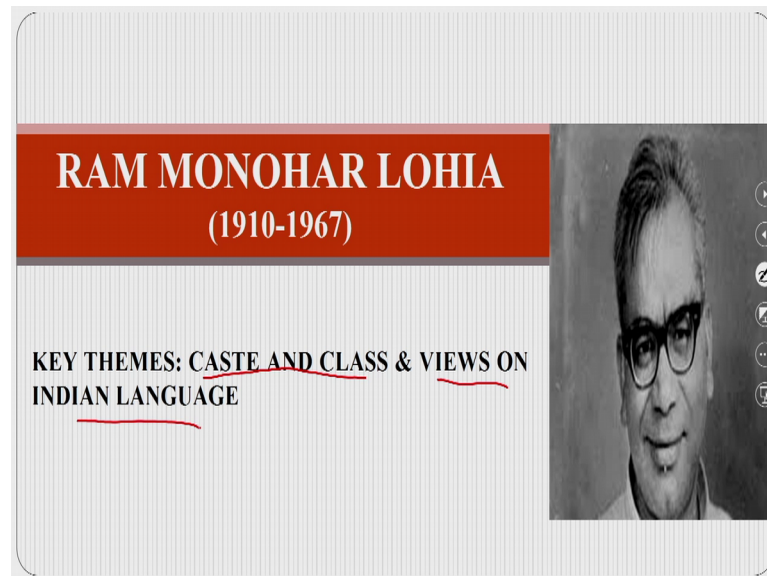


**Introduction to Modern Indian Political Thought**  
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**Lecture – 27**  
**Rammanohar Lohia: Introduction**

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Hello and welcome friends to this lecture on Ram Manohar Lohia. And through Ram Manohar Lohia we will try to study some of the key issues of Indian Politics and the Issues has a very significance status even in our modern contemporary political discourse.

So, from Ram Manohar Lohia we will try to study his we will focus his views on caste and class, and also his views on Indian language. So, we will have three lectures on Ram Manohar Lohia. Today we are going to engage with his politics, his public life, or political life, or Lohia as a thinker, or some of the philosophical position he took on many social political as well as the philosophical issues.

So, we will focus more on this site of Lohia as a thinker in today's class or in the next lecture we will focus on his views on caste, and class. And also through that we will look at his ideas of socialism and his distinct interpretation of socialism.

And in the final lecture we will examine his views on language and finally, we will conclude this lecture, or that lecture on Lohia by critically evaluating some of his thought and thinking. So, Lohia in many ways is a very fascinating modern Indian political thinker, or his space, or his ideas has a unique space in the history of modern Indian political thought. And it is. So, in many ways in Lohia we find a kind of combination of nationalism, Marxism, or socialism.

And yet there is a kind of innovative independent thinking or theorization about being inspired by these traditions, or this intellectual thought. And yet independent in once own thought when it comes to theorizing about Indian society Indian polity and what should be the future of Indian society? And how we can achieve that society?

So, in Ram Manohar Lohia he was a very strong nationalist inspired by many Gandhian ideals and also the writings of marks. And in Indian context he help in theorization of socialism in a very distinct, and unique way free from what now a days. And in this course we have begin with to look at those concepts or methods which will allow us to move away from excessive reliance on Euro centrism, or a European domination, or hegemony in knowledge production.

In Lohia we find that that approach to device, or to conceptualize a politics which is free from the Eurocentric approach, or Eurocentric methods. And his understanding of socialism therefore, was rooted in the Indian reality, Indian society, Indian culture, Indian myths for (Refer Time: 04:26) and a lot of things.

So, his understanding his approach to politics as well as knowledge production, or theorization of politics was a kind of shift. And that we see in our contemporary intellectual scholarly, debates when we now try to provincialize Europe, or try to criticize the Eurocentrism of the knowledge production. Lohia was trying to do it in the immediately after the political independence of the political independence from the British rule.

So, Lohia has a many philosophical or theoretical contribution in conceptualizing socialism rooted in Indian tradition, rooted in Indian realities and free from the western domination, or Eurocentric approach. And therefore, he was very critical of the both models of development, be it communism, or capitalism and he champion or fought for the socialism. And his socialism was very different from many other kind of socialism;

say democratic socialism, or Fabien socialism that was being argued by many thinkers and leaders in India.

The other significance of Lohia and his thought is his views on caste and caste as a root cause for social and economic equality in India. So, and there he differed from many left, or the communist groups and their understanding of economic inequality and the method to fight for that that inequality.

For Lohia the caste is the root cause of such social and economic inequality and that he wanted to destroy. And for that he also try to collaborate with Ambedkar and he was a kind of bridge between Ambedkar and Gandhi in post Indian in the world view, or the politics of Gandhian on the one hand, or Aambedkarites on the other. Lohia try to collaborate or a kind of bridge between these two world views or approach to the post to the politics in modern India.

The other interesting thought in Lohia is his approach to the language. So, many caricature of Lohia that we have is about he being chauvinist, or supporter of Hindi and fought against the English. But his critic to English was not about the language as such, but the hierarchy or the feudal status of English vis a vis Indian languages, or those who can speak study or think in Indian languages.

So, he wanted to promote Indian language and therefore, he criticized English because it create a divide it create a kind of hierarchy in the society. But so in other words when it comes to engage with Lohia; there is a kind of approach where on the one hand he is regarded mainly by his followers as a kind of profit, or a thinker who is beyond any kind of a scrutiny.

So, there is a kind of loyalty or a kind of uncritical of following of Lohia and his thought and using some of his slogans to understand Indian society, Indian politics. The other kind of groups who are really silent or a kind of uncritical engagement with Lohia, and his thought even when his thoughts and concepts are very relevant in our contemporary politics. The repercussions or the consequences of Lohia can be seen in the electoral politics also.

So, many socialist party like Samajwadi party, or Jantadal united, or their leaders make claim or Ram Vilas Paswan may claim their or may assert their elegance to Lohia and his

philosophy. But in actual politics of these parties the many ideals that Lohia stood for or fought for is simply absent.

