cosmopolitan	1 0	Strong	1 1	Arrogant	0 3
Courageous	1 8	Successful	0 4	Confused	0 11
Considerate	0 4	Tolerant	0 2	Dictator	0 8
Creative	0 3	Truth	0 1	Egotist	1 2
Democrat	0 13	Understanding	0 5	Failure	0 7
Devotion	0 2	Wise	0 3	Impatient	1 6
Distinguished	0 1	Western	1 25	Impulsive	0 4
Eloquent	2 3	oriented		Inconsistent	1 4
Energetic	0 12			Intolerant	0 3
Fair	0 2			Love for power	0 1
Gandhi's heir	9 25			Politician	1 16
Genius	0 1			Short tempered	1 9
Go-getter	0 2			Socialist	1 18
Honest	0 2			Warmonger	0 2
Humorous	1 5			Weak character	1 4
Idealist	3 10			Unlike Gandhi	6 2
Integrity	0 3				
Intellectual	2 14			NEUTRAL	
International	1 9				
figure				Hypocrite	0 1
Liberal	0 1			Neutralist	2 23
Modest	0 2				
Outstanding	0 11				
Peace-maker	1 11				
Peaceful	0 3				
Persistent	0 4				
Popular	0 22				
Practical	0 3				
Pro-science	0 3				
Public	0 3				
servant					

APPENDIX IV. NEHRU.
MODERATE AGREEMENT AMONG AMERICANS

FAVORABLE			UNFAVORABLE		
	Bks.	Mag.		Bks.	Mag.
Anti-colonialist	0	8	Ambiguous	0	4
Artist	1	6	Anti-American	0	6
Champion of under-	1	5	Anti-west	0	2
Charming dog	1	18	Appeaser	0	2
Combination	1	8	Complacent	0	1
East-West			Conceited	1	7
Compassionate	1	3	Controversial	0	2
Critical	0	3	Emotional	2	15
Dynamic	0	3	Extravagant	0	1
Great	1	8	Paradoxical	0	10
Hero	0	6	Pro-Communist China	0	5
Humanist	0	1	Pro-Communist	0	5
Humble	0	6	Stubborn	0	4
Individualist	1	2	Vague	0	1
Influential	0	10			
Leader	2	68	NEUTRAL		
Mediator	0	7			
Nationalist	0	41	Asian figure	1	19
Non-Communist	0	20	Complex	0	4
Non-violent	0	4	Not representing	0	1
Optimist	0	2	Asia		
Philosopher	1	7	Statesman	4	19
Powerful	0	5	Idolized	1	12
Reformer	0	1			
Unifier	0	3			
Universal	0	1			

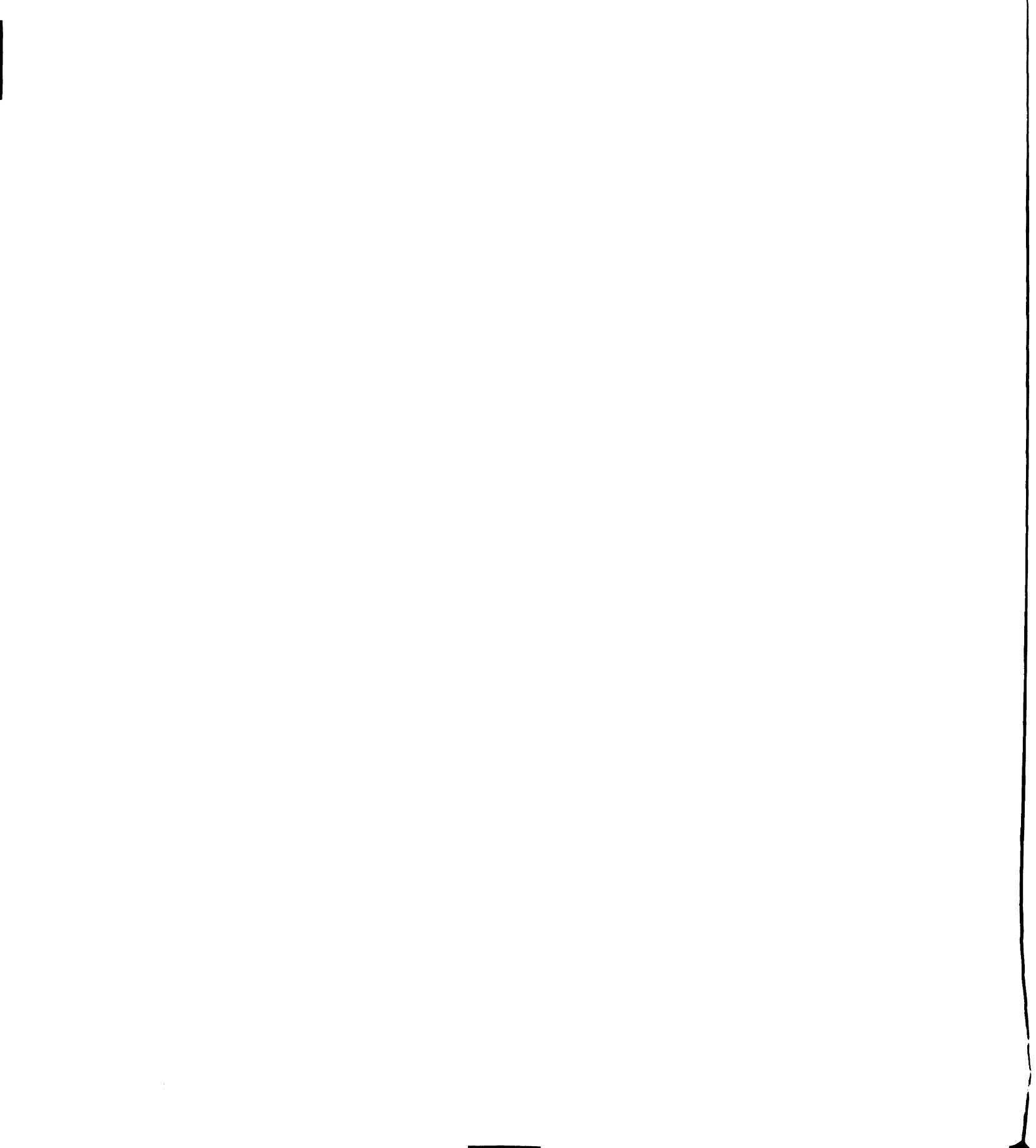
APPENDIX V. NEHRU,
HIGH AGREEMENT AMONG INDIANS

FAVORABLE

	Bks.	Mag.
Ambitious	1	0
Anti-Fascist	1	2
Anti-military alliance	0	6
Champion of underdog	6	0
Charming	3	2
Compassionate	2	0
Cosmopolitan	1	0
Courageous	3	3
Creative	1	1
Democratic	15	0
Devotion	0	1
Eloquent	2	1
Great	1	0
Hero	2	3
Idealist	2	1
Influential	4	1
Intellectual	3	0
International figure	3	3
Leader	9	2
Modest	0	1
Nationalist	3	1
Non-violent	2	1
Peace-maker	0	1
Persistent	3	0
Politician	2	1
Popular	3	8
Powerful	3	0
Practical	2	0
Reformer	0	1
Sacrificial	2	0
Self-confident	2	0
Sincere	3	3
Tolerant	1	1
Universal	0	1
Wise	1	0

UNFAVORABLE

	Bks.	Mag.
Conceited	2	1
Dictator	4	0
Failure	7	3
Love for power	0	1
Reactionary	0	1
Vague	1	0
Vain	2	0
Warmonger	0	1
Weak character	1	3
NEUTRAL		
Agnostic	8	1
Idolized	8	8
Indocentric	5	0
Paradoxical	4	2
Unlike Gandhi	8	0



APPENDIX VI. NEHRU,
MODERATE AGREEMENT AMONG INDIANS

FAVORABLE			UNFAVORABLE		
	Bks.	Mag.		Bks.	Mag.
Artist	2	3	Aristocrat	2	1
Combination	1	0	Confused	6	3
East-West			Hypocrite	2	0
Emotional	10	1	Impatient	1	0
Gandhi's heir	2	7	Intolerant	3	1
Genius	0	1	Short-tempered	2	1
Historian	1	1			
Mediator	0	1			
Moderator	1	1	NEUTRAL		
Modern	1	0			
Neutralist	0	1	Lonely	6	1
Non-Communist	1	0	Visionary	3	4
Optimist	3	2			
Philosopher	2	0			
Pro-American	1	2			
Sensitive	7	1			
Simplicity	0	1			
Socialist	6	5			
Stern	1	0			
Symbol of India	3	4			
Western oriented	1	3			

