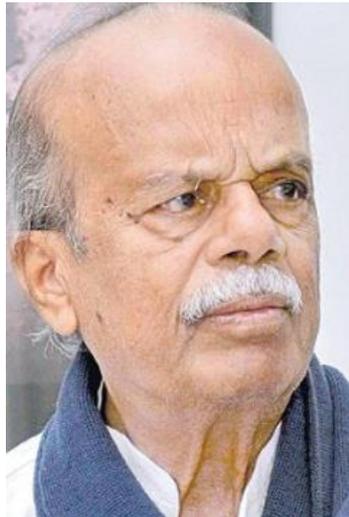


LOHIA IN HIS OWN WORDS



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Lohia in his own words

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Introduction

Dr. Rammanohar Lohia, a brilliant scholar, a fiery patriot and idealist was born in 1910. He was a Doctor of Philosophy of the Berlin University and was an outstanding author of several books. His notable books include: 'Wheel of History', 'Will to Power', 'Guilty Men of India's Partition', 'Marx, Gandhi and Socialism', 'Interval during Politics,' 'Foreign Policy', 'Krishna, Valmiki and Vashishtha,' and 'Kranti ke liye Sangathan' etc. He was a great lover of Indian people and an ardent champion of the cause of the poor and downtrodden millions. He was a great and noble soul, who precisely because of his original farsighted and unconventional stances became a much misunderstood, maligned and controversial figure.

It is often said that distance lends charm. There are many people who fascinate other people from a distance but if one goes closer one is disappointed. The personality of Dr. Lohia was just the opposite. The people who saw him from a distance may have had wrong impressions of him but for his close friends he was the Mahadeo Lord Shiva.

It seems as easy to write about Dr. Lohia as it is difficult to describe his personality. A personality like that of his rarely emerges on the political horizon of any country. His personality was viewed differently from different angles. For some he was an epoch-maker or an outstanding leader of this country. For others he was a lost traveller who could neither get to the light-post nor could see the light. There were many people in this land who thought that Dr. Lohia was a frustrated leader who seemed to be angry with everybody. On the contrary, he was the spring of love and affection to many of his devotees. It is no exaggeration when it is said that in the recent past there was hardly any political personality who was so much loved and adored by friends and foes alike. His personal qualities which for a whole decade from 1954 to 1964 banished him to wilderness and earned him epithets like madcap, crank, Nehru-hater, fanatic, and what not; but these personal qualities were inseparably linked with his prophetic mind. He could see deep and far ahead. He saw the dangerous consequences of empty phrases of Socialism. He knew the inadequacy of the left throughout the world, but more particularly the left in India. Dr. Lohia's contribution to socialist and Indian politics begins as a historical task of exposing these inadequacies and irrelevancies and exploring new dimensions and areas of socialism. A whole series of concepts and formulations for a new left was the outcome. He had to go into the wilderness--the period when he was maligned by his more influential colleagues and misunderstood by his friends as well as the public--because he had to give new meaning and new content to socialism. It is this new meaning and content of socialism which exploded the existing framework of Indian politics and its compartments of Right and Left, and that is how the stagnation was broken, and India seemed to be taking a march forward.

Lohia in his own words

In order to understand Dr. Lohia one has to understand the legacy of Gandhiji. Gandhiji's successors are frequently referred to by name. Most of the time the names mentioned are Nehru and Vinobha Bhave. If we remember the total, unified personality of Gandhiji, it becomes impossible to call any one person his successor. The whole country and the whole people bear his legacy in a manifold manner. If anyone leader considered that legacy in such comprehensive manner and bore it dutifully it was Dr. Rammanohar Lohia. He was not even remotely connected with the establishment that Gandhiji might have left either in its political or spiritual aspects. These seats have been decorated by other honourable gentlemen. Apart from these prestigious posts, Gandhiji had left the legacy of a unique revolution for the transformation not only of society but also towards the evolution of a new equality for all mankind. A legacy of this type is neither transferred nor taken over, it is to be borne voluntarily like the cross. Dr. Lohia accepted the burden in this sense; he continued the search for the soul of his nation and society in the total context of humanity.