So, Lohia in a way present a kind of very fascinating thought or ideas for us to engage with one of the very fascinating development in modern Indian political thinking about society, socialism, caste, class and use of language to create a society which is more just more equitable or more inclusive.

So, Lohia in that sense remain a very fascinating thinker and we need to beyond these caricatures, or selective appropriation, or silencing of Lohia and his thought to engage more critically. And subject his thoughts and ideas to our critical scrutiny and to take his ideas forward to understand which ideas are applicable and which ideas are not applicable and which concepts were limited to his times alone. So, these are some of the things we will discuss over the course of this three lecture on Ram Manohar Lohia.

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**INTRODUCTION**

*"Log meri baat sunenge jaroor, lekin mere marane ke baad."* (People will surely listen me, but after I am dead). - Rammanohar Lohia

- Ram Monohar Lohia was an activist thinker and a very prominent leader of the socialist politics in modern India. He actively took part in the movement toward Indian independence and was devoted to fight injustices throughout his life. Critical of both capitalism and communism, Lohia formulated a very distinct Indian version of socialism.
- He argued for an indigenous solution to Indian problems which is free from euro-centric influences. Lohia's vision and claims over his thoughts remain contested and debated in the larger Indian philosophical and Political thoughts.

So, Lohia being visionary as many political thinkers in modern India were he often quoted this line that [FL]. In that sense it gives us a kind of very prophetic self assessment by any thinker. So, in Tagore we have seen how he many times attired his a kind of misfit, or a kind of his own position in the larger unfolding of political happenings. Similarly in Nehru we see a kind of clear mixture of west and east and his own search for locating himself in the larger society and politics of India.



Similarly, in Ram Manohar Lohia we see his own assessment of his thought and its relevance in the time and he many times realized that many of the thoughts, or theorizations that he was involved in were much ahead of that time. And many of even many of his followers were in his assessment not able to fully grasp, or comprehend the ideas or the thought he was arguing for.

So, he stated and it is very much true now after this birth anniversary of Lohia in 19 in 2010 there is a kind of re-retrieval of Lohia and re-engagement with Lohia and this has happened in many other thinkers also. So, we have seen in Ambedkar after the independence for many decades there is a kind of conspicuous silence about Ambedkar and his legacy. Only after 90s, there is a kind of reassertion of Ambedkarites movement and new scholarships about Ambedkar and in in and his ideal.

Similarly, with Lohia also after 2010 there is a kind of resurgence of literature is called debated discussions and publication on Lohia and his thought. So, there is a kind of increasing acknowledgement of the relevance of Lohia and his thought in our contemporary politics. One reason for that is also Lohia was the most vocal critic of congress party, and its hegemony in the first or the second decades of independence. And he played a crucial role in forming alliance of non congress party to form the government after the fourth general election.

So, Lohia did play a very significant role, but in his ideas in his philosophical approach also he remains very relevant and there is now a kind of re-engagement, or a kind of critical engagement with Lohia and his thought in our contemporary times.

So, he was an activist thinker who was as with many other modern Indian political thinkers deeply embedded in the politics of their time. So, was Lohia, but they were also very reflective about the present or the future of Indian society. The struggles that they have to undertake, or the vision they had for India and the humanity as a whole.

So, Ram Manohar Lohia was an activist thinker and a very prominent leader of socialist politics in modern India. He actively took part in the movement towards Indian independence and was devoted to fight injustices throughout his life. Now this devotion to fighting injustice against all forms of injustices, be it political, social, economic, racial, gender, caste he was engaged.

And therefore, in his philosophical approach also when there is a domination operations. So, the fight against such domination and operation cannot be lead, or cannot be based, or limited to a one set of agenda whether it is class, as in left or communist approach the class as the criteria, or as the agent for evolution or transformation.

For Lohia there has to be a multiple ways or multiple agent of fighting different kind of injustices. And all those kind of injustices has to fought has to fought simultaneously and not you know reducing or giving priority to one form of injustices over the other form of injustices.

So, fighting injustices in all form was some of the major engagement of Lohia and Lohia it is politics. And he remain committed to such struggle against injustices throughout his life which also allowed him to think about democracy, or democratic imaginary in a very particular very different way. Then those who are fighting the British, but when they acquired the power they were actually behaving more or less like the British.

So, he developed a very critical outlook because of his lifelong devotion to fighting injustices in all forms. And developing a very unique and distinct approach to fight those injustices without being guided by a particular way of looking at injustices and the identifying the agent who will fight who will fight such injustices. So, Lohia is a very different unique thinker in many ways.

So, critical of both capitalism and communism Lohia formulated a very distinct Indian version of socialism this we will discuss more in the later lectures. So, he argued for an indigenous, and the nationalist in Lohia is also therefore, very evident in his thought, in his thinking. And this nationalism we also know that on critical nationalism of a kind of narrow chauvinistic or jingoistic kind of nationalism.

So, Lohia was deeply rooted in Indian sensibilities, or Indian culture, or Indian traditions of thought and thinking and yet he was very critical in his approach to the nationalism. But he was also deeply influenced by the indignities, or the indigenous mode of thinking and politics.

So, to understand or to fight against injustices in a particular society one needs to understand that society and understanding of that society cannot be complete, or holistic if we are guided by borrowed concepts or ideas. And therefore, his focus was on the

indigenous concepts vocabulary to understand those injustices and then fight for fight against those injustices.

So, he argued for an indigenous solution to the Indian problems which is free from Eurocentric influences that was the case by the modernist let in India. So, Lohia vision and claims over his thoughts remain tested and debited in the larger Indian philosophical and political thoughts which I have just discussed that his legacy and his ideas is blindly followed by a many of his royal followers who do not want to subject his ideas to any rational logical, critical, scrutiny. On the other hand, there are large number of groups who are conspicuously silent about the relevance of Lohia and his thought.

However the ideas the concepts or the approach Lohia had is becoming more and more relevant in our contemporary times stand it was perhaps in his time and therefore, this quotation from Lohia.