APPENDIX VII. GANDHI
HIGH AGREEMENT AMONG AMERICANS

FAVORABLE	Pks.	Mag.	FAVORABLE	Bks.	Mag.	FAVORABLE	Pks.	Mag.
Anti-Nazi	0	1	Loved	12	6	Washington	1	0
Artist	5	0	Mediator	0	4			
Calm	3	1	Modern	0	1	UNFAVORABLE		
Capable	1	0	Modest	2	1			
Champion of			Non-Communist	1	0	Agitator	0	3
underdog	0	4	Non-violent	18	37	Ambiguous	0	1
Charming	9	1	Organizer	3	2	Anti-heavy		
Compassionate	2	4	Outstanding	5	4	industry	4	2
Considerate	1	0	Peacemaker	1	2	Anti-Japanese	0	1
Contributor to			Peaceful	1	10	Combined Religion &		
Politics	1	0	Persistent	8	7	Politics	3	0
Courageous	5	5	Philosopher	0	1	Confused	0	1
Creative	2	3	Popular	6	3	Egotist	0	1
Critical	0	1	Powerful	8	10	Emotional	1	0
Democratic	5	3	Practical	8	7	Failure	0	1
Devotion	0	2	Pro-Science	1	0	Impatient	1	0
Dignity	3	0	Public Servant	2	3	Mystical	9	4
Dynamic	1	2	Pure	4	2	Short tempered	1	0
Energetic	5	5	Realist	0	1	Stubborn	0	2
Farsighted	1	3	Reformer	18	19	Lenin	2	0
Father	4	11	Saint	11	32			
Genius	2	2	Self-confident	3	0	NEUTRAL		
Gentle	8	3	Simplicity	15	3			
Great	16	21	Sincere	7	0	Asian figure	1	0
Great soul	2	21	Statesman	3	2	Complex	0	1
Hero	2	0	Successful	5	1	Hindu	6	6
Honest	0	1	Tolerant	6	5			
Humanitarians	1	0	Truth	11	3			
Humanist	2	0	Unifier	1	0			
Humble	8	5	Universal	16	5			
Humorous	4	3	Unselfish	2	0			
Idealist	8	7	Wise	0	4			
Individualist	8	1	Christ	31	4			
Influential	13	11	Lincoln	3	1			
Integrity	0	1	Saint Francis	3	0			
Intellectual	1	0	Saint Paul	1	0			
Leader	21	28	Socrates	1	0			

APPENDIX VIII. GANDHI
MODERATE AGREEMENT AMONG AMERICANS

FAVORABLE	Bks. Mag.		UNFAVORABLE	Bks. Mag.		NEUTRAL	Bks. Mag.	
Ascetic	9	1	Actor	0	1	Healer	3	2
Compromises	1	0	Concerative	3	3	Indocentric	2	2
Economic	3	1	Enigma	1	0	International		
Manysided	1	2	Enigmatic	0	1	Figure	0	1
Politician	7	13	Idolized	17	3	Intuitive	2	1
Precious	0	2	Martyr	5	8	Left Winger	2	0
Rationalist	1	0	Pacifist	2	7	Legend	0	2
Religious	22	31	Prophet	1	5	Longheaded	1	0
Shrewd	2	4	Revolutionary	4	5	Sacrificial	0	3
Stern	1	1	Meek-looking	10	18	Socialist	0	3
Visionary	1	1				Symbol of		
Marcus Arelius	1	0				India	3	2
Ruskin	1	0				Timeless	8	7
Walter Scott	1	0				Western		
Thoreau	1	0				Oriented	1	0
Voltaire	1	0				Buddha	4	1
						Caesar	1	0

APPENDIX IX. GANDHI
HIGH AGREEMENT AMONG INDIANS

FAVORABLE	Eks.	Mag.	FAVORABLE	Eks.	Mag.	FAVORABLE	Eks.	Mag.
Ambitious	1	0	Master	4	2	Universal	22	4
Asian Figure	0	1	Mediator	1	2	Unselfish	3	2
Champion of			Modest	0	1	Buddha	2	1
Underdog	6	1	Moralist	8	7	Christ	5	5
Charming	3	2	Nationalist	1	2	Saint Francis	1	0
Combination Re. &			Non-violent	15	9	Saint Paul	1	0
Politics	2	1	Organizer	1	0	Socrates	1	0
Compassionate	2	0	Outstanding	8	5	Tolstoy	2	0
Contribution to			Pacifist	1	1			
Politics	1	0	Peacemaker	0	3	UNFAVORABLE		
Courageous	13	1	Peaceful	4	2			
Creative	3	0	Persistent	4	2	Anti-heavy Ind-		
Democratic	1	2	Philosopher	3	2	ustry	6	3
Devotion	3	2	Politician	9	3	Conservative	1	0
Dignity	2	0	Popular	4	1			
Dynamic	1	0	Powerful	5	2	NEUTRAL		
Fair	1	0	Practical	14	0			
Father	2	3	Precious	0	1	Contribution to		
Genius	3	1	Pro-Science	0	1	Economics	1	0
Great	10	9	Public servant	2	0			
Great Soul	2	3	Pure	2	1			
Healer	0	3	Rationalist	2	0			
Hero	2	0	Reformer	18	4			
Historian	0	1	Revolutionary	6	1			
Honest	2	2	Sacrificial	1	0			
Humanitarian	2	5	Saint	9	1			
Humanist	2	2	Self-confident	2	0			
Humble	2	2	Simplicity	7	2			
Humorous	4	1	Sincere	7	5			
Idealist	5	2	Socialist	0	1			
Influential	27	8	Statesman	7	1			
Integrity	3	0	Stern	1	0			
Intellectual	0	1	Successful	8	3			
Intuitive	3	0	Symbol of					
Leader	6	11	India	7	3			
Loved	9	2	Tolerant	7	3			
Martyr	0	4	Truth	23	5			

APPENDIX X. GANDHI
MODERATE AGREEMENT AMONG INDIANS

FAVORABLE	Eks. Mag.		UNFAVORABLE	Bks. Mag.		NEUTRAL	Eks. Mag.	
Ascetic	9	1	Critical	1	0	Economist	1	2
Economic	5	0	Enigma	2	0	Legend	0	3
Hindu	3	0	Indocentric	2	0			
Idolized	12	2	Meek-looking	1	0			
Many sided	1	0	Mystical	3	2			
Perfectionist	1	0	Religious	21	4			
Prophet	5	1	Napoleon	1	0			
Shrewd	1	0						
Timeless	6	2						
Visionary	3	0						
Ruskin	2	0						

APPENDIX XI. THE FOLLOWING IS A LIST OF CODE NUMBERS
DESIGNATING FAVORABLE AND UNFAVORABLE IMAGES OF NEHRU AS
FOUND IN AMERICAN MAGAZINE ARTICLES. THE READER WILL FIND
THE CODE NUMBER DESIGNATING THE IMAGES IN APPENDIX II.

AMERICA

"Nehru's Peiping Visit," America, Vol. 92 (November 6, 1954), pp. 141-2.

Favorable - 111.

Neutral - 121.

"Exorbitance of Mr. Nehru," America, Vol. 93 (April 16, 1955), p. 61.

Favorable - 45.

"Confused Mr. Nehru," America, Vol. 95 (July 28, 1956), p. 399.

Unfavorable - 36.

Favorable - 162.

ATLANTIC MONTHLY

"Nehru's Visit," Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 199 (February, 1957), p. 15.

Favorable - 46, 162, 28.

BUSINESS WEEK

"India, Short of Goals, Warms to U. S. Capital," Business Week (November 27, 1954), pp. 142-5.

Unfavorable - 161

Favorable - 72, 97, 111.

"Better Understanding with India," Business Week (December 29, 1956), p. 104.

Favorable - 72, 46, 97, 8, 130.

CATHOLIC WORLD

"Paradow of Jawaharlal Nehru," Catholic World, Vol. 176 (October, 1952), pp. 20-5.

Favorable - 138, 107, 27, 93, 97, 135, 59, 52, 9, 117, 162, 134,

80, 28, 90, 84, 147, 19, 80.

Unfavorable - 60, 128, 87, 36, 3, 17, 85, 7, 58.

Neutral - 99, 68, 161, 181, 167.

CHRISTIAN CENTURY

"Nehrus' Leadership Challenged," Christian Century, Vol. 67 (September 27, 1950), p. 1124.
Favorable - 112.

"Patel's Death Lays New Burdens on Nehru," Christian Century, Vol. 68 (January 3, 1951), p. 4.
Favorable - 92.

"Nehru Heads The Congress Party," Christian Century, Vol. 68 (September 19, 1951), p. 1069.
Favorable - 97.

"Nehru Addresses World Council," Christian Century, Vol. 70 (February 4, 1953), p. 125.
Favorable - 162.

"What U. S. and India Agree On," Christian Century, Vol. 71 (July 27, 1954), pp. 818-19.
Unfavorable - 61.
Neutral - 118.

"Only India Can Save South Asia," Christian Century, Vol. 72 (January 12, 1955), p. 812.
Favorable - 97.
Neutral - 118, 167

"Why We Should Listen to Mr. Nehru When First Things Come Second," Christian Century, Vol. 73 (July 11, 1956), p. 819.
Favorable - 97.

"Nehru," Christian Century, Vol. 73 (August 26, 1956), p. 751.
Unfavorable - 58.

