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# Appraisal of Socio- Economic and Political Thoughts of Rammanohar Lohia in Contemporary India

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## **Abstract**

*The contribution of socialist leader Dr Rammanohar Lohia during the freedom struggle and his socio-economic and political views has been praiseworthy in the contemporary India. Lohia was a visionary leader. While Marx's views were mostly based on economic disparity, Lohia on the contrary made the basis of his ideological crusade as socio-economic and cultural disparity along with search of political power for the common man. He gave the concept of "Saptkranti" and raised his voice against the different aspects of exploitations of poor masses. Lohia's ideological thoughts on different political, social and economic issues such as question of world citizen, means of Nation's economic development, social evils like caste system and the poor's participation in the political power structure, and most important his views on socialism made him world famous socialist leader and thinker of contemporary India. His thoughts on international affairs and particularly on the question of Indian Foreign Policy gave him the political recognition among the contemporary world leaders. Against this backdrop, present paper attempts to review the socio- economic and political views of Dr. Rammanohar Lohia.*

## **1. INTRODUCTION:**

Dr. Rammanohar Lohia was a freedom fighter, Gandhian socialist, political leader, parliamentarian and crusader for the upliftment of the poor and downtrodden of the country. Dr. Rammanohar Lohia was born on March 23, 1910 in Akbarpur district of Uttar Pradesh in a Marwari Vaishya family (Mankind, 1970:91)<sup>1</sup>. Lohia's father, Heera Lal, was a nationalist by spirit and a teacher and businessman by profession. The family got surname 'Lohia' for doing business of 'Loha' (iron hardware). Lohia was introduced to the Indian Independence Movement at an early age by his father through the various protests. His father, Heera Lal, an ardent follower of Mahatma Gandhi, took his son along on a meeting with Mahatma Gandhi. The meeting deeply influenced Lohia and his thoughts, actions and love for swaraj. Lohia was so impressed by Gandhiji's spiritual power and radiant self-control that he pledged to follow the Mahatma's footsteps. Besides his father, Hira Lal, Gandhi was the only person who exercised the greatest single influence on Rammanohar Lohia. He apotheosized Gandhi

to such an extent that in one of his speeches at Hyderabad in Aug 1952 he said: "...God and Woman are probably the only two purposes of life, I never met God, and woman is elusive, but I happened to meet a man in whom I saw glimpses of both, and ever since he has gone away.... his memory shimmers my path (Lohia , 1963)<sup>2</sup>. Lohia was only ten, when Gandhi started his famous Non-Cooperation Movement. At the first call of Gandhi, Lohia left the school to join the movement (Kelkar, 1963)<sup>3</sup>. In 1921, when the Mahatma came to Bombay, Lohia's father took him to Gandhi for his blessings. This was Rammanohar's first meeting with the Mahatma. Later on he regarded it as one of the most important events of his life: "All I remember of that incident is that I touched his feet and he touched my back. I am proud of that... I may here add that I never touched anybody else's feet outside of the family and that too when very young." (Lohia, 1963)<sup>4</sup>. Lohia attended Indian National Congress's plenary session in 1923 at Gaya in Bihar and also the 1926 session at Guwahati. His Intermediate education took place at Banaras Hindu University and after a two-year course at Benaras University; he joined the Vidyasagar College in Calcutta. In 1929 he passed his B.A. Honors examination in English Literature. After studying at the Universities of Bombay, Benaras (Varanasi) and Calcutta, Lohia took his Ph. D. from the University of Berlin in 1932 on 'Salt and Civil Disobedience.' (Kelkar, 1963).<sup>5</sup>