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➤ Besides is active politics, Lohia was primarily a man of ideas. This is not to say that his short life was bereft of action: he was involved during the Quit India Movement, the movement for democracy in Nepal, and in many other political and social activities. However, his objective of building a strong socialist movement in India did not materialise. The Socialist Party, he was part of, has splintered and lost its direction and vitality as an alternative force in Indian politics. However, his ideas and formulations have survived and are perhaps more relevant today than it was during his time. His ideas did change the grammar of Indian politics and offer a new lexicon to understand Indian politics and society.

➤ According to Yogendra Yadav, the reasons for Lohia's and his ideals absence from the public political discourse in India after his death was largely due to the three "sins" he committed - his attack on Nehru – often personal, repeatedly at a time when Nehru was God-like; his vigorous and voluble campaign against English; and his questioning of upper caste dominance and support for caste-based affirmative action.

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Besides in active politics, Lohia was primarily a man of ideas. This is not to say that his short life that is from 1910 to 1967 was bereft of actions: he was involved during the quit India movement the movement for democracy in Nepal, and in many other political and social activities. So, he was a man of ideas was deeply engaged and involved in transforming the society. And therefore, in the Lohia the eminence, or the prison is as important and perhaps more important than any approach or politics which talks about distant future, or distant past.

So, Lohia was engaged, or embedded in the present or the requirements of the present, or the struggles in the present for transforming the society. So, for every single moment or act in the present is very crucial for Lohiaites kind of politics where there is a kind of piecemeal, or a kind of gradual approach to a create an egalitarian society, or as just society or ideal society. However, his objective of building a strong socialist movement in India did not materialise which we have seen in the scholarly debates, or intellectual debates also. And also in the politics, or the in the electoral politics largely the ideals or ideas of Lohia is upset besides merely a kind of symbolic use of Lohia's Lohia and his slogans by many of his followers like Samajwadi party, or Janata dal united.

So, the socialist party he was part of has splintered and lost it is direction and vitality as an alternative force in Indian politics. So, immediately after independence socialism, or socialist party provided a kind of hope or a kind of alternative to the congress or to the left, but gradually as we have seen the politics that has unfolded the socialist party lost it is direction and also splintered in many fractions many groups time and again they come together to form a kind of alliance.

But in that coming together the ideas that can force them together or a direction that they can take is never or has never been materialized. Because the ideals, or the approach that Lohia or the vision that he was talking about is simply absent in the electoral Arithmetic's, or electoral collision that we see among many so called socialist parties in India.

So, now certainly in our contemporary politics we see the socialist party as an alternative force is simply ineffective in the actual politics. However, his ideas and formulations have survived and are perhaps more relevant today than it was during his time as I was saying many of his approach against the dynastic, or the dominance of one party over the other to rescue the democracy to democratize the society to criticize the Eurocentrism, or reliance on Eurocentric ideas and concepts to understand or interpret Indian realities. So, many of his thoughts and ideas and his formulation of socialism are perhaps more relevant today than it was in his time.

His ideas did change the grammar of Indian politics. So, one of the significant influence of Lohia and his politics to a great extent was the rise of OBC, other backward caste in northern India. And in the grammar or in the vocabulary of Indian politics he is

considered as the as the leader or as the kind of a visionary of OBC politics politics, or to fight for the OBC reservation through Mandal and certainly after the Mandal the rise of silent revolution as Christophe Jaffrelot is talking about.

So, Lohia has greatly influenced such kind of political development as well. So, his influence in changing the grammar of politics and the role of OBC, and their leadership in the Indian politics is now a reality in the they have become more and more effective, or providing leadership in different states and different parts of the country in the government, in the administration, or in all work of social and public political life.

So, Lohia did play a significant role in providing both the ideological and the organisational base for such politics to emerge particularly in North India and also in some other parts of the country. So, he provided a kind of new vocabulary or new structure or organization for the backward caste to develop their politics from the base which Lohia meticulously built immediately after the first or the second decades of independence.

According to Yogendra Yadav, the reasons for Lohia and his ideals absence from our contemporary public political discourse for a very long time and especially after his death was largely due to what he called three “sins” he committed. First Lohia attacked Nehru often this attack was personal that is not to say they do not share any cordial relationship.

In fact, when Lohia was part of congress socialist party and working within the congress to fight for the freedom they were inspired by Nehru and his vision of a socialist society, or state. However, after the independence this relationship between Lohia and Nehru becomes more acrimonious.

And in many occasions Lohia launched a personal attack on Nehru which was the reason for many congress leaders, or congress party to silence, or to limit Lohia and his writings in the post independent political development, or political discourse most certainly after his death.

Often personal repeatedly at time when Nehru was like God like; so this was one of his sins what Yogendra Yadav calls. The second is his vigorous and voluble campaign against English. So, his campaign for Indian language is support for the Hindi as the

official language is now caricatured as his chauvinistic attitude to language which is seen, or reduced to be seen as an mere opposition to English.

But as I have said his approach to language and language issue which we will discuss in one separate lecture is to fight against the hierarchy, the feudal status of English as a privileged language or a giving a kind of privilege in comparison to the Indian language. So, he did support Hindi and he also supported many Indian languages, he wanted a different Indian languages to communicate with each other directly without relying to a third language.

So, he was a more kind of democratic approach to the issue of language democratizing the language or removing the hierarchy that is there between English a foreign language, or the Indian languages. But unfortunately it is seen or it is projected as his anti English stand and not the a larger democratic approach that he had against the English.

So, his campaign against English is also one of the sins he committed and that leads to his marginalization, or it is not a serious engagement with his thoughts and ideas and also his questioning of upper caste dominance in Indian politics after the independence and support for caste based affirmative action. So, his famous slogan [FL] that is 60 percent in every sphere of social, political life of India should be reserved for this backward caste and community.