"Bewitched, Bothered, and Bewildered," Christian Century, Vol. 73 (November 14, 1956), pp. 1318-20.
Favorable - 28.
Unfavorable-35.
Neutral - 181.

"Nehru's Visit Comes At Right Time," Christian Century, Vol. 73 (December 12, 1956), pp. 1445.
Favorable - 162, 170.
Neutral - 68.

"We Rediscover Mr. Nehru," Christian Century, Vol. 74 (January 2, 1957), p. 3.
Favorable - 97, 91, 119, 94.
Neutral - 181.

COLLIERS

"Are We Losing India?," Colliers, Vol. 127 (June 28, 1951), pp. 13-15.

Favorable - 156, 97, 137, 134, 113, 71, 119.

Unfavorable- 36.

Neutral -167, 102.

"Nehru and The People of India," Colliers, Vol. 137 (February 17, 1956), p. 86.

Favorable - 134, 97, 130.

COMMONWEALTH

"What Can Happen to You?," Commonwealth, Vol. 51 (December 2, 1949), p. 231.

Favorable - 81, 171.

"Nehru's Independent Course," Commonwealth, Vol. 53 (October 27, 1950), pp. 54-6.

Favorable - 26, 52, 59, 117, 135, 155.

Unfavorable- 62.

"Nehru: Philosopher, Prophet, Politician," Commonwealth, Vol. 54 (August 10, 1951), pp. 432-3.

Favorable - 44, 97, 114, 132, 133, 134 - 2, 182.

Unfavorable-139.

"Diffidence is the East," Commonwealth, Vol. 60 (May 14, 1954), p. 131.

Favorable - 135.

Neutral - 118.

"Early Reactions," Commonwealth, Vol. 63 (March 9, 1956), p. 586.

Favorable - 24, 97.

Neutral - 118.

"Christians Under Nehru," Commonwealth, Vol. 64 (May 4, 1956), pp. 117-19.

Favorable - 38, 43, 46, 64, - 2, 92, 97, 117, 119 - 3, 125, 171.

Unfavorable- 142.

Neutral - 118.

"How Neutral is Nehru?," Commonwealth, Vol. 64 (July 6, 1956), pp. 339-42.

Favorable - 27, 43, 119, 120, 137, 182.

Neutral - 118.

CORONET

"Face of Greatness," Coronet, Vol. 31 (April, 1952), pp. 80-81.

Favorable - 38, 50.

Unfavorable- 17.

CURRENT HISTORY

"India's Outlook on Foreign Affairs," Current History, Vol. 30 (February, 1956), pp. 65 - 72.

Favorable - 84, 97, 120, 132, 169.

Unfavorable- 142.

Neutral - 68, 118.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

"Case for India," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 30 (October, 1951), pp.77-90.

Favorable - 81, 119, 135, 162, 172.

Neutral - 161.

FORTUNE

"Private Enterprise in India," Fortune, Vol. 40 (December, 1949), pp. 105-6.

Favorable - 91.

Neutral - 118.

LIFE

"Portrait," Life, Vol. 24 (March 29, 1948), p. 45.

Favorable - 182.

"Picture of the Week," Life, Vol. 25 (August 30, 1948), pp. 18-19.

Neutral - 68.

"Nehru," Life, Vol. 26 (January 24, 1949), pp. 88-94.

Favorable - 19, 43, 69, 75, 81, 82, 84, 91 - 2, 93 - 2, 94, 97 - 3, 112, 117, 145, 160, 162, 173.

Unfavorable- 2, 36, 56, 58, 101, 152, 157 - 2, 165.

Neutral - 21, 68 - 4, 89, 99 - 2, 153, 181 - 2, 185.

"Nehru in the U. S.," Life, Vol. 27 (November 7, 1949), pp. 68 - 70.

Favorable - 28, 135.

Neutral - 21.

"Artists and Statesman," Life, Vol. 29 (August 7, 1950), p. 74.

Favorable - 111.

Neutral - 68.

"Portrait," Life, Vol. 30 (June 4, 1951), p. 117.

Favorable - 97.

Unfavorable- 17.

Neutral - 22.

"Nehru," Life, Vol. 30 (August 2, 1951), p. 239.

Favorable - 28, 72-3, 94, 97, 117-2, 125.

Neutral - 21.

"Old Ills of Modern India," Life, Vol. 31 (October 1, 1951), pp. 110-12.

Favorable - 97, 135, 197.

Unfavorable- 3, 58, 63.

Neutral - 161, 181.

"Big Red Rug out for Nehru," Life, Vol. 38 (June 20, 1955), pp. 41-2.

Favorable - 125.

Neutral - 118.

"Big Man from The East and His Hectic Week in The West," Life, Vol. 42 (January 7, 1957), pp. 28-9.

Favorable - 59, 93.

Unfavorable- 86.

NEW REPUBLIC

"Prime Minister Nehru," New Republic, Vol. 121 (October 10, 1949), pp. 11-13.

Favorable - 8, 57, 97, 125-2, 135, 166, 199.

Unfavorable- 17.

Neutral - 21, 68, 181.

"Nehru's Battle with The Press," New Republic, Vol. 125 (July 2, 1951), pp. 10-12.

Favorable -46.

Unfavorable- 7.

Neutral -161.

"India, The Honest Broker," New Republic, Vol. 129 (September 7, 1953), pp. 8-9.

Favorable - 97.

"Seeking An Asian Identity," New Republic, Vol. 131 (September 20, 1954), p. 15.

Favorable - 26, 129.

Unfavorable- 36.

"Delhi Dispatch; Bid to Both Sides," New Republic, Vol. 131 (October 25, 1954), p. 5.

Favorable - 8, 129.

Neutral - 118 - 2.

"More Cautious Nehru," New Republic, Vol. 131 (November 1, 1954), p. 6.

Favorable - 23.

Unfavorable- 12.

"Nehru Loses His Jim Farley," New Republic, Vol. 131 (November 29, 1954), pp. 15-16.

Favorable - 97.

Unfavorable- 85.

Neutral - 118.

"How Nehru Did it in Andra," New Republic, Vol. 132 (March 21, 1955), pp. 8-9.
Favorable - 97.

"Nehru and The Communists," New Republic, Vol. 132 (June 20, 1955), pp. 11-12.
Favorable - 46, 111, 117.
Unfavorable- 58, 127.
Neutral - 118.

"Soviet-Style Economics and Indian Needs," New Republic, Vol. 133 (August 15, 1955), p. 6.
Favorable -26, 46, 133.
Unfavorable-85.

"Uncle Nehru, A Critical Portrait," New Republic, Vol. 133 (November 14, 1955), pp. 10-12.
Favorable - 75, 91, 129, 134, 166-2, 172.
Unfavorable- 36, 48-2, 141, 143.
Neutral - 161.
Miscellaneous- 198.

"After The Bombay Riots," New Republic, Vol. 134 (February 13, 1956), p. 4.
Favorable - 97.
Unfavorable-16.

"Report from Brioni," New Republic, Vol. 135 (August 6, 1956), P. 10.
Favorable - 129.

"When Ike and Nehru Meet," New Republic, Vol. 135 (December 10, 1956), p. 9.
Favorable - 8, 97.
Unfavorable- 12.

NEWSWEEK

"Nehru," Newsweek, Vol. 32 (May 24, 1948), p. 32.
Favorable - 31, 47, 147 - 2, 171.
Neutral - 68 - 3, 161.

"Importance of Nehru's Visit," Newsweek, Vol. 34 (October 17, 1949), p. 33.
Favorable - 46, 57, 91, 117, 125, 135, 162.
Unfavorable- 143.
Neutral - 21-3, 68, 118, 161, 181-2.

"Red Carpet for Nehru," Newsweek, Vol. 34 (October 24, 1949), p. 24.
Favorable - 8, 46, 97-2, 119, 136, 160.
Unfavorable- 7.
Neutral - 21, 161.

"Kremlin Courtship," Newsweek, Vol. 35 (February 20, 1950), p. 27.
 Favorable - 97.
 Unfavorable- 6.

"Nehru Gets Nowhere; India's China Policy," Newsweek, Vol. 36
 (July 31, 1950), pp. 37-8.
 Favorable - 84, 129, 136.
 Unfavorable- 141-2.

"Red Face Department: Nehru Better At Red China Crossup," Newsweek,
 Vol.
 Favorable - 84, 111, 156.
 Unfavorable- 15-2, 32, 36.

"Nehru of India: Korea Middleman," Newsweek, Vol. 42 (June 22, 1953),
 p. 25.
 Favorable - 59, 71, 94-2, 97-4, 111, 119, 129, 134, 137, 162, 178.
 Unfavorable- 35, 126 - 2.
 Neutral - 66, 118-2, 181.

"Communist Campaign To Capture Nehru of India: Blitz Campaign,"
Newsweek, Vol. 42 (November 30, 1953), p. 50.
 Favorable - 28, 59, 97, 117, 119, 197.
 Unfavorable- 85.