## **2. POLITICAL JOURNEY:**

Dr. Rammanohar Lohia has been the most controversial personality of India's post-independence political era. For his followers he was an 'epoch-maker', and for political opponents a 'lost traveler'- "who could neither get to the light-post nor could see the light" (Sinha, 1969)<sup>6</sup>. For some he was a knight errant tilting at imaginary wind mills (Somani, 1967)<sup>7</sup> and for some others a frustrated politician suffering from persecution mania (Sinha, 1969)<sup>8</sup>. Some saw in him an original thinker "who sought to discipline socialist thought and behavior", (Maksud, 1969)<sup>9</sup> others a 'bohemian' and an 'anarchist' out to create chaos in the country (Misra, 1968)<sup>10</sup>. Politics absorbed Rammanohar from his school days. On August 1, 1920, when Lokmanya Tilak breathed his last in Bombay, Lohia organized a complete strike in his school and led the procession of his school-mates to the place where the dead body of the great leader was lying (Kelkar, 1963)<sup>11</sup>. Lohia joined the Indian National Congress as soon as he returned to India in 1933. In 1934 he joined the group of Acharya Narendra Dev, Jayaprakash Narayan, Yusuf Meherally, Achyut Patwardhan, Asoka Mehta, Purshottam Tricumdas and Kamladen Chattopadhyay and was one of the founder members of the Congress Socialist Party. Young Lohia was made the Secretary of the Foreign Affairs Department of the AICC in 1936, under the leadership of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. He held this office till 1938. As Foreign Secretary of the Indian National Congress Party, Lohia was instrumental in laying the foundations of the foreign policy of India. During the Second World War, he supported the view that India should not extend any support to the British and its allies and advocated complete non-cooperation. He said the supply of men and money to the then Government should be refused. When All India Congress Committee passed a resolution in 1939 supporting the Britain in the war effort, Lohia opposed it. He was arrested for making anti-war speeches in 1940. Soon after his release, Lohia wrote an article called

"Satyagraha Now" in Gandhiji's newspaper, Harijan, on June 1, 1940. He was arrested and sentenced to two years of jail. During his sentencing the Magistrate said, "he (Lohia) is a top-class scholar, civilized gentleman and has liberal ideology and high moral character" (Ali, 2011)<sup>12</sup>. Immediately after the war, Nehru asked Lohia to become the General Secretary of the Congress Party. Lohia placed three conditions before Nehru, which, however, were not acceptable to the latter: One, the Congress President should not be a member of the Government to be put up by the British; two, the members of the Congress Working Committee should not be the ministers; three, the Congress Organization should be able to criticize its own government in a friendly manner (Lohia, 1969)<sup>13</sup>. Gandhi and the Indian National Congress launched the Quit India Movement in 1942. Prominent leaders, including Gandhi, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Azad, were jailed. During the 'Quit India' Movement, when all the important political leaders were put behind the bars, Lohia organized the underground struggle against the British rule. He established underground radio transmitting stations at Bombay and Calcutta and with Jayaprakash Narayan organized a guerilla force to combat British imperialism. This resulted in his imprisonment and torture by the British in the notorious Lahore Fort (Lohia, 1965)<sup>14</sup>. Dr Lohia played a significant role in the 'Quit India Movement' of 1942. He directed the movement while remaining underground and could not be detected for nearly two years. He printed and distributed many posters, pamphlets and bulletins on the theme of "Do or Die" through his secret printing-press. He also edited Inquilab (Revolution), a Congress Party monthly along with Aruna Asaf Ali. Mahatma Gandhi praised his non violent movement and pressurized British government to release him from Jail.

On August 15, 1947, India became free. But then it was divided. Lohia was unhappy on this account. Gandhi was murdered on the 30<sup>th</sup> of January, 1948. The communal virus spread all over the country. The Socialist Party was not happy with the way in which the Congress leaders dealt with the situation. The Socialist Party decided to bring together the peasants, the factory workers and the workers in the middle class. In March, 1948, Socialists left the Congress Party (Lohia, 1942)<sup>15</sup>. They formed their own Socialist Party. One of the top leaders of the party was Lohia. The first General Elections in free India were held in 1952. Dr. Lohia did not participate, and he travelled all over the country, campaigning for the Socialist Party as the party fielded its candidates all over the country. When the Praja Socialist Party was formed and Acharya Kripalani became the President of the party; Dr Lohia became the first General Secretary of Praja Socialist Party (Lohia, 1953)<sup>16</sup>. He shaped the political ideology of party and fought Parliamentary Election in 1962 against Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru. He lost the election, however, in a by election in 1963, he won the seat and went to Lok Sabha with full preparation for healthy fruitful discussions and debates. Lohia toiled and died for the cause of the common man (Yadav, 2010)<sup>17</sup>. He always stood for the anti imperialist and anti-colonial revolution. Lohia had his own ideas about revolution. He was a leader of the masses and always talked in the interest of common man. He also started publication of Mankind an English daily and Janata Hindi monthly to propagate political, social and economic views in contemporary India. In spite of his

memorable role in India's freedom struggle, he was feared and hated far more than he was loved and respected. People in power were afraid of his courage of convictions, brilliant and biting criticisms and his striking capacity to sacrifice. People in opposition feared that if they followed him, they would either be "submerged by the revolutionary outside" or would be left far behind in the race for power (Karanth, 1968)<sup>18</sup>.