So, these are three of the sins according to Yogendra Yadav which did not allow or which worked as major reasons for his silencing, or conspicuous silence against Lohia. And his thought in our not just political discourse despite many followers many parties showing their elegance to Lohia. But also in the scholarly debates, but that is now something which is changing and people are now seriously trying to retrieve some of the relevant ideas in Lohia and also subjecting his ideas to critical a scrutiny and then try to figure out the relevant or relevance of Lohia and his thought for the modern politics.

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**Personal and political life**

- Ram Manohar Lohia was born on March 23, 1910, in Akbarpur in U. P. to a family of merchants. Following the death of his mother when he was two, he was raised primarily by his grandparents. His father's commitment to Indian nationalism influenced him greatly during his childhood. Lohia attended Banaras Hindu University before earning a bachelor's degree from the University of Calcutta and a doctorate from the University of Berlin where he studied economics and politics.
- Lohia belonged to the generation of leaders who came to limelight in the wake of the Quit India Movement. Jayaprakash Narayan was their leader and they founded the Congress Socialist Party within the Congress in 1934. Both grew close to Gandhi in the last decade of his life, even as the older generation of Nehru, Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad and others were becoming impatient with the Mahatma.

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Now, if you look at the personal and political life of Lohia he was born on March 23rd, 1910 in Akbarpur in Uttar Pradesh to a family of merchants. And following the death of his mother when he was two, Lohia was primarily raised by his grandparents and his father's commitment to Indian nationalism influenced him greatly during his childhood. And he remains a staunch nationalist and that nationalism is also again a critical nationalist not the kind of Nehru chauvinistic kind of nationalism.

But he remained despite of his leaning to socialist kind of politics a strong nationalist which he inherited from his father from his family. And he attended Banaras Hindu University before running a bachelor's degree from university of Calcutta and for a PhD he went to university of Berlin where he studied economics and politics.

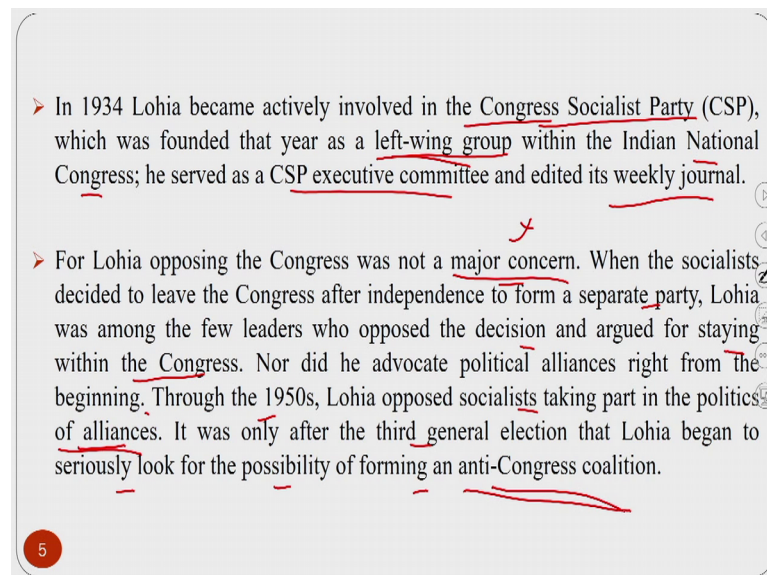
So, this is his educational qualification and his going to Germany for higher education when the trend was everyone going to Britain to earn a degree in law, or to do a PhD. Lohia chose to go to Germany and did his PhD from there and in many ways the ideas, or the philosophical foundation of his thought was shaped by his stay in German as a student. And to witness the emergence of fascist kind of politics and also the writings of marks and others were deeply influential in shaping many of his own thoughts and ideas.

Lohia belonged to the generation of leaders who came to limelight in the wake of Quit India Movement. So, Jayaprakash Narayan was their leader and they founded the Congress Socialist Party within the Congress in 1934. So, he was very actively engaged

in the socialist politics from the very beginning. Both Jayaprakash Narayan and Lohia grew close to Gandhi in the last decades of his life even when the older generation like Nehru and Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad was becoming more impatient with the Mahatma Gandhi.

So, it was also to be noted that when there was celebration of independence in many part of the country. Lohia was along with the Gandhi to fight for communal to work for communal harmony or to provide shoelace to the wound wounded souls, or individuals who were the victims of communal rights in different part of the country.

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- In 1934 Lohia became actively involved in the Congress Socialist Party (CSP), which was founded that year as a left-wing group within the Indian National Congress; he served as a CSP executive committee and edited its weekly journal.
- For Lohia opposing the Congress was not a major concern. When the socialists decided to leave the Congress after independence to form a separate party, Lohia was among the few leaders who opposed the decision and argued for staying within the Congress. Nor did he advocate political alliances right from the beginning. Through the 1950s, Lohia opposed socialists taking part in the politics of alliances. It was only after the third general election that Lohia began to seriously look for the possibility of forming an anti-Congress coalition.

So, they grew more closer to Gandhi and the Gandhian influence is also very fascinatingly one can see his more influential in the socialist politics. Whether it is the politics of Jayaprakash Narayan or Lohia then perhaps in the statistic or a statist politics of the congress party although they did claim to represent or to influenced by the Gandhian ideals.

But Lohia and Jayaprakash Narayan certainly came closure to Gandhi and his thought even when the older generation of the congress like Nehru Patel were becoming more impatient with Gandhi and his thought.

So, in 1934 Lohia became actively involved in Congress Socialist Party which was founded that year as a left wing group within the Indian national congress. So, there is



also within the congress certainly with Nehru, or Subhash Chandra Bose there is a tell towards more left oriented politics, or to think about creating a egalitarian society free from all kind of discrimination based on caste, or class, or gender. So, within the congress there is a group of party called congress socialist party and Lohia was actively involved in the politics, or the activities of this party within the congress and he served as an executive committee and also edited it is weekly journal

So, for Lohia opposing the congress as it is portrayed that he was first anti congress, but for Lohia opposing the congress was not a major concern. But democratizing the society the state the polity was something he always fought for or a stood for so, against the colonial domination or against domination political domination of one country by the other or the domination of one caste by the other.