All the renaissance leaders before Gandhiji--Rammohan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, Swami Dayanand, and Vivekananda were inspired by European values and standards while striving for a reawakening of their country. They made Herculean efforts to liberate their country from the evils of superstition and backwardness. All the above great men who were first attracted by Western ideals and then tried to reform their society had a superficial encounter with tradition as well as modernity. Gandhiji, however, instead of invoking the greatness of the past identified himself with the whole of Indian society. He had a deep insight into the society he lived in; his personality showed continuous communication with the common man. He accepted the life of the people as they lived and discovered its harmony. He did realise that the stream of Indian life had been obstructed and that it suffered from inertia. At the same time, he knew that this traditional life has some inherent qualities which will be essential for reconstruction of this society. Because he accepted the life of his people without any reservations, he could pierce through its rot and inertia and perceive the vital flow deep within.

Dr. Lohia, like Gandhiji identified himself with his country and society; instead of just understanding it he accepted it as his own. Without such deep involvement it is not possible on the part of anyone to comprehend the life of a nation in a full sense. Unlike Nehru, Dr. Lohia established a living relationship with the hungry and backward millions and strove to kindle a fire in them as the only sure way to create a new society. Sometimes it looked as if he was breaking all values and traditions and his opponents called him opportunist anarchist and even unIndian. But Dr. Lohia, like Gandhiji was unflinching in his effort to base his revolution on Indian experience.

Gandhiji through his insight gave direction and dynamism to Indian life. He did not undertake any lengthy analysis or study of history in order to arrive at his principles. His approach was both idealistic and empirical; he acted according to his ideals on the basis of experience of the immediate surroundings through which he embraced the whole humanity. Those who insisted on ideological systems regarded his politics as one of a compromise. Its impact on his followers also was not very deep since there was always scope for hypocrisy. Dr.

Lohia in his own words

Lohia, a genius gave it a new turn; he interpreted Gandhiji's politics in rationalistic terms. He subjected Gandhian assumptions to rigorous scientific analysis and discussion in terms of national, social and human problems and demonstrated that the Gandhian ideal of changing society was no less revolutionary.

Gandhiji always put his country and his people at the centre of his thought and action. The implication was that the highest principles that one propounded have relevance only when they are practised and lived upto in one's own society. He formulated his social, political and economic thoughts in the context of his own people, their condition and their tradition. He tried to apply them along the evolution of his own people. However, he never lost sight of the broad interests of mankind as a whole.

Dr. Lohia also contemplated mankind's future only on the basis of the progress of his own country and its like. He was not in the company of Indian leaders who often talk about human freedom equality and man's future without concretising their meaning in terms of the actual conditions in which millions of their countrymen, poor, underdeveloped, backward and illiterate live. Dr. Lohia continued the Gandhian strain of concretising all ideals in terms of the immediate surroundings and made a Herculean effort to clear the atmosphere of untruth, loose talk and meaningless high-flown words like national solidarity, service to the nation, equality, national integration etc. He became notorious for taking all leaders to task, both of the ruling party and the opposition, for their empty talk. In independent India we could find in our midst a man who with indomitable courage and unbounding patience took up the whole nation's burden on his lonely shoulders. He could voice the suffering of a lone poor man as well as the aspirations of the whole of mankind and make them heard despite all kinds of obstruction and resistance.

Dr. Lohia is no more with us but he has bequeathed a legacy through his ideas and writings. The role of a leader is to blaze new trails for human advancement in various avenues of human endeavour. Dr Lohia ceaselessly championed the cause of socialism, for social justice and equality. Every like-minded individual has the responsibility to make such choices as would reflect these objectives and so help to bring the Indian polity a stage nearer to greater probity, justice and efficiency.

Prof. P. SITARAM REDDY (Retd.)
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On Caste

The Indian people are the saddest on earth. They are so because they are also the poorest and the most diseased.

1/The Caste System

I am convinced that the two segregations of caste and sex are primarily responsible for this decline of the spirit. These segregations have enough power to kill all capacity for adventure and joy.

1/The Caste System

All those who think that with the removal of poverty through a modern economy, these segregations will automatically disappear make a big mistake. Poverty and these two segregations thrive on each other's worms.