"Inside: Nehru Must Take Sides in Korean Row," Newsweek, Vol. 43
 (January 18, 1954), p. 34.
 Favorable - 97.
 Neutral - 118.

"Asia: Pilgrims in The West and East," Newsweek, Vol. 44 (November 8,
 1954), p. 36.
 Favorable -162.
 Neutral -118.

"Agreeable Visitor," Newsweek, Vol. 45 (January 3, 1955), p. 22.
 Neutral - 118.

"Nehru and Us: Some Advice," Newsweek, Vol. 45 (April 25, 1955), p. 38.
 Favorable - 45 0 2, 119.
 Unfavorable- 6, 58.

"Bouquets and Bombast," Newsweek, Vol. 45 (June 20, 1955), pp. 37-8.
 Favorable - 135.
 Unfavorable- 142.

"All So Amiable," Newsweek, Vol. 46 (July 4, 1955), p. 31.
 Favorable - 38, 129.
 Neutral - 118.

"Passive Invasion," Newsweek, Vol. 46 (August 29, 1955), p. 34.
 Favorable - 120, 129.

"Neutral Is A Many-Sided Word," Newsweek, Vol. 47 (June 18, 1956), p.57.
 Favorable - 8.
 Neutral - 118, 181.

"Nehru's Christmas List," Newsweek, Vol. 48 (December 10, 1956), p. 36.
 Favorable - 8, 94, 115, 129, 172.
 Neutral - 118.

"Visitor From India; Ability, Hardness, An Intolerance of Others,"
Newsweek, Vol. 48 (December 17, 1956), p. 38.
 Favorable - 24, 97, 132, 135.
 Unfavorable- 17, 48, 95.
 Neutral - 118.

"Busy White House," Newsweek, Vol. 48 (December 24, 1956), p. 14.
 Favorable-28, 57, 125, 162.

"Nehru," Newsweek, Vol. 49 (December 17, 1957), p. 27.
 Favorable - 145, 136.
 Unfavorable- 35.

THE NEW YORKER

"Other Sister," The New Yorker, Vol. 25 (November 5, 1949), p. 29.
 Favorable - 43-2, 59-2, 82, 123.
 Unfavorable- 126.

NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE

"Nehru and Patel: Heirs To The Gandhi Tradition," New York Times Mag-
 azine (April 11, 1948), p. 15.
 Favorable - 27, 28, 75, 94, 134, 135, 156, 178.
 Unfavorable- 3, 17, 58, 95, 157.
 Neutral - 98, 161.

"Spokesman of A Troubled Continent," New York Times Magazine (Oct-
 ober 9, 1949), p. 12.
 Favorable - 23, 29, 31-2, 75, 82-2, 93-2, 97-2, 125, 130, 133-2,
 134, 135-2, 149, 160, 163-2.
 Unfavorable- 86-2.
 Neutral - 21, 68, 181.

"Ten Leaders of East Asia," New York Times Magazine (May 21, 1950),
 p. 10.
 Favorable - 91, 93.
 Unfavorable- 17, 85.
 Neutral - 68, 118.

"Nehru Talks of The East and West," The New York Times (August 20, 1950),
 p. 9.
 Favorable - 78, 84, 117.
 Unfavorable- 142, 152.
 Neutral - 118.

"Nehru Answers Some Basic Questions," New York Times Magazine (November 11, 1951), p. 9.

Favorable - 97, 119, 133.

Unfavorable- 58.

"Portrait of A Symbol Named Nehru," New York Times Magazine (December 12, 1954), p. 9.

Favorable - 28, 29, 46, 97-5, 113-2, 117-3, 129, 162-2.

Unfavorable- 3-2, 17-2, 56, 165.

Neutral - 66, 68-2, 118-2, 167, 181.

"Nehru Vs Mao, A Key Contest in Asia," New York Times Magazine (August 7, 1955), p. 13.

Favorable - 117.

Unfavorable- 3.

Neutral - 21.

"Nehru Explains India's Split Personality," New York Times Magazine, (March 11, 1956), p. 13.

Favorable - 97.

"Clues to Jawaharlal Nehru and to India," New York Times Magazine, (July 1, 1956), p. 5.

Favorable - 19, 97-3, 117, 134.

Unfavorable- 35-2, 58, 128-2.

Neutral - 33, 118, 187.

"Nehru, Still The Searcher," New York Times Magazine (December 16, 1956), p. 14.

Favorable - 91, 97, 117, 133-2.

Neutral - 167.

"Kashmir - Tale of Three Men," New York Times Magazine (May 4, 1957), p. 11.

Favorable - 169.

Unfavorable- 1.

"Nehru Asks For One Flower Only," New York Times Magazine (May 18, 1957), p. 30.

Favorable - 59, 97.

READERS DIGEST

"Riddle of Pandit," Readers Digest, Vol. 69 (July, 1956), pp. 96-102.

Favorable - 19, 52, 77, 93, 119 - 3, 125, 134-2, 138, 140, 144, 162.

Unfavorable- 17 - 2, 48, 86, 157.

Neutral - 161, 167, 181.

SATURDAY REVIEW

"What About Nehru?," Saturday Review, Vol. 37 (April 10, 1954), p. 24.
 Favorable - 91, 94.
 Neutral - 118.

TIME

"India," Time, Vol. 58 (March 21, 1948), p. 28.
 Favorable - 43.

"Some Sort of King," Time, Vol. 52 (August 16, 1948) p. 30.
 Favorable - 81, 82, 119, 125, 134 - 2, 162.
 Unfavorable- 18, 85 - 2, 86.
 Neutral - 106, 181.

"Warm Welcome," Time, Vol. 54 (July 25, 1949), p. 23.
 Unfavorable- 157

"Marching Through Kashmir," Time, Vol. 54 (October 10, 1949), p. 21.
 Favorable - 97 - 2, 117.

"Anchor for Asia," Time, Vol. 54 (October 17, 1949), pp. 30-4.
 Favorable - 26, 28-3, 29, 46-2, 72, 75, 91, 93-2, 117, 119, 120,
 135-2, 136, 138, 144-2, 145, 163, 166.
 Unfavorable- 7, 58, 61, 101.
 Neutral - 21-2, 118, 161-3, 181-4.

"Friendly Neutral," Time, Vol. 54 (October 24, 1949), p. 28.
 Favorable - 125.
 Neutral - 118.

"Education of A Pandit," Time, Vol 54 (October 31, 1949), pp. 17-18.
 Favorable - 78.

"Visit To A Mountain Top," Time, Vol 54 (November 14, 1949), pp. 29-30.
 Favorable - 135, 160.

"Nowhere," Time, Vol. 55 (February 13, 1950), p. 33.
 Favorable - 156.
 Unfavorable- 88.
 Neutral - 68.

"Spontaneous Pandit," Time, Vol. 56 (July 31, 1950), p. 25.
 Favorable - 94.
 Unfavorable- 87.

"Matter of Understanding," Time, Vol. 56 (August 14, 1950), p. 22.
 Unfavorable- 4, 36, 58.
 Neutral - 181.

"Matter of Morals," Time, Vol. 56 (September 5, 1950), p. 26.
 Favorable - 115.
 Unfavorable- 157.
 Neutral - 66.

"Duck for Rajrishi," Time, Vol. 56 (October 2, 1950), p. 28.
 Favorable - 135, 155.
 Unfavorable- 58.
 Neutral - 181.

"Dynamic Neutrality," Time, Vol. 57 (January 29, 1951), p. 26.
 Favorable - 117.
 Unfavorable- 17, 58, 83, 128.
 Neutral - 68, 161.

"Next To Godliness," Time, Vol. 57 (May 28, 1951), pp. 38-9.
 Unfavorable- 48.
 Neutral - 161.

"Whose Security?," Time, Vol. 58 (August 6, 1951), p. 19.
 Favorable - 117, 129.
 Unfavorable- 95, - 179.

"Five-Year Fuse," Time, Vol. 59 (February 18, 1952), p. 38.

"No Basic Charm," Time, Vol. 62 (December 14, 1953), p. 40.
 Neutral - 33, 118.

"Untouchable's Warning," Time, Vol. 64 (September 6, 1954), p. 22.
 Favorable - 117.
 Unfavorable-12.
 Neutral - 167.

"Nehru Moves Left," Time, Vol. 64 (October 25, 1954), pp. 22-3.
 Neutral - 98.

"Welcome for Jawaharlal," Time, Vol. 64 (November 1, 1954), p. 31.
 Unfavorable- 126, 157.
 Neutral - 118.

"Mawarith A Knife," Time, Vol. 64 (March 21, 1955), p. 31.
 Favorable - 23, 135.

"Salaam Alukum," Time, Vol. 66 (July 4, 1955), p. 18.
 Favorable - 93, 158, 171.
 Unfavorable- 16.

"On The High Wire," Time, Vol. 66 (July 11, 1955), p. 22.
 Favorable - 23, 158, 162.