In fact, Lohia very interestingly considered the women as Sudra across the all caste groups in Indian society. So, he was trying to extend the democratization beyond the state and polity to invade or to influence every sphere of human existence even the intimate relations between men and women across the caste in the society and all.

So, Lohia has a very in that sense distinct or unique democratic imaginary which is yet to be retrieved or seriously engaged with. So, for Lohia opposing the congress was not a major concern as it is now being protracted. So, when the socialist decided to leave the congress after the independence to form a separate party because of their growing difference with the congress. Lohia was among the few leaders who opposed the decisions and argued for a staying within the congress.

So, if you remember Gandhi was also trying to articulate the role of congress after the attainment of independence. And his articulation was not very favourably looked upon by many of his followers within the congress and there was a serious differences that immersed between Gandhi and his approach, or his vision of post independent India and many congress leaders.

But the socialist party including Jayaprakash Narayan or Lohia came closer to Gandhian politics and Gandhian ideals then many of his senior congress leaders. So, nor did he advocated political allegiance right from the beginning. So, through the 1950s Lohia oppose socialists taking part in the politics of alliance to form the government.

It was only after the third general election that Lohia began to seriously look for possibility of forming an anti congress coalition. And this anti congress coalition for Lohia is to democratise the politics, or democratize the electoral politics where congress party was ruling both the center and the state and has a kind of hegemony a status in the Indian politics.

In order to contour that or to contour such dominance he wanted some alternative forces to take the place of congress as a kind of democratic approach, or a kind of democratization of politics state and electoral politics in India.

So, as many critic or maybe sympathizer of Lohia try to project him as the anti congress but this is anti Congressism has to do more about democratizing the politics and state than merely a kind of anti congress stand.

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➤ Lohia wrote that Gandhians are of three kinds, priestly, governmental and heretic, and that the Socialist Party was the abode of the heretic Gandhians. It is questionable if all socialists could claim this inheritance, but Lohia's politics was located in this heretic tradition of Gandhi.

➤ After the Independence, Lohia came in the limelight for championing the cause of Hindi as the official language and for the promotion of other Indian languages in place English. He said, *The use of English is a hindrance to original thinking, progenitor of inferiority feelings and a gap between the educated and uneducated public. Come, let us unite to restore Hindi to its original glory.* For such remark Rammanohar Lohia has been constantly portrayed as a *Hindiwalla* and an even *Hindi chauvinist* which is very far from true.

➤ Lohia spoke about the need for a world government and world citizen, but situated culture and tradition in specific locales and contexts and celebrated diversity. The seeds of a politics that can resist homogenizing and centralizing tendencies are inherent in the politics and philosophy of Lohia.

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So, Lohia wrote that Gandhians are of three kinds. Firstly, the priestly like those who uncritically followed the Gandhi and Gandhian ideals and become the profit, or inherited, or claim to inherited the true legacy of Gandhi away from the state and its institutions. So, there is a kind of one group, or one kind of Gandhians which he claims as the priestly group.

The second is the governmental state and institutions in modern India try to appropriate Gandhi and Gandhian legacy. And the third which we called Vijathi or heretics Gandhi

and he claims himself and the socialist party as the heretic Gandhian, or these third group of Gandhians.

And so socialist party including himself he claim to be a heretic Gandhian. So, the influence of Gandhian thought in Lohia is also therefore, very much evident of course, he was very critical of many aspect of Gandhian politics, and yet he was deeply influenced or took inspiration from Gandhian methods and Gandhian politics.

So, it is questionable if all socialist could claim; however, such inheritance of being heretic Gandhians, but Lohia politics was certainly located in this heretic tradition of Gandhians. So, after the independence Lohia came in the limelight for championing the cause of Hindi as the official language, and for the promotion of other Indian languages in place of English.

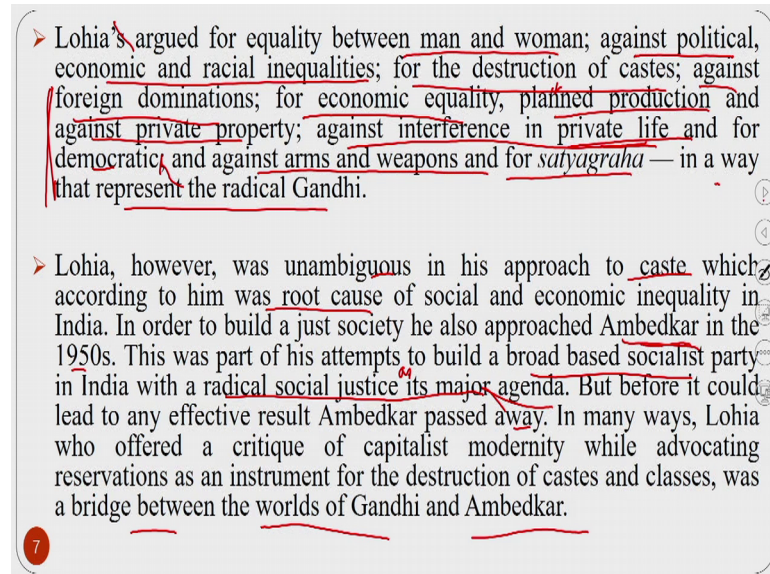
So, he said the use of English is a hindrance to original thinking, progenitor of inferiority feelings and a gap between the educated and uneducated public. Come let us unite to restore Hindi to its original glory. So, his objection to English is not against a language as such, but against the status of a language which hierarchize those who think, speak, write and do politics in a particular language and those who speak, think and write in a particular language.

So, Lohia has major problem with that kind of divide, or that kind of hierarchy and therefore, he promoted or supported Hindi and many other Indian languages and this we can discuss in one separate lecture on this. So, for such remarks Rammanohar Lohia have been constantly portrayed merely as a Hindiwalla or even a Hindu chauvinist by many of his critique.