1/The Caste System

The President of the Indian Republic, the Late Shri. Rajendra Prasad, publicly bathed the feet of two hundred Brahmins in the holy city of Banaras. To bathe another's feet publicly is vulgar; to restrict this vulgar privilege to the caste of Brahmins should be a punishable offence.

1/The Caste System

I must record that I got the full story of this evil act from a Brahmin. He had been included among the two hundred. He was the only one to have shrunk away in horror at the last minute. Before he could become guilty of this fell act of having his feet bathed by the president of his Republic his place was rapidly filled up by a substitute.

But I shall ever cherish this poor teacher of Sanskrit, the only man in this ghastly devil's play. It is only such men and women who although they are born as Brahmins, are preventing the engulfment of the whole country by the perverted anti-Brahminism of the South.

2/The Caste System

To bathe another's feet on the ground that he is a Brahmin is to guarantee the continuance of the caste system, of poverty and sadness.

2/The Caste System

The spirit, of which such evil acts are born, can never plan the country's welfare nor adventure with joy. It will ever keep the vast millions lowly and submerged. It will deny them social and economic equality.

3/The Caste System

Lohia in his own words

The black sadness prevails for there is no novelty, no possibility of free conversation between the priestess and the shoe maker, the teacher and the laundress, in a land whose President bathes Brahmin's feet.

One may disagree with one's President or consider his way queer, but one would like to respect him. To deserve such respect the President must not violate the elementary rules of civil conduct.

3/The Caste System

On the day that marriage between Sudra and Dvija is designated as a qualification, among others, for recruitment to the administration and the armed forces and refusal to inter-dine as a positive disqualification, the war on caste will begin in earnest. That day is yet to dawn.

4/The Caste System

All politics in the country, Congress, Communist or Socialist, has one big area of national agreement, whether by design or through custom, and that is to keep down and disenfranchise the Shudra and the woman who constitute over three-fourths of our entire population.

5/The Caste System

Spontaneous loyalty is probably the standard to attain in man-woman relationships. But the standard is often missed in this as in other human spheres, when man or woman strives for perfection.

6/The Caste System

Conditions relating to marriage and after are today sinful, if anything can be called a sin. A girl without a dowry is a person of no consequence, like a cow without her calf.

6/The Caste System

The giving and taking of dowry must of course, be penalised but a change has also to take place in the mind and its values. To arrange marriages on the sight of a photograph or in the nervous atmosphere of a cup of tea brought by a shrinking phantom is any day more ridiculous than the earlier marriages through the barber or the Brahmin. It is like buying a horse who is indeed brought before the buyer, but whose hoofs one may not touch nor closely examine the teeth.

7/The Caste System

It is time that young men and women revolted against such puerilities. They should ever remember that there are only two unpardonable crimes in the code of sexual conduct, rape and the telling of lies or breach of promise. There is also a third offence of causing pain or hurt to another, which they should avoid as far as possible.

8/The Caste System

Religion, politics, business and publicity are all conspiring to preserve the slime that goes by the name of culture. This conspiracy of the status-quo is terrific in its power to spell infamy and death. I am perfectly certain that I am in for a still more horrible retaliation for whatever I have written, not necessarily directly or immediately.

When young men and women suffer infamy for their honesty, let them remember that this is the price they have to pay for clearing away the slime so that the waters may flow freely again.

9/The Caste System

There is no greater virtue today than smashing these abominable segregations of caste and sex. Let them only remember not to cause hurt or pain or be coarse, for the relationship between man and woman is of delicate texture. They may not always be able to avoid it. But the striving should never cease. Above all, dispel this black sadness, and adventure into joy.

9/The Caste System

Many socialists honestly but wrongly think that it is sufficient to strive for economic equality and caste inequality will vanish of itself as a consequence. They fail to comprehend economic inequality and caste inequality as twin demons, which have both to be killed. It may be that this hesitation to challenge openly the caste may partly be due to fear of losing popularity. I visualise a third reason as well. Even while belonging to widely different parties, the Dvijas are bound by an unconscious link in spite of mutual strife. A common social sphere and ties of marriage and friendship keep them together.