### **3. SOCIO –ECONOMIC VIEWS:**

Purshottam Trikamdas held the view that the goal of socialist society in India could be achieved by adopting a practical policy rather than crude philosophy. He stated socialism is a living faith, not a dogma. It can be achieved only by a process of trial and error. It cannot be something given once for all. What I am opposed to is the adoption of a Gita or a Bible for the Praja Socialist Party (Gaya Report, 1955)<sup>19</sup>. While addressing the first Conference of the Socialist Party at Hyderabad, Lohia attacked the Praja Socialist Party version of both Gandhism and Marxism as "curiously anemic doctrines". He opined that a sterile Gandhism has come into existence which concentrates almost exclusively on changing the heart of the well-placed to the utter neglect of the charge of the poor man's heart. The millions of India and the world ...must change their heart into ordinary and simple human behavior through continual practice of civil disobedience (Lohia, 1956)<sup>20</sup>. Rammanohar Lohia also exposed the weakness of the Marxism Concept of class struggle. According to him, the Marxian enunciation that the class struggle will assume critical proportions in advanced stages of capitalist development and that the proletariat of highly advanced capitalist countries will become so organized as to overthrow capitalism and usher in a communist or socialist civilization, proved faulty (Lohia, 1963)<sup>21</sup>. The Executive Committee of the Socialist Party formed at the Nasik Conference can be regarded as fulcrum of the democratic socialist movement in India. It included 25 members: Jayaprakash Narayan- General Secretary, Purushottam Tricumdas- Treasurer, Dr. K. B. Menon, N. G. Goray, Suresh Desai, Prem Bhasin- Joint Secretaries, Acharya Narendra Deva, Dr. Rammanohar Lohia, Asoka Mehta, Achyut Patwardhan, Yusuf Meherally, Kamladen Chattopadhyay, Aruna Asaf Ali, Ganga Sharan Sinha, Ramnandan Mishra, Munshi Ahmed Din, Magan Lal Bagdi, Sibnath Banerji, Hareshwar Goswami, Chotubhai Purani, Surendranath Dwivedy, Narendranath Das, Madhu Limaye, Moin-udd-in Harris and B. P. Sinha (Dwivedy, 1984)<sup>22</sup>. There was a special conference of the Socialist Party from 23 to 27 May, 1952 at Panchmarhi in Madhya Pradesh (Dwivedy, 1984)<sup>23</sup>. There were 175 delegates, 254 fraternal delegates and 112 member-visitors to the conference. Poor performance in the General Election evoked mixed reaction in the party. Many wondered whether the socialist party would be effective in parliamentary politics. Ever since the formation of Congress Socialist Party in 1934, deliberations on the concept of socialism had been going on. At the conference, the Party tried to evolve a well considered understanding of the foundations of the democratic socialism, its basic theory, policy and tactics. Since Acharya Narendra Deva had gone on a visit to China. Dr. Rammanohar Lohia presided over the conference. Before the conference, he had prepared a well-thought out thesis for the Socialist party. That became his Presidential address and in the special situation prevailing then, it was the subject of discussion. Dr. Lohia presented an

original theoretical formulation. Perhaps, no one had formulated such a fundamental and well-integrated theory of socialism after Marx. It seemed as if there was no other ideology before us except capitalism and communism. People were confused about socialism. Many thought, it would either merge with communism or would become an ally of capitalism. Hence, there was a general belief that socialism could at best be a reformist theory, but not an instrument of revolutionary transformation. In this new thesis, such misconceptions were removed. It was explained that we had to maintain social stability and bring basic changes side by side. Without strengthening the status quo and without creating anarchy it was possible to bring about social transformation. The basic postulates of the new socialist theory were stated thus: (i) Both capitalism and communism are based upon centralized power which is incapable of bringing about a radical transformation in society; (ii) Both capitalism and communism believe in the same method of production. The only difference between them is that in capitalism some individuals or groups make profit and in communism even though there is no individual profit system, a centralized power, class or party, monopolizes the benefits. Society does not in reality enjoy economic, political and individual freedom; (iii) If we look at communist countries and the so called free democratic states and analyze the actual conditions of the people there, it is quite clear that both are incapable of ushering in social transformation, people's freedom and people's culture. Therefore, both have to be eschewed; (iv) Socialism does not believe in restricted capitalism or mixed economy. It does not believe that this would ever pave the way for socialism; and (v) The political and economic objectives of socialism are to establish a free and decentralized society by eliminating capitalism and centralized political and economic influence from society.