But; however, this critique of reducing Lohia as a merely hindiwala or a Hindi chauvinist is very far from through which we will discuss in detail when we will discuss Lohia's views on language. So, Lohia spoke about the need of a world government, or a world citizen, but situated culture and tradition in a specific locals. And therefore, his critic to the Eurocentric concepts, or methods which is located, or applicable only in a particular civilizational, or historical context of Europe, or America that cannot be blindly applied in a non western society and community. So, the specific locales and the culture and tradition of that society is very crucial in his vision of a world government, or a world citizen.

So, and contexts and celebrated therefore, the diversity and not the homogeneity. So, in Lohia and his politics and philosophy we can also find the seeds of a politics that can resist any homogenizing and centralizing tendency in the politics, or in the political thinking of a group or a party. So, the seeds of a politics that can resist homogenizing and centralizing tendency are inherent in the politics and the philosophy of Lohia.

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➤ Lohia's argued for equality between man and woman; against political, economic and racial inequalities; for the destruction of castes; against foreign dominations; for economic equality, planned production and against private property; against interference in private life and for democratic and against arms and weapons and for *satyagraha* — in a way that represent the radical Gandhi.

➤ Lohia, however, was unambiguous in his approach to caste which according to him was root cause of social and economic inequality in India. In order to build a just society he also approached Ambedkar in the 1950s. This was part of his attempts to build a broad based socialist party in India with a radical social justice its major agenda. But before it could lead to any effective result Ambedkar passed away. In many ways, Lohia who offered a critique of capitalist modernity while advocating reservations as an instrument for the destruction of castes and classes, was a bridge between the worlds of Gandhi and Ambedkar.

Lohia argued for equality between man and woman; against political, economic and racial inequalities; for the destruction of caste; which he considers as the root cause of all social and economic injustices. Against the foreign domination for economic equality, planned production and against private property, against interference in the private life and for democratic rights for democracy, or democratic rights, and also fought against the arms and weapons and for satyagraha in a way that represent the radical Gandhi in Lohia.

So, in Lohia and his politics we find a kind of simultaneous struggle against different form of injustices. And not just any one particular form of injustices and reducing to one agent, or giving responsibility to one agent to bring about social and economic transformation as we see in many communist parties and their articulation.

So, Lohia however, was unambiguous in his approach to caste. So, unlike many reformers or thinkers who look at caste as a problem Lohia was very unambiguous in his

in his approach. And according to him the caste was the root cause of social and inequality economic inequality in India.

And in order to build a just society he also approached Ambedkar in 1950s. This was part of his attempts to build a broad based socialist party in India with a radical social justice as it is as it is major objective or a gender. But before it could lead to any effective result Ambedkar passed away and that is the tragedy of post independent politics in modern India.

So, in many ways Lohia who offered a critique of capitalist modernity while advocating reservation as an instrument for the destruction of caste and classes was a bridge therefore between the worlds of Gandhi and Ambedkar in the post independence politics.

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➤ According to Lohia, Political movements suffer from error all the time: their actions in the present are performed in the hope of achieving some objectives in the distant future. Very often the link between the present and the future is rather complicated, giving rise to the politics of remote justification, where all kinds of heinous acts in the present are justified in the name of some Utopian future. A recognition of this error led Lohia to create a new normative framework.

➤ According to Lohia, Living in the present would mean that each action should have an ethical justification intrinsic to itself and not with reference to some distant future. This would save us from the politics of fear or greed. Lohia named it the principle of immediacy. *This principle of immediacy ordains that each single act contains its own justification and there is no need to call upon the succeeding act in order to justify what is done here and now.*

So, according to Lohia, political movement suffer from error all the time. So, their actions in the present are performed in the hope of achieving some objectives in the distant future. So, many politics, or political activities are carried out with an objective of achieving something in the distant future and that politics maybe suffering from some error of judgement some error of understanding.

So, very often the link between the present and the future is rather complicated, giving rise to the politics of remote justification, where all kinds of heinous acts or since in the

present are justified in the name of achieving something in distant future, or some Utopian thinking, or Utopian future.

So, recognition of this error which many parties and most of the parties commit to justify something in the present which is unjustifiable in the name of achieving something in the distant future. So, this recognition, or insightful set in Lohia and his thought enables him to create a new normative framework which focuses on the present, or the immanence in the politics of transforming the society, or creating a ideal society.

So, according to Lohia living in the present would mean that each action should have an ethical justification intrinsic to itself and not guided by some past or some future distant objectives that one has in the beginning. So, Lohia mean it each action should have an ethical justification that is intrinsic to itself and not with reference to some distant future. This would save us from the politics of fear or greed that is the root cause of all the problems in Indian society. Or in many society the politics of fear and greed which is based on some ulterior motives or purposes and not embedded in the present or in the emanate or in the given situation. So, for Lohia the every act and the ethical justification for that that act should be intrinsic to itself without taking justification from the distant future or past.

So, this would save us from the politics of fear and greed. Lohia named it the principle of immediacy. So, this principle of immediacy ordains that each single act contains it is on justification and there is a no need to call upon the succeeding act in order to justify what is done here and now. So, that is the politics he was arguing for.



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➤ As someone born into a nationalist family and in the leadership of the Congress Socialist Party, his uncompromising opposition to colonial political dominations and a rejection of the coloniser's claims of cultural superiority were natural. Yet Lohia discovered that a subtler but deeper form of Eurocentricism persisted despite the political opposition. It tended to take two forms, European diffusionism and Euro-normality, both of which Lohia exposed and opposed with vigor.

**European diffusionism** was the belief that Europe happened to be the place that had experienced some social and economic transformations that were universal in scope and would therefore gradually spread all over the world. He argued that the path of development followed by European civilization and its extensions would not be open to the rest of the world. In fact, in his opinion it was neither required nor desirable as it may not lead to desired ends of socialism in non western societies.

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So, as someone born into a nationalist family and in the leadership of the congress socialist party, his uncompromising opposition to colonial political dominations and a rejection to the coloniser's claim of cultural supremacy were very much natural in that sense.