20/The Caste System

Shudras and Dvijas are capable of producing children of one another. In this connection, it is also to be remembered that generally a backward caste person would like to have connections and equality with the twice-born as against the depressed castes. This mentality is poisonous. We must now contribute to the simple mentality of a common caste of mankind. When you own this mentality, you would not say that only a Shudra can help the Shudras to rise. The Shudras and the Dvijas are both lying half dead. The Shudras should awaken the Dvijas and the Dvijas should awaken the Shudras. It may be that application of this principle to action will be attended by a thousand difficulties but there is no other way.

20-21/The Caste System

The Dvija must be prepared to endure a temporary injustice so that the wrongs of several thousand years may be righted and a new era of justice and equality may begin. The proudest days for the Brahmin and Bania would be when they end their supremacy. But there has also to be an awareness of the failings of the backward classes, particularly their tendency to ape the bad habits and manners of the high castes as soon as they become prosperous or

powerful. Moreover, anger against the high caste system and the systematic effort to destroy it should never be allowed to degenerate into bitterness against high castes. Such bitterness would permanently enthrone mediocrity. The Sudras should not forget that the overwhelming majority of Dvijas are poor and dispossessed. The miracle of the caste system has, however, converted these 8 crores and more of dispossessed humanity into upholders of the status quo. They are beggars of body, but believe themselves to be masters of the mind.

26/The Caste System

Caste is the most overwhelming factor of Indian life. Those who deny it in principle also accept it in practice. Life moves within the frontiers of caste and cultured men speak in soft tones against the system of caste, while its rejection in action just does not occur to them. If they are reminded of their acts, which are in such unbelievable conformity with caste, they point out with indignation their thought and speech.

79/The Caste System

Mahatma Gandhi knew how to risk his popularity. He had a calf, the child of the sacred cow, injected to death in a certain situation; he refused to attend weddings unless they were inter-caste; he sanctioned divorce; he had the large sum of 55 crores and more given to Pakistan at a time when Hindus held that treasonable; he acted and not alone spoke against property; in brief, he hardly ever missed doing anything that brought new life to the nation even if it brought calumny and danger to him.

83/The Caste System

Everybody is against caste these days. And yet caste flourishes, in some ways, as never before. Eminent sociologists like Max Weber have proved thoroughly wrong in their prognostications about this virus. They had thought that Europe-educated Indians bred to rational concepts and ways of life, would destroy caste on their return home. Little did they realise that these Europe-returned Indians would be drawn overwhelmingly from the ranks of the high caste and would further reinforce the caste system with its exclusive marriages because of their education and high status.

95/The Caste System

Three distinct types of opposition to caste may be noted: one wordy, the second low level and mixed, and the third real. The wordy opposition is the loudest in respect of such generalised condemnation of caste as leaves the existing structure almost intact. It condemns the caste system as wholly evil, but would equally condemn those who resort to active steps to destroy the system.

95/The Caste System

Lohia in his own words

Caste restricts the opportunity. Restricted opportunity constricts ability. Constricted ability restricts opportunity. Where caste prevails, opportunity and ability are restricted to ever-narrowing circles of the people.

XXXIII/Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

India's experience is conclusive proof that caste turns a country into the arid deserts of intellectual inadequacies.

XXXIII/Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

The only way out is preferential opportunity for groups whom caste has less more disabled. Euro-American revolutions flew the banner of equal opportunity.

XXXIV/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Where ability has become constricted through culture of centuries, equal opportunity can only further widen the gulf.

XXXIV/Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

The claimant and the powerful classes in a caste-ridden society do not possess an expansive mentality and a scheme of preferential opportunity is therefore unpalatable to them. The submerged groups and castes are hardly in a position to lay effective claim to preferential opportunity. To break this vicious circle of caste and poverty and restrictive mentality, a great revolution of spirit is necessary. Only when men are persuaded to see that growing inequality and poverty go together in the same way as wealth and approximating equality would thus material and spiritual revolution more than any other land in India, but all people need it to some degree.