"Friends And Reactionaries," Time, Vol. 67 (January 9, 1956), p. 25.
 Favorable - 43, 164.
 Unfavorable- 35.

"Dissenter," Time, Vol. 67 (April 2, 1956), p. 36.
 Favorable - 163, 171.
 Neutral - 66, 89.

"Irritating Admiration," Time, Vol. 67 (April 23, 1956), p. 34.
 Favorable - 28, 81, 114, 149.
 Neutral - 66.

"Accentuating The Negative," Time, Vol. 68 (July 30, 1956), pp. 15-19.
 Favorable - 38, 59, 75, 90, 93, 97 - 2, 113, 132, 134.
 Unfavorable- 3
 Neutral - 21, 85.

"Pandit and President," Time, Vol. 68 (December 31, 1956), pp. 7-8.
 Favorable - 59, 136, 158, 162.
 Unfavorable- 35.

"With One Voice," Time, Vol. 69 (February 11, 1957), p. 29.
 Favorable - 155.
 Unfavorable- 165.
 Neutral - 21.

"What The U. S. Thinks," Time, Vol. 70 (September 16, 1957), p. 36.
 Favorable - 26, 123.

"Flabby Giant," Time, Vol. 70 (December 9, 1957), p. 35.
 Unfavorable- 5.

TWENTIETH CENTURY

"Jawaharlal Nehru," Twentieth Century, Vol. 151 (February, 1952), pp. 137-45.
 Favorable - 46, 48, 95 - 3, 113, 117, 119, 135.
 Unfavorable- 63 - 3, 128, 180.
 Neutral - 68, 161, 191.

U. N. WORLD

"Two Faces of India," U. N. World, Vol. 6 (May 1952), pp. 20-3.
 Favorable - 19, 84.
 Unfavorable- 3.
 Neutral - 68, 118.

U. S. NEWS

"Prime Minister Nehru Coming to U.S. for Wheat and Dollars," U. S. News, Vol. 27 (October 14, 1949), p. 38.
 Favorable - 119.
 Unfavorable- 5.
 Neutral - 161, 181 - 2.

"Big Six of The New Year," U. S. News, Vol. 36 (January 1, 1954), pp. 46-7.

Unfavorable- 101.

Neutral - 21.

"Nehru Steps Up Criticism; America Steps up Aid," U. S. News, Vol. 36 (January 15, 1954), pp. 46 - 7.

Unfavorable- 6, 141.

"Puzzle of India," U. S. News, Vol. 36 (June 11, 1945), pp. 60-4.

Favorable - 117.

"People of The Week," U. S. News, Vol. 37 (October 22, 1954), p. 14.

Unfavorable- 60.

"Peace, But No Prize," U. S. News, Vol. 37 (December 3, 1954), p. 68.

Unfavorable- 127.

"History Makers," U. S. News, Vol. 37 (December 31, 1954), pp. 48-9.

Unfavorable-127.

Neutral -118.

"History Makers of '56'," U. S. News, Vol. 40 (January 6, 1956), p. 58.

Unfavorable-122.

Neutral -118.

"What India's Nehru is Really Up To," U. S. News, Vol. 40 (January 27, 1956), pp. 106-9.

Favorable - 8.

"How Nehru Has His Own Private War," U. S. News, Vol. 41 (August 17, 1956), p. 56.

Unfavorable- 48.

"Asian Friends Meet Again," U. S. News, Vol. 42 (January 11, 1957), p. 18.

Unfavorable- 141.

Neutral - 21.

U. S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT

"Neutral Mr. Nehru, Whose Side Is He On," U. S. News and World Report, Vol. 37 (October 29, 1954), p. 78.

Favorable - 59.

Unfavorable- 142.

Neutral - 118.

"How India's Neutrality Helped The Communist Cause," U. S. News and World Report, Vol. 40 (June 29, 1956), pp. 98-104.

Neutral - 118.

APPENDIX XII. THE FOLLOWING IS A LIST OF CODE NUMBERS
DESIGNATING FAVORABLE AND UNFAVORABLE IMAGES OF NEHRU AS
FOUND IN INDIAN MAGAZINE ARTICLES. THE READER WILL FIND
THE CODE NUMBER DESIGNATING THE IMAGES IN APPENDIX II.

INDIAN REVIEW

"Nehru's Latest," The Indian Review, Vol. 48, No. 10(October 1947),p.14.
Favorable -167.
Unfavorable -3.

"Pandit Jawaharlal at The Bar," The Indian Review, Vol. 50, No. 12
(December 1949), p. 15.
Favorable -47, 58, 68, 126, 156.

"Jawaharlal, The Idol of India," The Indian Review, Vol. 55, No. 11
(November 1954), pp 14-17.
Favorable -43 - 2, 85 - 2, 112, 114, 118, 114, 150.
Neutral -181 - 3.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

"Nehru Explains," The Indian Social Reformer, Vol. 58, No. 6 (October
13, 1948), pp. 26-28.
Favorable -9.

"Jawaharlal Nehru," The Indian Social Reformer, Vol. 60, No. 11
(November-12, 1940), pp. 3-4.
Favorable -9, 85, 97, 117, 159, 160, 161, 167, 178 - 2.

"Interpreting Nehru," The Indian Social Reformer, Vol. 61, No. 37
(May 12, 1951), pp. 1-3.
Unfavorable -141
Neutral -142

"Idolatry of Nehru," The Indian Social Reformer, Vol. 61, No. 49
(August 10, 1951), pp. 11-13.
Favorable -28, 68, 84, 85 - 2, 160, 167.
Unfavorable -157.

"Focus," The Indian Social Reformer, Vol. 62, No. 4 (September 21, 1951).
Favorable -135,
Unfavorable - 89, 95, 128 - 2, 180.

MARCH OF INDIA

"Prime Minister Nehru," March of India, Vol. 7, No. 3 (July 1955), p. 43.
Favorable - 19, 68, 69, 77, 91.

MODERN REVIEW

"Jawaharlal Nehru," Modern Review, Vol. 56, No. 8 (August 1955), p. 36.
Favorable - 111, 120, 144, 169.

"Jawaharlal and Socialism," Modern Review, Vol. 58 No. 12 (December, 1957), p. 56.
Favorable - 111, 120, 144, 169.

UNITED ASIA

"Prime Minister Nehru," United Asia, Vol. 5 (March, 1954), p. 5.
Favorable - 75, 85, 162, 173.

VIGIL

"Nehru," Vigil, Vol. (June 30, 1950), p. 14.
Favorable - 19, 75, 85, 94 - 2, 135 - 2, 164.

"An Instrument of Reaction," Vigil, Vol. 2, No. 15 (June 2, 1951), p. 9.
Favorable - 84, 135, 148.
Unfavorable - 36, 180 - 2.

"Prime Minister's Heroics," Vigil, Vol. 2, No. 16 (June 9, 1951), pp. 23-24.
Favorable - 43, 68, 75, 126.
Unfavorable - 36, 87.

"When Nehru Speaks," Vigil, Vol. 2, No. 19 (June 20, 1951), p. 18.
Favorable - 28, 85, 135 - 2.

"Greater Sinner - Government or Congress?," Vigil, Vol. 2, No. 32 (September 29, 1951), pp. 27-28.
Unfavorable - 63, 104.

Kripalani, J.B. "Sri Nehru's Charge-Sheet," Vigil, Vol. 2, No. 46 (January 5, 1952), pp. 40-41.
Favorable - 135.
Unfavorable - 17.

"Nehru's Latest Performance," Vigil, Vol. 2, No. 15 (May 31, 1952), p. 8.
Favorable - 19, 57, 68, 134, 135, 158.
Unfavorable - 35.

Vigil, Vol. 8, No. 19 (June 30, 1957), p. 20.
Favorable - 43, 52.

APPENDIX XIII. THE FOLLOWING IS A LIST OF CODE NUMBERS
DESIGNATING FAVORABLE AND UNFAVORABLE IMAGES OF GANDHI AS
FOUND IN AMERICAN MAGAZINE ARTICLES. THE READER WILL FIND
THE CODE NUMBER DESIGNATING THE IMAGES IN APPENDIX II.

ATLANTIC MONTHLY

"Politics and Peanuts; Visit With Mahatma Gandhi," Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 179 (January 1947), pp. 51-4.

Favorable - 13, 20, 40, 47, 72, 73 - 2, 91, 97, 103, 107, 145,
146, 151 - 2, 154

Unfavorable - 11, 127.

Neutral - 89, 161.

CHRISTIAN CENTURY

"Gandhi," Christian Century, Vol. 65 (February 11, 1948), pp. 168-9.

Favorable - 65, 72, 73, 74, 91, 97, 120 - 3, 132 - 2, 135 - 2,
136, 151 - 3, 154 - 3, 166, 170, 173, 182.

Unfavorable - 108

Neutral - 153, 168.

"Gandhi Belongs To Tomorrow," Christian Century, Vol. 65 (February 18, 1948), pp. 201 - 2.