Elaborating these ideas Dr. Lohia had written "socialism must devise forms of such struggle and organization which destroy capitalism in both its aspects. Its struggle and organization must correspond with its economic aims. It aims economically at a technology that rationalizes economy not sector by sector nor region by region but as far as possible in all sectors and regions at the same time. This immediacy must also characterize its struggle and organization. Dr. Lohia further added that conservatism and communism have a strange identity of interests against socialism. Conservatism holds socialism as its democratic rival and does not fear communism, except as a threat of successful insurrection. Communism prefers the continuance of a conservative government and is mortally afraid of a socialist party coming to office, for its chances of an insurrection are then dimmed. Until communism revolts successfully, it is a doctrine of succour and support to the bourgeoisie. .... The Party of socialism must have power and organization. Enough so that it can use them in the service of whatever action may be deemed appropriate at the time. In order that such power and organization may be built up, the party of socialism should continually strive to become a spokesman of the people, organizer of its will, resister against injustice and accomplisher of reconstruction. It must be ready ever to take part in constructive action to enlighten the popular verdict and be enlightened by it in turn and to resist injustice; three modes of action already symbolized by the spade, the role and the prison.

The Panchmarhi Conference put forward a complete picture of socialism before the country: its policy, ideal, objective, programme and means of achievement. The conflict and ambiguities which had appeared within the party were now gone. It was generally admitted that Dr. Lohia was one of the highest and brilliant persons amongst us. At Panchmarhi Indian socialism had taken a new shape and a new orientation towards struggle. As a socialist thinker Dr. Rammanohar Lohia has done deep thinking on this subject. He is of the view that the developing Asia suffers from five basic maladies:

- A) "the existence and growth of politics based on religion, caste or race",
- B) "the prevalence of government by repression on terror and opposition politics by armed rebellion or assassination",
- C) "the rise of a new middle class of bureaucrats and politicians with expensive European habits",
- D) "the unquestioned leadership of phrase makers and stage actors whose deeds are negligible" and
- E) "the absence of a social philosophy and comprehensive policies and programmes." (Lohia, 1963)<sup>24</sup>

Of the three ideology- Capitalism, Communism and Socialism- operating in the world today, capitalism is by far the most inadequate because it encourages separatist and bigoted tendencies and leads to unemployment, crises, wars and is based on profit motive (Lohia, 1963)<sup>25</sup>. Communism according to Lohia, is a doctrine of deceit, lies, treason, tyranny, decay of culture and also of assistance to capitalism until a successful revolution takes place (Lohia, 1963)<sup>26</sup> Socialism alone possess the vigour and integrity to combat separatist and bigoted tendencies and work for the material and moral development of mankind. However, If Asia had to accept all that which is happening the name of socialism in the West, the sterility would inevitably result (Lohia, 1963)<sup>27</sup>. While the democratic, egalitarian and distributive impulses and achievements of western socialism must always evoke the administration of Asian socialists and make them Comrades in common struggle, Asian socialism must be drastic instead of being gradual, and evolve its own methods of peaceful mass action (Lohia, 1963)<sup>28</sup>. Lohia's interest in socialism was natural, for he was the son of an ardent follower of Gandhi who had always considered himself " a true servant of the peasants and of the workers (Lohia, 1959)<sup>29</sup>. Gandhi was firmly of opinion that "even a king can be a socialist by becoming a servant of the people" (Navahind, 1964)<sup>30</sup>. "Even when I die" Gandhi once said, "you will have to admit that Gandhi was a true socialist." (Lohia, 1963)<sup>31</sup>. Later his close association with Gandhi and his study of the socialist theories of Marx, Engels, Buber, Bernstein, Rosa Luxemburg and others in Europe as well his observation of the real condition of the people in India led him to develop some sort of concrete ideals on the subject. "Socialism", according to Lohia, "is fast turning into a ritual; it is so deeply identified with either capitalism or communism, according to its local habitat, that its features melt and is, therefore, not cohesive nor powerful enough to be a world image." (Lohia, 1963)<sup>32</sup>. The orthodox and organized socialism is, therefore, "a dead

doctrine and dying organization" for Lohia. He has made a strong plea for a New Socialism (Lohia, 1959)<sup>33</sup>. Lohia's New Socialism comprehends the following fundamental principles:

- Maximum attainable equality;
- Social Ownership;
- Small-Unit technology;
- Four-pillar state;
- A decent standard of living; and
- The World Parliament and Government