XXXIV/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

The ruling classes of India can today be distinguished by three features: high caste, wealth and English language, and the combination of any two of these qualities makes a person belong to the ruling classes of the country. Such persons number on a rough estimate 3 million or so. These 3 millions of native Indians sit tight and oppressively on the chest of four hundred million of their people and they possess two inestimable weapons, a gun in the hand and more so, the English speech on their lips.

128/Interval during Politics

The reading of Indian history in Indian schools and colleges is scandalous. In one book, ancient India of over 4000 years has been given 39 pages, and in the other less than 20. Muslim India of around 150 years has been allotted in one book about 100 pages and about 120 in other. British India of around 50 years has been allotted 150 pages in one book and 70 in the other. This certainly is not history. It may at best be called the impressions of Indian history as felt by a British observer and at worst the distorted vision of the past by an imperialist eye.

157/Interval during Politics

Lohia in his own words

It is quite clear that the Indian people have repelled invasions oftener than they have succumbed to them. Surely the causes of the successful as well as the repelled invasions must be sought elsewhere than in climate or in the colour and size of the combatants. An Indian child who reads such historical nonsense loses his national self-confidence. His behaviour as a grown up person is up to a point governed by such reading. Such errors of history, through constant repetition, become part truths of the future. I sometimes wonder if the present rulers of India, who tolerate such text books of history for their schools, are not spies and sappers and miners of foreign rule, of any foreign invaders that may like to conquer the country.

158-159/Interval during Politics

Scholarship is conservative and repetitive and a great tragedy of mankind is the perpetuation by the native of the scholarship of the imperialist.

113/Interval during Politics

India has probably attracted more foreign conquerors than any other country in the world. She has also succumbed to foreign conquest oftener than the rest. Her caste system may be still greater reason. This subject of human history is well worth serious and intensive study. To seek to lay bare this mystery of India's history with the simple assumption about her climate is a lie and an insult to the past and a continuing lie and a destroyer of the future. What of those numerous attempts at India's conquest which the native inhabitants have repelled in the course of her history! Some scholar should draw up a list of such repelled invasions and he would do a great service to truth as well as to history.

158/Interval during Politics

As long as caste is not completely erased from the Hindu mind or woman treated as an equal being with man, or property disassociated from the concept of order, the fanatical will from time to time play havoc with Indian history and also impart to it a continuing lethargy

119/ Fragments of A World Mind

On Language

All arguments for gradual or ultimate acceptance of Hindi have been proved to be illusions or lies. The younger generation in Tamilnadu, Kerala, or Bengal, which was supposed to be learning Hindi, is more violently anti-Hindi than the older. It is no use, therefore, continuing with old practices. The compulsory study of Hindi must stop forthwith in the non-Hindi areas. For areas like Tamilnadu, that would mean nothing more than recognition of an existing fact. Similarly the irritating presence of Hindi as a meaningless adjunct in any public activity must be removed.

1/Language

The debate on language has so far missed the central point. The use of English as medium in economy depresses work output, in education reduces learning and almost nullifies research, in administration weakens efficiency and adds to inequality and corruption. That English is a foreign language and hurts national self-respect is a minor point compared to its effect in depressing economy and causing inequality and its being used as a tool for minority rule. But the establishment, particularly in non-Hindi areas, has been working on contrary premises and has succeeded in infecting the people. A totally new policy must, therefore, be devised.

1/ Language

Such parts of the country as are willing to remove the medium of English from all walks of life should be enabled to contend in peaceful competition with these which wish to retain it. Results will be known in a period of five or ten years and either the Hindi areas will revert to English or the non-Hindi areas give it up.

1-2/ Language

Like thieves and robbers who raise false fires in order to divert people's attention and meanwhile carry out unnoticed their robberies, parties and individuals are raising linguistic fires in order to distract people's attention and maintain their slipping power. It is not without significance that Congressmen and Communists are at the head of all such distracting movements.