So, yet Lohia discovered that is more subtler and deeper form of Eurocentricism persisted despite the political opposition to the colonial rule or, the colonial subjugation. So, it tended to take two forms basically European diffusionism one and the euro normality as the second. Both of which Lohia exposed and vigorously criticized and his writings and in many of his speech.

So, basically the understanding of Lohia is even when there is a political opposition to the political rule. There is a more subtle and deeper acceptance of Eurocentricism or Euro on a kind of Euro diffusionism or normality which is all pervasive. And Lohia was trying to fight against such kind of more subtle and deeper subjugation of thought and thinking.

So, European diffusionism is basically on the belief that Europe happened to be the place that had experienced some social and economic transformation. So, he compared to other societies and civilization in modern times it is in the Europe that there is a kind of serious political development for social and economic equality and not just in the realm of religion or a spirituality.

So, this European diffusionism is a belief that Europe happened to be the place that had experienced some social and economic transformation that were universal in a scope and would therefore, gradually spread all over the world. So, those who believed that the experience of the European society will gradually spread all over the world that we call westernization, or modernization of the world and modernization is particularly seen as a European experience as a kind of.

So, Europe becomes the criteria the basis for judging the modernization, or westernization of any society and economy. So, those who believe in this kind of European diffusionism believed in such kind of gradual spread of this experience in different parts of world. However, Lohia argued that the path of development followed by the European civilization and its extension would not be open to the rest of the world especially the non European country and society.

In fact, in his opinion it was neither required nor desirable as it may not lead to desired ends of socialism in the non western society or the ideal society. So, the application, or the blind imitation of such ideas may have some harmful consequences on the non European society than the positive results.

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➤ Lohia was against the assumption of **Euro-normality** built into all the dominant knowledge forms and political ideologies. For him, the prevailing ideologies of modern civilization, its normative principles and theoretical generalizations were of limited European derivation and equally limited in applicability. They had to be treated as provincial unless proven otherwise.

➤ For Lohia, capitalism and communism were but two faces of modern civilization that had reached a dead end. *Modern civilisation, no matter what its initial urges may have been, has become a complex consisting of production of remote effect, tool of remote production, democracy of remote second-rate application and even class struggle of remote justification.* In this regard, Lohia's critique of modern civilization appears very much in line with, and more subtle and fully developed than, Gandhi's view of modern civilization.

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So, Lohia was against the assumptions of Euro-normality also built into all the dominant knowledge forms and political ideology. So, for him the prevailing ideology of modern civilization, its normativity principle and theoretical generalization were of limited



European derivation and equally limited in its applicability to understand or interpret realities in non-European society.

So, even when there is a kind of common consensus about the use of western vocabulary and method to interpret and understand non-European society. Lohia developed this critique in the high time of such kind of scholarly discourse about the use of or the application of euro-centric views and concepts to understand an economic society.

But this besides even when he was so critical or visionary and yet there is a very less engagement with this aspect of his thought. Even when now in the intellectual, in the field of knowledge production there is increasing discomfort with the Eurocentricism in India, or around the world.

So, they had to be treated as provincial unless proven otherwise. So, there is no kind of then the Nehru chauvinistic kind of approach to the ideas coming from other parts or other traditions in Lohia. And he was championing for universalism, but that is universalism should not be guided by the experience and the concepts of one particular culture, or society.

So, for Lohia capitalism and communism were but two faces of modern civilization that had reached a dead end. So, it is not liberatory, or it is not emancipatory anymore because both capitalism and communism have reached a dead end.

So, modern civilization Lohia writes no matter what its initial urges may have been, has become a complex consisting of production of remote effect, tool of remote production, democracy of remote second rate application and even class struggle of remote justification.

In this regard, Lohia's critique of modern civilization appears very much in line with, and more subtle and fully developed than, Gandhi's views on modern civilization. So, Lohia was also someone engaged with the subtle and the deeper form of injustices, or the colonization, or colonization of the thought process that was resulted because of the modern civilization which we need to seriously engage with.

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➤ Conceptualizing real modernity; Lohia distinguished between a "side-looking" and a "forward-looking" worldview. A side looking worldview involved no independent thinking but simply imitating and replicating the modern civilization of Europe and the US all over the world. A true modernity would involve a forward-looking worldview. *What ever is suitable or rational in both of them - the backward-looking and the side-looking people - adopt that. Real modernity is that the world has to be reconstructed from scratch.*

➤ He developed this into a distinction between cosmopolitanism and universalism and argued for universalism as a desired objective. In his opinion *A cosmopolite is a premature universalist, an imitator of superficial attainments of dominant civilisations, an inhabitant of upper caste milieus without real contact with the people.* He held the cosmopolites responsible for all that was wrong with post-independent India but he hardly develop his own notion of universalism as what such mode of universalism would entail.

So, conceptualizing real modernity; Lohia distinguish between a “side looking” and a “forward looking” worldview, or politics. So, a side looking worldview involved no independent thinking but simply imitating or replicating the modern civilization of Europe and US all over the world. So, European diffusionism in the sense and a true modernity would then in Lohia’s thought would be involving a forward looking worldview that.

So, whatever is suitable or rational in both of them the backward looking and the side looking people adopt that real modernity is that the world has to be reconstructed from the scratch. And that he developed in the wheels of history and in many of his writings to conceptualize modernity in a distinct way free from the European influence or Euro centric dominance.

So, he developed this into a distinction between cosmopolitanism and universalism and argued for universalism as a desired objective, or a desired goal for a modern society and polity. In his opinion a cosmopolite is premature Universalist, an imitator of superficial attainments of dominant civilization, an inhabitant of upper caste milieus without real contact with the people.

So, for him the universalism is something which is desirable and cosmopolitan is a kind of obstruction. And those cosmopolitan elites are actually on connected or without having a real contact with their own people.

So, he held the cosmopolitan elites or cosmopolites responsible for all that was wrong with the post independent Indian politics and he was referring here to Nehru or the politics of many communist party. He was trying to create a kind of world citizen, or world government without increasing, or connecting themselves with the real people, or the real masters of India.