Equality is the 'hard core' of Lohia's concept of Socialism. In his own words, "Socialism is a doctrine of equality. Unless we are careful it may deteriorate into a doctrine of inequality." (Lohia, 1964)<sup>34</sup>. Man has never fought against inequality and injustice, all over the earth and at the same time, as he is doing today (Lohia, 1961)<sup>35</sup>. Sapta Kranti (Seven-revolutions) is taking place. Mankind is revolting for:

- Equality between man and woman;
- The abolition of inequalities based on colour;
- Elimination of inequalities of birth and caste;
- National freedom or ending of foreign influence;
- Economic equality through increase in production;
- Protecting the privacy of individual life from all collective encroachments; and
- Limitations on armaments. (Lohia, 1963)<sup>36</sup>

Lohia firmly believes that humanity can never attain peace and equality if the legal institution of private property continues in our society. Man can either own property or aspire for universal equality. Lohia is also in favour of 'small-unit technology' because he believes that the large scale factory, which produces goods in great numbers, is incapable of abolishing the poverty of the larger part of mankind. According to Lohia, every civilization is moved by certain purposes of life and specific drives. The distinguishing drives of modern civilization are continuous application of science to economy, raising standard of living, and in increasing social equality. Lohia is of the view that the goal of an 'over-increasing standard of living' should be replaced by ideal of a 'decent standard of living.' (Lohia, 1951)<sup>37</sup>. Lohia's concept of socialism looks entirely different and novel. The three ingredients of his socialism, maximum attainable equality, four-pillar state and decent standard of living, are absolutely original. His emphasis on small-unit technology and on 'Satyagraha', as the only rightful weapon to fight against injustice, gives a new colour and form to his socialism (Arora, 1984)<sup>38</sup>.

Lohia attempts to explore the economic and the general aims of society and to integrate them into a harmony, with a view to creating a new philosophy of socialism capable of becoming a powerful force of social change in the world. Independent India suffers from several handicaps in its efforts to improve the conditions of its people. To make socialism a reality in our country, some immediate steps will also have to be taken by our masses and the Government. These are:

- The Agrarian Revolution;

- Restrictions on Expenditure and Consumptions;
- The Socio-Cultural Approximation of the masses; and
- The 'Third Camp' in world politics (Arora, 1984)<sup>39</sup>.

Lohia did vigorous thinking on this subject and while participating in the deliberations of the Policy Commission of the Praja Socialist Party between November 27 and 30, 1953, at Bombay, he propounded his scheme of the agrarian revolution in India which contained the following items:

- Reclamation of Wasteland;
- Equitable distribution of land;
- Abolition of land revenue;
- 'Bhoo Sena' or Food Army; and
- Emphasis on small and medium schemes of irrigation.

Lohia strongly holds the view that the lowest and highest income or expenditure in this country "must keep within the limits of 1 to 10 and no unreasonable allowance or provisions should be allowed to defeat this policy of achieving maximum equality attainable in the present context (Lohia, 1964)<sup>40</sup>. Lohia held West European Capitalism responsible for successfully dividing the humanity into two camps and for giving Europe a chain of wars-wars for the annexation of markets and colonies. Later he wrote: " The history of the Capitalist development is the history of the increasing poverty of colonial masses and their reduction into starving and landless labour.... unless prevailing, economic trends are reversed and that does not seem very likely, the increasing poverty of colonial masses will be the greatest single factor towards the undoing of the West European economy (Lohia, 1963)<sup>41</sup>.

According to Lohia, participation of women in the policy and decision-making processes at the domestic and public levels is the most important indicator of women's empowerment (Kelkar and Gangavane, 2003)<sup>42</sup>. Dr Lohia pointed out that, "women have always been victims of morality in Indian society. Regarding sexual scandals women are blamed mostly than men Lohia emphasized the need for developing an atmosphere conducive to the healthy relationship between man and woman" (Bagchi,2002)<sup>43</sup>. Sexual ethics based on the bondage of women ultimately creates all sorts of perversion. Only a frank, free and clear approach to sex can engender healthy ethics. While men have some sort of freedom in the matter of sexual relations, women are slaves to an age and each individual must discover a specific morality. It is a mistaken notion to think of the woman as merely a machine for producing children (Mehrotra. 1978)<sup>44</sup>. Women should not be considered inferior on the basis of skin colour (Lohia, 1965)<sup>45</sup>. In order to emancipate women from the clutches of male domination, Lohia advocates preferential opportunity for them. As he says "certain disadvantages of earlier and bodily strength apply to women and the crust of centuries-old customs reduces her to the second sex. Giving her equal opportunity would not solve the problem of inequality between the sexes. When a group of people is held down by debility, physical or cultural, the only way to bring it up to equality with others is through conferment of preferential opportunities " (Lohia, 1966)<sup>46</sup> His holistic approach to social problems, his stress on harmony with the self and society as against the fragmented approach to problems were small



steps in the journey towards a more just and humane world of equal rights, equal opportunity and equal participation (Tolpade, 2010)<sup>47</sup>.