4/Language

I never denied the need of linguistic states. For 30 years long, the national movement excited the desire for linguistic states and what tragedy took place when free India denied the unfulfilled desires are well known. This desire is however largely a phenomenon of South and West India, and language groups in need of their own states are pre-eminently Malayali, Telugu, Kannada and Marathi. What I said in my Mayurbhanj speech and what I believe is that a number of linguistic fires have been raised as false alarms to divert people's attention from more pressing social and economic problems. It is not without significance that Congressmen

and Communists should be particularly active in raising such false alarms. Congressmen's motive is to maintain themselves in power on behalf of the status quo and Communists to disrupt national integrity on behalf of an imaginary world revolution.

4-5/ Language

Much has been made of the language of communication between the centre and the states which forms not even one per-cent of central activity. Central functions include administration, justice, education, industry, railways, communication and the like.

2/ Language

To provide option between English and an Indian language must in the present context work to the advantage of the former option, as it works towards perpetuation of routine and existing modes. So, if any state decides to remove the medium of English, it must do so compulsorily and not optionally. For Tamilnadu or Bengal to impose English on Bihar or Uttar Pradesh would be overwhelming tyranny. Similarly, Tamilnadu or Bengal would be free not to have Hindi at all.

2/Language

The chief problem is the removal of English and not the establishment of Hindi. This clarification is necessary, for the non-Hindi speaking states like Mysore, Bengal, Tamilnadu should have the option not to use Hindi at all. They may use their own language but they also must renounce English.

6/Language

Many a ridiculous argument is heard in this respect. One of them is that Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, Tamil and several other native languages are still undeveloped. They, therefore, cannot give us up to-date ideas and information. A well-developed Western language thus becomes indispensable. Such a plea is untenable. Compared to French, Indian languages possess a treasure four or five times richer. The vocabulary of Hindi or Bengali is twice as rich as that of English. With the help of Sanskrit these languages wield an inexhaustible mine to coin new words. Admittedly, there is one marked difference. In the last century and a half, Western languages have acquired a precise vocabulary, depicting all specific shades and hues; Indian languages are still wanting in this quality. Their coinage suffers from a lack of stability and precision. It is wrong to say that knowledge cannot be imparted through Indian languages.

12/Language

From his cradle to the grave an Indian is obliged to study various languages such as Hindi, Bengali, Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, English so on. Due to this ceaseless struggle to command the intricacies of a foreign language, his study of geography, history, economics, chemistry, mathematics and other sciences hardly attains perfection. His entire life is wasted in learning the English language. Unendingly trying to refine his language, he hardly tastes the

depth of subject. This is why our study of science, economics, politics, history, geography and other subjects is nothing but a cheap imitation.

14/Language

Rescue the Indian school boy, his mind and body, from the inhuman burden of English.

14/Language

Organizations like Samajvadi Yuvajan Sabha should launch a widespread campaign against English in schools.

14/Language

In a sense, our words have remained unused for the last 700 to 800 years, but specially the last 300 years, which were also the years of continuous development of the modern world i.e., of science and technology of agriculture and industry. In the last 300 years we were retarded in politics as also in the use of our languages, and these two things go together.

21/Language

If we are not getting a word and we are to express the thought, we should not waste our time trying to invent unintelligible equivalents. It will be foolish to do so. Come out in the language you and your audience can understand. It does not matter if a few such words of foreign origin are used. This poses the general issue. What to do when we do not find suitable words to express ourselves? First, generally you will get words in your own language, secondly, if you are not getting it precisely and time is being wasted, then there is no harm in using a foreign word which has gained wide currency. This attitude should generally be applied to scientific matters.

22/Language

Foreign words also have a way of their own of getting rounded. This takes place through the talk of the unsophisticated villagers but not through the educated man of the city. The educated man is ever twisting his natural tongue, in order to adapt it to the foreign words. But the villager twists the alien words so that it fits into his indigenous phonetics. That is how unsophisticated and illiterate people create language, as they create so many other things.

23/Language

When a judge of a High Court heard me saying magister, he thought I was ridiculing. After listening for an hour or so he asked me why I did not say magistrate. I was amused to think that he had not spoken out. I, however, explained to him that I was speaking in Hindustani. In Hindustani 'magistrate' becomes magister. Lakhs and crores of Indians who are concerned with law courts have coined the word out of the English original.