Favorable - 65 - 2, 92, 109, 115, 120 - 2, 133, 137 - 2, 146, 150,
151-2.

"Blame Lerrorists in Gandhi's Death," Christian Century, Vol. 65 (March 3, 1948), p. 278.

Favorable - 91, 97, 120, 129, 138.

"Significant Silence in India," Christian Century, Vol. 65 (March 31, 1948), p. 302.

Favorable - 73, 91.

"How Memorialize Mr. Gandhi?," Christian Century, Vol. 65 (April 28, 1948), p. 372.

Favorable - 73, 97, 130 - 3.

Unfavorable - 139.

"Gandhi Memorial at University of California," Christian Century, Vol. 66 (August 31, 1949), p. 1014.

Favorable - 189.

"Gandhi's Place in The New India," Christian Century, Vol. 70 (June 3, 1953), p. 658-9.

Favorable - 27, 43 - 2, 67 - 2, 78, 97 - 2, 151, 154.

Unfavorable - 110.

"Gandhi's Place in The New India," Christian Century, Vol. 70 (August 26, 1953), p. 967.

Favorable - 117.

"We Learned from Gandhi," Christian Century, Vol. 74 (January 30, 1957), pp. 139-40.

Favorable - 73, 82, 103, 107, 169.

Unfavorable - 37.

COMMENTARY

Commentary, Vol. 49, No. 3 (March, 1948), pp. 27-33.

Favorable - 70, 97, 120, 138, 162, 163-2.

Commentary, Vol. 51, No. 8 (August, 1950), p. 44.

Favorable - 72, 73, 91, 97, 131.

Unfavorable - 4, 56, 139.

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW

"Memories of Gandhi," Contemporary Review, Vol. 173 (March 1948), pp. 134-7.

Favorable - 52, 109, 120 - 4, 134, 150 .

Unfavorable - 2.

"Abolition of Untouchability in India," Contemporary Review, Vol. 175 (March, 1949), pp. 159-62.

Favorable - 134, 150 - 3.

"Mahatma Gandhi," Contemporary Review, Vol. 177 (June 1950), pp. 378-9.

Favorable - 84, 120, 150 - 3.

HOLIDAY

"India Without Gandhi," Holiday, Vol. 5 (May 1949), pp. 91-2.

Favorable - 120, 150.

Neutral - 153.

LIFE

"Mahatma Prescribes Nature Cures for India," Life, Vol. 21 (July 15, 1946), pp. 17-18.

Favorable - 20, 23, 47, 59, 74, 150, 151 - 2.

Unfavorable - 110.

Neutral - 76.

"India Loses Her Great Soul," Life, Vol. 24 (February 9, 1948), pp. 27-31.

Favorable - 20, 27, 44 - 2, 67, 70, 72 - 3, 73, 109, 113, 117,
120, 130, 134 - 3, 137, 150 - 2, 151 - 2, 154 - 2,
158, 173 - 2.

Unfavorable - 110 - 2, 127, 139-2, 152.

Neutral - 76.

"Gandhi Joins The Hindu Immortals," Life, Vol. 24 (February 16, 1948), pp. 21-9.

Favorable - 73 - 2.

Unfavorable - 85, 108 - 2

Neutral - 168.

"Sacred Rivers Receive Gandhi's Ashes," Life, Vol. 24 (March 15, 1948), pp. 76 - 8.

Favorable - 73, 120, 130, 150, 154 - 2, 159.

Unfavorable - 127.

Neutral - 76 - 2.

NATION

"India Without Gandhi," Nation, Vol. 166 (February 7, 1948), pp. 148-9.

Favorable - 20 - 2, 84.

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION JOURNAL

"Shall Inherit The Earth," National Educational Association Journal, Vol. 37 (December 1948), p. 586.

Favorable - 70, 72, 81, 84, 125 - 2, 130, 135, 136-3, 151, 182-3.

Unfavorable - 37, 110-4, Neutral - 89.

NEWSWEEK

"On His Lois," Newsweek, Vol. 29 (January 27, 1947), p. 42.

Favorable - 59-2, 82, 111, 130, 151-4.

Unfavorable - 110-2

"Holocaust Ahead?," Newsweek, Vol. 24 (May 24, 1948), p. 9.

Favorable - 97, 136, 151, 173.

Unfavorable- 108, 110-2, 139.

Neutral - 99 -2.

19th CENTURY

"India Revolution During The War," 19th Century, Vol. 142 (November, 1947), pp. 212-18.

Favorable - 67, 120-3.

PARTISIAN REVIEW

"Reflections on Gandhi," Partisian Review, Vol. 16 (January, 1949), p.85.

Favorable - 20, 43, 44, 59, 117, 120-2, 124, 132, 134-2, 154-3, 158-2.

Neutral - 76.

PERSONALIST

"Gandhi's Tribute," Personalist, Vol. 39 (Autumn 1948), p. 356.

Favorable - 69, 84, 97, 132, 134, 154, 178,

Unfavorable- 165.

Neutral - 178, 168.

READERS DIGEST

"Best Advice I Ever Had," Readers Digest, Vol. 68 (January 1956), pp.153-5.

Favorable - 73.

SATURDAY EVENING POST

"Message of Gandhi," Saturday Evening Post, Vol. 220 (March 27, 1948), pp. 24-5.

Favorable - 72, 73-2, 81, 84, 97, 103, 115, 136, 137, 150-2, 154,

Unfavorable - 37, 139, 152

Neutral - 161-2, 168, 186.

SATURDAY REVIEW

"And Never The Twain, Saturday Review, Vol. 29 (June 29, 1946), p. 16.

Favorable - 46, 120.

Unfavorable - 10.

"Message of Gandhi," Saturday Review, Vol. 220 (March 27, 1948), pp. 24-5.

Favorable - 69, 170.

"Across India With The Camera And Typewriter," Saturday Review, Vol. 32 (June 25, 1949), pp. 12-13.

Favorable - 150.

Neutral - 33.

"Saint As Reformer," Saturday Review, Vol. 33 (June 7, 1950), pp. 6-7.

Favorable - 20, 150, 151, 154-2.

"God-Driven Mass of India," Saturday Review, Vol. 33 (September 16, 1950), pp. 11-12.

Favorable - 20, 28, 31, 45, 52, 72-2, 73, 90, 91-2, 94, 97, 115,
120-2, 124, 131, 132, 134-2, 136-2, 137-2, 149, 150,
151-2, 154, 162.

Unfavorable - 1, 2, 36, 61, 85, 110-2, 116-2, 152, 165.

Neutral - 96.

"Aubade," Saturday Review, Vol. 34 (January 27, 1951), p. 23.

Favorable - 31, 73, 91, 109, 115, 120-3, 130-2, 151-2, 154-3, 159,
169-2.

Unfavorable - 110-2.

Neutral - 167, 168.

"Mahatma Gandhi: Ten Years After," Saturday Review, Vol. 41 (January 25, 1958), p. 24.

Favorable - 67, 73, 120-2, 158.

"Mahatma Gandhi: Ten Years After," Saturday Review, Vol. 41 (January, 1957), p. 24.

TIME

"Flower's for The Empress," Time, Vol. 50 (September 15, 1947), pp. 32-3.

Favorable - 81, 130.

"Comeback," Time, Vol. 52 (January 26, 1948), p. 28.

Favorable - 97.

Unfavorable - 127.

"Unbroken Prayer," Time, Vol. 51 (February 2, 1948), p. 22.
 Favorable - 81-2, 103, 134-2, 154-3.
 Unfavorable - 110.

"Of Truth And Shame," Time, Vol. 51 (February 9, 1948), pp. 24-6.
 Favorable - 67, 97-2, 103, 154, 194.
 Unfavorable - 10.
 Neutral - 168.

"At The Three Rivers," Time, Vol. 51 (February 23, 1948), p. 36.
 Favorable - 20, 97, 111, 151.

"In Memoriam," Time, Vol. 51 (May 3, 1948), p. 30.
 Favorable - 72, 97, 103-2.

U.N. BULLETIN

"Rights of Man," U. N. Bulletin, Vol. 3 (October 1947), p. 521.
 Favorable - 59, 67.

"Homage To Gandhi," U.N. Bulletin, Vol. 4 (February 15, 1948), pp. 122-4.
 Favorable - 72-6, 73, 84, 91, 97-2, 115, 120-2, 125, 129, 151-2,
 154, 169.
 Unfavorable - 108, 127.

U.N. WORLD

"Should Gandhi's Assassin Be Killed?," U.N. World, Vol. 2 (March 1948),
 p. 64.
 Favorable - 43, 97, 120, 132.

"And The Earth Mourns," U. N. World, Vol. 2 (April 1948), pp. 34-5.
 Favorable - 103, 109.

"Immersion of The Ashes," U.N. World, Vol. 2 (May, 1948), pp. 22-3.
 Favorable - 67, 97, 109-3, 111-2, 120, 145, 170.
 Unfavorable - 85.
 Neutral - 153.