#### **4. POLITICAL VIEWS:**

Dr. Lohia's political writings may be broadly divided into two parts. The monographs, editorials and commentaries on foreign affairs, which he wrote between 1934 and 1938, belong to one class and all else that he wrote after that, belongs to another. As an editor of the famous "Congress Socialist", between 1934 and 1936, and later as a Secretary to the Foreign Department of the AICC for two years Lohia in his writings emphasized that the foreign policy of India should be separate from the British foreign policy, and the trade-relations as well as the fiscal-policies should safeguard the maximum interests of India rather than that of England. The Congress should declare that the "Indian" Army of the British had no support of Indian masses, and India must establish relations with other countries in the political and cultural fields. His important writing of this period are: On the struggle for Civil Liberties, The Indian Foreign Policy, China and India, Loot of the Foreign Contractors, India's stand, Indian in Foreign Lands, Indian on China, and The Foreign Policies of the Indian National Congress and the British Labour Party (Arora, 1984)<sup>48</sup>. In his latter writings Lohia has dealt with practically every problem of human life that a public man can think of. His social, political, historical and economic ideas can be gathered from the following books: Wheel of History (1955), Will to Power (1956), Marx, Gandhi and Socialism (1963), India, China and Northern Frontiers (1963), The Caste System (1964), Interval During Politics (1965), Language (1966), Samajvadi Aandolan ka Itihas (1969) and Bharat Vibhajan ke Apradhi (1970) (Arora, 1984)<sup>49</sup>.

The annual conference of the Congress Socialist Party met at Kanpur from 24 February to 2 March, 1947 under the Chairmanship of Dr. Rammanohar Lohia. Here it was indicated that gradually the Congress Socialist Party would emerge as an independent party. At the Kanpur Conference it was stated that the Cabinet Mission declaration of 16th May, 1946 was a conspiracy to partition the country (Dwivedy, 1984)<sup>50</sup>. At the Madras (Chennai) Conference, there were 380 delegates and 772 member visitors. At the Conference, Jayaprakash presented his political report and Lohia a resolution on international situation. Lohia dealt with the concept of a third camp. Regarding the Korean problem, there were some differences of opinion among the leaders and a great deal of debate regarding the theoretical questions of Marxism also took place (Dwivedy, 1984)<sup>51</sup>. When the annual conference of the Praja Socialist Party was scheduled to be held at Gaya, Lohia formed a separate party, known as "the Socialist Party ". He was popular for propagating "militant socialism". Four out of twenty four Lok Sabha members and thirty eight out of two hundred and eighty State Legislatures followed him (Singh, 1959)<sup>52</sup>. In 1955, the Praja Socialist Party split. Dr. Lohia and his followers had set up a new party - the Socialist party. The Praja Socialist Party National Conference met at Gaya and Dr. Lohia's party held its Conference in Hyderabad. The policy statements of both these conferences could hardly be distinguished from each other. The policy formulated at Panchmarhi and Allahabad was more or less reiterated at these national conferences (Dwivedy, 1984)<sup>53</sup>. In 1955, Dr. Lohia had given a

slogan that his newly formed Socialist Party would achieve power in seven years. In 1962 he himself contested against Nehru and lost. On 3 March in a statement from Lucknow, he said: " I was not prepared for such a miserable defeat. I was hoping that I would win or lose by about 10,000 votes. But the Phulpur constituency proved differently. The overall results of the general election were shocking. Are we erring in principle? Or are we incapable of following our programme? Or are we not keeping pace with time? Either we should dissolve ourselves or decide to reform.