So, he; however, in this difference between cosmopolitan and universalism he hardly developed his own conception of universalism or what does that universalism it is, but he develop a kind of distinction between cosmopolitanism and supported universalism in comparison to cosmopolitan elites which actually a kind of premature, or a kind of unconnect with the real people.

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➤ Lohia rebelled not just against colonial political dominations, but equally against the cultural and intellectual domination of the West. He outgrew a simple-minded nationalism to develop a critique of Eurocentricism from the vantage point of universalism. It opened him to learning from Indian history, mythology and intellectual traditions without closing his eyes to the best in the global heritage of ideas.

➤ The vantage point of "universalist" but not "cosmopolite", for ward-looking and not side looking, allowed Lohia to develop an uncompromising critique both of Eurocentricism and of elements in the Indian tradition that cannot stand rational scrutiny. At the same time, his political mooring in the socialist movement meant an uncompromising adherence to the ideals of equality. He outgrew the received and narrow focus on economic equality within a country and expanded the notion to include both internal and external equality and also equality in gender, caste and race.

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So, Lohia rebelled not just against colonial political domination, but equally against the cultural and the intellectual domination of west as we have seen. And he outgrew a simple minded nationalism to develop a critique of Eurocentricism from the vantage point of universalism. It opened him to learning from Indian history, mythology and intellectual traditions without closing his eyes to the best in global heritage of ideas.

So, he was inspired by the global ideas or the ideas coming from other traditions, but also deeply embedded in the Indian tradition, Indian history, and the mythology to explain, to grasp the Indian reality and then develop a politics which can transform the society to create it more equal more just and more ideal.

So, the vantage point of Universalist, but not cosmopolite, forward looking, and not side looking, allowed Lohia to develop an uncompromising critique of both Eurocentricism and of elements in Indian tradition that cannot stand rational scrutiny. So, he was also critical of those practices beliefs in Indian tradition which cannot extend the rational scrutiny.

So, at the same time his political moorings in the socialist movement maintained uncompromising adherence to the ideals of equality. And this ideals of equality remains the basis of all his politics and his thought. So, he outgrew the received and narrow focus on economic equality within a country and expanded the notion to include both internal and external equality.

So, within a nation inequality of income or social inequality in terms of caste should go. So, internal inequality and also external equality that is freedom from political domination of one country by the other and also equality in gender, caste, and race that he argued for.

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It is interesting that the Mandal revolution transformed politics in northern India, but the ideological ground for OBC empowerment was prepared by Lohia, both intellectually and organizationally. Outside the realm of electoral politics, numerous new social movements in India and their leaders are part of a political stream that counts Lohia as one among its many sources.

Rammanohar Lohia contributed significantly to the formulation of an intersectionalist approach for understanding the inequalities, exclusions and exploitations in the power system of India. This was highly significant for interrogating the dynamics of power as well as the key determinants of the matrix of power - caste, class, gender and language.

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So, it is interesting that the Mandal revolution transformed the politics in North India, but the ideological ground for OBC empowerment was prepared by Lohia, as I was saying both intellectually or ideologically and also organizationally. However, that legacy of Lohia is not subjected to a critical engagement or to engage with his words.

And many the many critique developed their definite opinion on Lohia and his works even without reading his text and his speeches. So, this OBC empowerment especially the post Mandal politics which has transformed the politics especially the electoral politics, we need to perhaps revisit many of the ideals that Lohia was arguing for, but is absent from the contemporary politics in the name of socialism, or even when given a symbolic elegance to Lohia.

We need to revisit some of the ideals that he was arguing for; however, this outside the realm of electoral politics, numerous new social movements in India and their leaders are part of a stream that counts Lohia as one among its many sources including Gandhi, Jayaprakash and many others. These leaders or these new social movements considered Lohia as one of their source of inspiration or motivation to fight for all kind of discrimination or injustices.

So, Rammanohar Lohia contributed significantly to the formulation of an intersectionalist approach. So, this intersectionalist which cut across caste, class, gender is something very unique and innovative in Lohia politics and his thought.

So, for understanding the inequalities exclusions and exploitation in the power system of India, so this is a more comprehensive approach to understand injustices exploitation in many forms and then to have simultaneous a struggle against those forms of exploitations and injustices and not reducing into one group or one agent for such struggle for justice.

So, this was highly significant for interrogating the dynamics of power as well as the key determinants of the matrix of power based on caste class gender and language. This we will further develop as we closely look at his ideas on caste, and class and also on socialism and especially his views on language.

So, in the next two lecture we are going to more critically engage with his views on caste, and class, socialism and also on language. To understand Lohia's intersectionalist approach to fight against many injustices and exploitation and to see the nexus of power based on, or the matrix of such power relations based on caste, class, gender, and languages.

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5. 'Rammanohar Lohia' by Mastram Kapoor, *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 45, October 30-November 12, 2010.
6. 'Understanding Lohia's Political Sociology: Intersectionality of Caste, Class, Gender and Language' by Anand Kumar, *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 45, October 2-8, 2010.

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So, on this lecture you can refer to some of this work one by Rammanohar Lohia his life and philosophy by Indumati Kelkar, this is the best biography so far published on Lohia and his thought. Some of the text you can also look at to understand Lohia and his politics is what is living and what is dead in Rammanohar Lohia by Yogendra Yadav.

Also on remembering Lohia by Yogendra Yadav this you can find in economic and political weekly Rammanohar Lohia and appreciation by Gopal Krishna. This can also give you a kind of wider view and also to locate Lohia in the larger politics of post independent India.

So, this takes by Gopal Krishna you can also find in EPW 1968, also Rammanohar Lohia by Mastram Kapoor in economic political weekly. And Mastram Kapoor has also compiled all the writings of Lohia in multiple volumes which can be a better source or richer source to understand many aspects of Lohia and his politics.

And also understanding Lohia's political sociology intersectionality of caste class gender and language by Anand Kumar you can refer to. So, these are some of the text which you can refer to understand Lohia and his politics. So, that is all for today's lecture thank you.

Thanks for listening.