"Sins of A Savior," U.N. World, Vol. 2 (October 1948), pp. 38-40.
 Favorable - 54, 67, 97-3, 151-3, 154-2, 169.
 Unfavorable - 154-2.

"Gandhi's Way To Truth," U.N. World, Vol. 5 (January 1951), p. 64.
 Favorable - 84, 97, 154.

VOGUE

"Gandhi, Who Made Prison An Honour," Vogue, Vol. 123 (April 1, 1954),
 pp. 170-2.
 Favorable - 43, 67, 91, 115, 120, 154-2.
 Unfavorable - 2.

APPENDIX IVX. THE FOLLOWING IS A LIST OF CODE NUMBERS
DESIGNATING FAVORABLE AND UNFAVORABLE IMAGES OF GANDHI AS
FOUND IN INDIAN MAGAZINE ARTICLES. THE READER WILL FIND
THE CODE NUMBER DESIGNATING THE IMAGES IN APPENDIX II.

ARYAN PATH

Aryan Path, Vol. 23, No. 4 (April 1954), p. 5.
Favorable - 91, 97, 115, 120-2, 129, 166-2, 170, 173.

Aryan Path, Vol. 23, No. 4 (October 1954), p. 27.
Favorable - 10, 46-2, 72, 79, 115.
Unfavorable - 10, 151.

Aryan Path, Vol. 25, No. 1 (January 1956), p. 43.
Favorable - 47, 72, 81, 115, 120, 160, 167, 170.

Aryan Path, Vol. 25, No. 10 (October 1956), p. 21.
Favorable - 20, 27, 115, 120, 159.
Unfavorable - 151.

Aryan Path, Vol. 26, No. 10 (October 1957), p. 17.
Favorable - 46, 84, 120, 146, 167, 168, 170.
Unfavorable - 151.

THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF EDUCATION

The Indian Journal of Education, Vol. 49 No. 6 (June 8, 1948), p. 4.
Favorable - 67, 72, 97, 134, 150.
Unfavorable- 151.

INDIAN REVIEW

"The Passing of Mahatma Gandhi, Indian Review, Vol. 49, No. 2 (February, 1948), p. 12.

Favorable - 43, 59, 67, 72, 73-2, 91, 97, 103-2, 109-2, 117, 125, 130, 132, 135, 136, 154, 173, 189-2.

Neutral - 99.

"The Pest Monument to Gandhi, Indian Review, Vol. 49, No. 4 (April, 1948), pp. 22-24.

Favorable - 84, 120.

"The Legacy of the Mahatma," Indian Review, Vol. 49, No. 10 (October, 1948), pp. 16-24.

Favorable - 69, 73, 74, 125, 129, 189.

Neutral - 99.

"Gandhiji as A Doctor," Indian Review, Vol. 50, No. 2 (February, 1949), p. 36.

Favorable - 74, 160, 166.

"Gandhian Economics," The Indian Review, Vol. 50, No. 4 (April, 1949), p. 41.

Favorable - 67, 127, 173.

Neutral - 55.

"Tolstoy and Gandhi," Indian Review, Vol. 50, No. 8 (August, 1949), p. 7.

Favorable - 189.

"Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi," Indian Review, Vol. 50, No. 10 (October, 1949), pp. 45-47.

Favorable - 30, 79, 32, 150.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

The Indian Social Reformer, Vol. 52, No. 9 (September 28, 1951), pp. 17-8.

Favorable - 77, 85, 103, 170.

MARCH OF INDIA

March of India, Vol. 51, No. 9 (September, 1950), p. 3.

Favorable - 81, 111, 129, 130, 138, 139, 150, 160-2, 169.

Unfavorable- 151.

March of India, Vol. 57, No. 10 (October, 1956), pp. 27-33.

Favorable - 28, 72, 78, 79, 91-3, 93, 97-2, 115, 134, 136, 144, 160, 170, 175.

Unfavorable- 116-2.

UNITED ASIA

United Asia, Vol. 49, No. 5 (May, 1948), pp. 29-30.

Favorable - 21, 28, 72-4, 74, 78, 79, 80-2, 91, 97-3, 103, 108-2, 115-3, 117, 120-3, 125-2, 133, 150, 152, 168, 173, 175, 186, 189.

United Asia, Vol. 49, No. 7 (July, 1948), p. 41.

Favorable - 82, 85, 97, 114, 125, 189.

Neutral - 99.

United Asia, Vol. 50, No. 12 (December, 1949), pp. 9-14.

Neutral - 55.

United Asia, Vol. 58, No. 10 (October, 1957), pp. 33-35.

Favorable - 97, 162.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Alport, F. H. Theories of Perception and Concept of Structure. New York: Harper Bros., 1957.
- Andrews, Charles Freer Mahatma Gandhi at Work. New York: MacMillan Co., 1931.
- Andrews, Charles Freer Mahatma Gandhi, His Own Story. New York: MacMillan Co., 1931.
- Baxter, William Image and the Search. New York: Putnam and Co., 1954.
- Bartlett, F. C. Remembering. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932.
- Bawa, T. S. Nehru's India. New Delhi: Freeland Publications Private, Ltd., 1958.
- Berlson, B. Content Analysis. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1951.
- Boighoorn, F. C. The Soviet Image of the United States. New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1950.
- Boulding, Kenneth E. The Image. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950.
- Brooke, Guelyn Image of a Drawn Sword. New York: Alfred Knopf., 1951.
- Buchanan, W., and Cantril H. How Nations See Each Other. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1953.
- Cairns, David The Image of God in Man. New York: Philosophical Library, 1953.
- Callahan, J. J. Science and Language. Pittsburg, Pa. : Duquense University Press, 1949.
- Coffman, Stanley K. Imagism. Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952.
- Cohelo, George Changing Images of America. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1958.

- Cooley, Charles Horton Human Nature and Social Order. New York: McMillian Co., 1902.
- Datta, Dharendra Mohan The Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1953.
- Dhawan, Gopi Nath The Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi. Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 1946.
- Diwakar, R. R. Glimpses of Gandhiji. Bombay: Hind Kitabs Limited, 1949.
- Durant, Will The Case for India. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1930.
- Eaton, Jeanette Gandhi, Fighter Without a Sword. New York: Morrow, 1950.
- Estoric, Eric Changing Empire. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1950.
- Fischer, Louis A Week With Gandhi. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1942.
- Fischer, Louis Gandhi and Stalin. New York: Harper, 1947.
- Fischer, Louis The Life of Mahatma Gandhi. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1950.
- Fulop-Miller, Rene Lenin and Gandhi. London and New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927.
- Galbraith, G. K. The Affluent Society. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, Co., 1958.
- Gandhi, M. K. Autobiography. Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1948.
- Gandhi, M. K. Hindu Dharma. Ahmedabad: Navojuan Publishing House, 1950.
- Groheen, Robert F. Imagery of Sophocles, Antigone. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952.
- George, S. K. Gandhi's Challenge To Christainity. Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1947.
- Gregg, Richard Bartlett The Power of Non-Violence. New York: Fellowship Publications, 1944.
- Guide to Indian Periodicals. Poona, India: Institue of Information Services, 1954.
- Hall, Josef W. Eminent Asians; Six Great Personalities of the New East. New York and London: D. Appleton and Company, 1929.
- Hayakawa, S. I. Language in Thought and Action. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1949.

- Holmes, John Haynes My Gandhi. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1953.
- Hoyland, H. S. Songs from Prison. London: Allen & Unwin Publishers, 1934.
- Hoyland, John Somervell They Saw Gandhi. New York: Fellowship Publications, 1947.
- Hussian, S. A. The Way of Gandhi and Nehru. New York: Asia Publishing House, 1958.
- Issacs, Harold R. Scratches on Our Minds. New York: John Day & Co., 1948.
- Jones, E. Stanley Mahatma Gandhi. New York-Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1948.
- Joseph, F. M. (ed.) As Other See Us. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959.
- Karaka, Dosoo Framjee Nehru: The Lotus Eater From Kashmir. London: D. Verchoyle, 1953.
- Leighton, A. H. Human Relations in a Changing World. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc., 1949.
- Lindsmith, A. R. Strauss, A. L. Social Psychology. New York: Dryden Press, 1949.
- Lippmann, Walter Public Opinion. New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1922.
- Lowell, Laurence A. Public Opinion in War and Peace. Cambridge, Mass.: Howard University Press, 1932.
- Manshardt, Clifford The Terrible Keek. Hinsdale, Ill.: H. Regnery Company, 1948.
- Masani, Shakuntala Gandhi's Story. New York: Oxford University Press, 1950.
- Masani, Shakuntala Nehru's Story. New York: Oxford University Press, 1949.
- Mashruwala, Kishorlal Ghanshyamlal Gandhi and Marx. Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1951.
- Maurer, Herrymon Great Soul. Garden City: Doubleday, 1948.
- Miller, Perry, (ed.) Images or Shadow of Divine Things. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949.
- Mills, C. Wright The Sociological Imagination. New York: Oxford University Press, 1959.