Lohia envisages a simple society where power is decentralized, and which is free from the blemish of what Lewis Mumford calls 'Giantism'. He recommends a four-pillared structure of the state based on self-rule from the bottom and without the over-riding authority of an all powerful centre (Lohia, 1963)<sup>54</sup>. Now what is this four-pillar state? A state hitherto has been organized into two parts of pillars- the centre, and the province. The latter is always more or less, a subordinate administrative agency with limited autonomy. According to Dr. Lohia, this type of state organization is not adequate to meet fully the aspire, 1963)<sup>55</sup>. Even the liberal principle of Federalism, according to him, has not made it possible for the ordinary citizens to make an intelligent or effective participation in the affairs of the country (Lohia, 1963)<sup>56</sup>. The State, therefore, is to be organized in such a manner that it can allow the widest opportunity for popular participation. "Sovereign Power must not reside alone in centre and federating units. It must be broken up and diffused over smallest region where a group of men and women live." The workable solution, therefore, is to organize the state into four units, the village, the mandal (the district), the province and the Centre, and to vest each unit with autonomous power of action and decision on specified matters (Lohia, 1963)<sup>57</sup>.

The four-pillar state is both a legislative as well as an executive arrangement. It is a way of life and extends to all spheres of human activity- extending to the aspects of production, ownership, administration, planning, education and the like. The community of state is to be so organized and sovereign power so distributed that each little community in it lives the way of life it chooses. A state organized like this, believed Dr. Lohia, will surely be able to rouse popular enthusiasm and encourage initiative in the social world; it will dispel popular apathy and democratize and purify the administration. Lohia said that: " No true internationalism can arise unless its votaries realize that the present crisis of foreign policy is a crisis of human civilization and that it can be overcome only by a union of minds all over the world that cuts across national frontiers and interests and is prepared to hold general principles even when they operate against one's own system of national or world alliances. A new way of thought has to arise (Lohia, 1955)<sup>58</sup>. Addressing the first conference of the Socialists at Nasik, Lohia declared: "Let us pitch the tents everywhere and strengthen third force. We must sign treaties of permanent friendship with Burma (Myanmar), Nepal, Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and other independent countries of South East Asia. Once such a federation comes into being to strengthen the third camp, the world can be made safe for democracy and permanent peace (Lohia, 1948)<sup>59</sup>. Rejecting the attitude of superiority towards less fortunate nations, Lohia maintained: "Foreign aid, as at present administered, tends to corrupt the giver as well as the taker. The giver condescends and tends to dominate while the receiver learns

the cunning of threats and cajolings (Dixit, 1976)<sup>60</sup>. Lohia, for instance, warned against the easy acceptance of co-existence between India and China (Lohia, 1954)<sup>61</sup>. Lohia pleads for the establishment of a World Parliament with power to enforce peace and promote economic development. True to his principle of immediacy, this World Parliament shall be elected on the basis of adult franchise (Lohia, 1956)<sup>62</sup>.

"There may either be an upper house of equal representation to all nations of the earth or the single house of the people may itself be weighted so as to allay fears against countries of enormous population and to take some account of existing realities of Power (Lohia, 1955)<sup>63</sup>. In the World Parliament will be reposed the collective conscience of mankind (Lohia: 1956)<sup>64</sup>. Lohia's concept of the World Parliament or of a World Development Authority may, however, appear as complicated and utopian suggestions to many (Lohia, 1955)<sup>65</sup>. But Lohia is very clear about its feasibility. So long as the World Parliament is not created, he thinks, a suitably revised United Nations may take up the programme of world reconstruction within the scope of its functions (Lohia, 1956)<sup>66</sup>. Keeping the practical aspects of the bi-polar world situation in mind the first Prime Minister of India, Jawahar Lal Nehru, formulated the policy of "non-alignment with great power groups" for establishing a just and equitable socio-economic order in India and creating a climate of peace in the world. But Lohia, with his knowledge of international relations, foresaw some serious shortcomings in Nehru's policy of non-alignment. It, according to him, was not serving the interests of the nation. As an alternative to it, Lohia, therefore, presented his policy of the "Third Camp" at the Nasik Conference of the Socialist Party in 1948 (Lohia, 1938)<sup>67</sup>. In his report to the Madras Conference of the Socialist Party in July 1950, as Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Party, Lohia attempted to work out further implications of the Third Camp attitude. He said: "Who are the natural Constituents of the Third Camp? Socialists, newly liberated peoples, anti-imperialist movements and all liberals as want progress and world authority. This third camp far out numbers the other two systems in population. And yet it is not cohesive so as to express the power of its numbers." (Lohia, 1966)<sup>68</sup>. In order to be successful, he observed, its constituent units "should join together in mutual assistance pacts. Their domestic programme should be socialism. Internationally, they should abstain in all unfortunate cases where only the Atlantic and Soviet Camps were clashing and no peaceful choice existed (Lohia, 1951)<sup>69</sup>. Lastly, Lohia stressed the need for a constructive approach to world problems. "The third camp must not be an umpire but a participator in international events, because, it will never be able to judge issues until it learns to play a part in their maturing" (Lohia, 1938) .<sup>70</sup>

Dr. Rammanohar Lohia, as early as 1950, could foresee the serious lacuna in the country's policy on foreign affairs. This is manifest in such events as hostility between India and Pakistan; India-China conflict; merger of Tibet with China; and India's ineffective role in peace-making. India's policy of non-alignment had three criticisms against the policy both within India and abroad. Lohia had visualised, the policy of non-alignment intensified the cold war and the war of tension in the world. Lohia had an image of India in his heart and mind - India that would fashion a world of peace and prosperity. He made this the "acid test"

of the foreign policy of free India. Being a man of great insight and incisive logic, he had apprehended that it was impossible to detach international issues from the world's power complex. There is a supreme need for positive foreign policy. The two cardinal principles - national interest and peace - have guided Lohia's policy. His foreign policy can be classified into three parts viz. third camp ; Himalayan policy ; and confederation of India and Pakistan ( Lohia, 1973) <sup>71</sup> . India's foreign policy suffered a great setback when China attacked her in 1962. Two basic reasons accounted for it: First, India's China policy was defective and short-sighted; second, the country had no definite policy in respect of the countries about the Himalayas. In 1950, Lohia has suggested the evolution of an urgent Himalayan policy ( Lohia, 1963) <sup>72</sup> . The countries around the Himalayas consist of Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim. These countries have always remained independent. Indo-Pak relation has been one of the main concerns of Dr. Rammanohar Lohia ( Lohia, 1960) <sup>73</sup> . Dr. Rammanohar Lohia was of the view that the partition of India was forced by the victor imperialist nations and not in the interest of world peace. Lohia's idea of Indo-Pak confederation is nothing but providing more and more channels for interaction of people of the two countries. He suggested abolition of visa and passports between the two countries, so that people from one country could travel the other without any restriction, as they have been doing for the last about one thousand years despite there being many states (Lohia, 1960). <sup>74</sup>

## 5. CONCLUSION:

Dr. Lohia was a remarkable man in several respects. He was a born rebel, a great fighter in the cause of national freedom, an agitator par excellence, a parliamentarian of rare ability, thinker and a leader of the socialist movement in India. He had a robust individuality, yet he was humble and modest. He was brutally frank, forthright and fearless. Adversity had no terrors for him; it only brought out the best in him. He never thought of Power for himself. He willed and worked for power no doubt, but power for the people, for the oppressed, for the downtrodden, for the lowliest and the lost. His love for the poor and the weak was only next to that of Mahatma Gandhi. During 1966-67 several veteran socialists passed away. Dr. Lohia passed away in Oct. 1967. His death was a severe blow to the National life of India and movement for democracy and socialism. Dr. Lohia was one of the few original political thinkers who had his original independent political thought. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia was a rare combination of democrat and humanist. He fought against inequalities and injustices thought out his life. He was an iconoclast. He revolted against Hitler and his Nazism. He was anti-imperialist in his thought and deed. He was a true Marxist and a great Socialist. He stood for common person and strived for his liberation from oppression and exploitation. Lohia propounded for "Chaukhambha Raj" for rural leadership, village self rule and integrated development. It stands for the four tiers, devolutionary and integrated development. Lohia recognized the four important levels of India's governance which are inter linked, and absence of development of any one of them spells disaster for the development of the whole process. Chaukhambha for Lohia meant the recognition of the fact that democracy stands on four pillars, viz the centre, the states, the districts and the villages. It is believed that even within the existing limitations, the Panchayat Raj can be a big instrument of highly relevant

social change. Moreover, imagine the status of the society, with great speed and gusto of development, after these limitations are recognized and redeemed. For achieving this, Lohia was not content with decentralization in growth. He stood for decentralization in social and political fields. He stood for devolution of power and finance right up to the village level. For achieving this he stressed on the strengthening of local governing bodies. In other words, he stood for decentralized power structure and leadership. He was opposed to all sorts of discriminations and imposition of limitations and disparities across gender, age and rural urban division. With his, "Chaukhambha Raj", he was ahead of his times and anticipated changes in Indian governance. He was critic to India's foreign policy and international relations. He was in favour of India – Pakistan Federation, Policy on Himalayan states and peace building role.

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