- Moraes, Frank Jawaharlal Nehru. New York: MacMillan Company, 1956.
- Muhlmann, W. E. Mahatma Gandhi. Tubingen: J. C. B. Mohr Verlag, 1950.
- Mukerji, Dhan Gopal My Brother's Face. New York: E. P. Dulton and Company, 1925.
- Muzumdar, Haridas Thakordas Mahatma Gandhi, Peaceful Revolutionary. New York: Scribner, 1952.
- Nanda, B. R. Mahatma Gandhi. Boston: Beacon Hill, 1958.
- Nehru, Jawaharlal Independence and After. New York: J. Day Company, 1950.
- Nehru, Jawaharlal Mahatma Gandhi. Calcutta: Signet Press, 1949.
- Nehru, Jawaharlal Toward Freedom. New York: John Day Company, 1941.
- Nemerov, Howard The Image and the Law. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1947.
- Newcomb, T.M. Social Psychology. New York: Dryden Press, 1950.
- Oxnam, Garfield Bromley Personalities in Social Reform. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1950.
- Packard, Vance The Hidden Persuaders. New York: Pocket Books, Inc., 1958.
- Park, R. L. and Tinker I. Leadership and Political Institution in India. Princeton, N. J. : Princeton University Press, 1959.
- Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Bhogaraju Gandhi and Gandhism. Allahabad: Kitabistan, 1942.
- Peare, Catherine Owens Mahatma Gandhi. New York: Nehry Holt and Co., 1950.
- Pryer, Barnard Image Makers. New York: Harper Brothers, 1958.
- Radhakrishnan, Sarvepalli Mahatma Gandhi. London: G. Allen and Univin, 1949.
- Rahv, Philip Image and Ideas. New York: New Directions Publishers, 1949.
- Rajendra, Prasad At the Feet of Mahatma Gandhi. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955.
- Readers Guide to Periodical Literature. New York: H. H. Wilson and Co., 1947 - 1957.
- Reiser, O. L. The Integration of Human Knowledge. Boston: Porter Sargent Publisher, 1958.

- Reiss, Samuel Language and Psychology. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959.
- Rolland, Romain Mahatma Gandhi; The Man Who Became One With The Universal Being. New York: The Century Co., 1924.
- Ross, Irwin Image Merchants. New York: Doubleday & Co., 1959.
- Rossi, Joseph Image of America in Mazzini's Writing. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin, 1955.
- Sama, Chatter, Singh Soviet Interests in India. Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1959.
- Saunders, Kenneth James Whither Asia, A Study of Three Leaders. New York: MacMillan Company, 1933.
- Sharma, Jagdish Saran Mahatma Gandhi. Delhi: S. Chand, 1955.
- Sheean, Vincent Mahatma Gandhi, A Great Life in Brief. New York: Knopf, 1955.
- Shridharani, Krishnmal The Mahatma and the World. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1946.
- Sondel, Fess The Humanity of Words. New York: The World Publishing Co., 1958.
- Spencer, Cornelia Nehru of India. New York: John Day Company, 1948.
- Stern, Elizabeth Gertrude The Women in Gandhi's Life. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1953.
- Wadia, Pestonji Ardesir Mahatma Gandhi. Bombay: New York Company, 1937.
- Yaukey, Grace Nehru of India. New York: John Day Company, 1948.

Articles and Periodicals

- Andrews, C. F. "The Tribute of a Friend," in S. Radhakrishnan (editor) Mahatma Gandhi, London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1939, pp. 46-52.
- Arundale, George S. "The Essence of Gandhiji," in S. Radhakrishnan(editor) Mahatma Gandhi, London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1939, pp. 53-55.
- Azariah, V. S. "The Servant of India," in S. Radhakrishnan(editor) Mahatma Gandhi, London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1939, pp. 56-58.

- Fettelheim, Bruno "The Dynamics of Anti-Semitism in Gentile and Jew," Journalism of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 30 (1947), p. 153.
- Bogardus, E. S. "Stereotypes vs. Sociotypes," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 34 (1950), p. 286.
- Brunner, J. S., and Goodman, C. C. "Value and Need as Organizing Factors in Perception," Journal of Abnormal Psychology, Vol. 42 (1947), pp. 33-44.
- Buchanan, W. "How Others See Us," The Annals, Vol. 295 (1954), p. 1.
- Buck, Pearl, S. P. "A Way of Living," in S. Radhakrishnan (editor) Mahatma Gandhi, London: Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1939, p. 63.
- Child, I. L, and Doeb, L. W. "Factors Determining National Stereotypes," Journal of Social Psychology, Vol. 17 (1943), p. 203.
- Das, Bhagavan "Gandhi and the Congress," in S. Radhakrishnan (editor) Mahatma Gandhi, London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1939, pp. 68-78.
- Einstein, Albert "Gandhi's Statesmanship," in S. Radhakrishnan (editor) Mahatma Gandhi, London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1939, pp. 79-80.
- Fishman, J. A. "An Examination of the Process and Function of Social Stereotyping," The Journal of Social Psychology, Vol. 43 (1956), p. 31.
- Gilbert, G. M. "Stereotype Persistence and Change Among College Students," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 46 (1951), p. 251.
- Gollin, E. S. "Forming Impressions of Personality," Journal of Personality, Vol. 25 (September, 1954), pp. 65-76.
- Gregg, Richard B. "Gandhiji as a Social Scientist and Social Inventor," in S. Radhakrishnan (editor) Mahatma Gandhi, London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1939, pp. 80-87.
- Hovland, C. I. & Mendell, W. "An Experimental Comparison of Conclusion Drawing by the Communicator and by the Audience," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, Vol. 47 (1952), p. 581.
- Ismail, Mirza "An Indian Statesman's Tribute," in S. Radhakrishnan (editor) Mahatma Gandhi, London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1939, pp. 149-154.
- Janis, J. "Meaning and the Study of Symbolic Behaviour," Psychiatry, Vol. 6 (1943), p. 429.

- Jones, Rufus M. "Mahatma Gandhi and Soul Force," in S. Radhakrishnan (editor) Mahatma Gandhi, London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1939, pp. 161-166.
- Kaplan, A. and Goldsen, J. "The Reliability of Content Analysis Categories," quoted in Barnard Berelson, Content Analysis, Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1953, pp. 83-112.
- Katz, D. and Braly, K. W. "Verbal Stereotypes and Racial Prejudice," Journal of Abnormal Psychology, Vol. 28 (1933), p. 280.
- Kracauer, S. "The Challenge of Quantitative Content Analysis," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 16, No. 4 (1952-53), p. 631.
- Mace, C. A. "National Stereotype - Their Nature and Function," Sociological Review, Vol. 17 (1943).
- Mallik, B. K. "Mahprasthan," in S. Radhakrishnan (editor) Mahatma Gandhi, London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1939, p. 407.
- Nehru, Jawaharlal "The Perfect Artist," in S. Radhakrishnan (editor) Mahatma Gandhi, London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1939, p. 433.
- Pattabhisitaramayya, E. "Gandhi in His Many Aspects," in S. Radhakrishnan (editor) Mahatma Gandhi, London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1939, pp. 206-225.
- Qadir, Abdul "A Statesman in Beggar's Garb," in S. Radhakrishnan (editor) Mahatma Gandhi, London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1939, pp. 242-247.
- Rajendraprasad "India's Debt to Gandhi," in S. Radhakrishnan (editor) Mahatma Gandhi, London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1939, pp. 247-250.
- Sarma, D. S. "A Great Prophet of Hinduism," in S. Radhakrishnan (editor) Mahatma Gandhi, London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1939, pp. 269-272.
- Tagore, Rabindranath "The Poet's Verdict," in S. Radhakrishnan (editor) Mahatma Gandhi, London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1939, pp. 286-287.
- Useem, John and Useem, Ruth Hill "Image of the United States and Britain Held by Foreign Educated Indians," The Annals, Vol. 295 (September, 1954), p. 73.
- Vinacke, W. E. "Stereotyping Among National Racial Groups in Hawaii: A Study in Ethnocentrism," The Journal of Social Psychology, Vol. 30 (1949), p. 265.
- Wadia, Sophia "The Path of Satyagraha," in S. Radhakrishnan (editor) Mahatma Gandhi, London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1939, pp. 299-309.

Newspapers

Michigan State News, January 21, 1951, p. 1.

New York Times, December 20, 1956, p. 4.

State Journal, Lansing, Michigan, December 3, 1959, p. 50.

Thesis

D'antonio, W. V. National Images of Business and Political Elites in Two Border States. East Lansing, Michigan: Department of Sociology, Michigan State University (1958), Ph. D. Thesis.

Marz, Roger H. The Democratic Digets: A Content Analysis. East Lansing, Michigan: Department of Political Science, Michigan State University (1956), M. A. Thesis.

ROOM USE ONLY

~~MAY 12 1964~~

~~MAY 12 1964~~

JUN 12 1964

~~MAY 12 1964~~

MICHIGAN STATE UNIV. LIBRARIES



31293009947379