23/Language

Lohia in his own words

Similarly, at one time Arabic was the language of about one half of the world for some 100-150 years and then it was beaten back. French, likewise, had its time. English also has its time, and that is soon coming to an end. If the world is not on its guard a Russian age may come in thirty to forty years.

25/Language

Russian not English is the second language in China, and in Eastern Europe too. Russian reigns and not English, also in some parts of Asia, e.g. Vietnam and North Korea. Languages go with power. Whoever possessed salt, oil, butter, rice, guns, tanks and hydrogen bombs can also spread his language. And then slaves and servants start praising its richness and vastness.

25/Language

It's true that Gandhiji's disciples have resorted to firing oftener than what Chengiz Khan's men would have done. Chengiz Khan's men opened fire, when there were armless on both sides. Here in India, Gandhiji's followers, and not one finds Marx's followers, fire on unarmed men.

28-29/Language

Firing is not resorted to daily. It is done when the rulers think that the masses are stirring up and may take a turn, then they fire to set things right. But, the daily repression is carried out with the weapon of language. They speak in a language which the masses, keepers, clerks and such other illiterate masses thereby develop an inferiority complex. This is the root cause of India's degeneration.

29/Language

I am ashamed that representatives of the Indian people in the Lok Sabha in Delhi deliver speeches in English. I have never been inside that building. I have seen it only from outside. But I know that it is a place of sacrilege and dirty laws of India are made there in the English language. They call it democracy. How can there be democracy when the work of the Government is not done in people's language? It is slavery which functions through the language of the people. If a member cannot speak in Hindustani, he or she should speak in Bengali or Telugu or Tamil, but not in English.

31-32/Language

I feel equally angry when I see only English and Hindi being on money-order forms or post office sign-boards. The present-day rulers are either great fools or great scoundrels, who deliberately want people to fight each other.

32-33/Language

I do not know much about the conservative protagonists of Hindi like the Hindi Prachar Sabha etc. But I must say that those supporters of Hindi who depend on the government of Delhi, and wish to raise Hindi by putting it alongside English are, really speaking, not supporters of Hindi but of part of the feudal ruling class. They wish to be among the privileged 30 lakhs and rule over the people. These protagonists of Hindi are doing immense harm to the cause of Hindi, if they do not understand that Bengali, Telugu, Tamil etc. have to live as sister languages.

34/Language

I have not so far been a Hindi fanatic. In fact, I have gone so far as to accept Tamil as a central language however unwillingly, should the people of Tamilnadu in their error insist upon it.

46/Language

English is an elegant language in its own sphere, not as spruce as French, not as deep as German but more competent, inclusive and generous. When we say 'banish English' we certainly do not wish to banish it from England or America not even from India's colleges, if it is an optional subject. There is no question of banishing it from the libraries.

58/Language

India is the only civilized country in the world assuming that we are civilized, with an ancient way of life that refuses to die, which runs its legislature, courts, laboratories, factories, telegraph, railways and almost all government and other public activities in a language which 99% of the people do not understand.

58-59/ Language

To industrialise, India needs an army of at least 10 lakhs engineers and scientists and a crore of foremen or maisteries. Anybody who thinks that this army can be created with the medium of English is either a knave or a fool.

69/Language

The Indian people are caught in the grip of a scissors one of whose blades is the coastal cry of Hindi imperialism and the other the mid-land's cry of the country's disintegration.

61/Language

The upper classes of both areas want to retain English. The coastal upper classes mislead their masses by raising the cry of Hindi imperialism. The midland's upper classes mislead their masses by raising the cry of national disintegration.

61/Language

One often hears orations that the people should be weaned away from their affection for English. We are advised to seek to change the mentality of the people rather than the attitude of the government. This advice is ridiculous. As long as prestige and power and money

go with the English language, it will be foolhardy to expect a parent who can afford it not to give his child an English education.

62/Language

The bifurcation of Delhi into two departments of Hindi and English is a last remedy, but one which must be applied here and now, unless the coast lands must agree on any of the earlier formulae.

63/Language

A multi-lingual centre has also been contemplated. I have always wondered why Tamil or Bengali should not have been permitted to be spoken in the Indian Parliament and Hindi translations made through earphones. I would here recommend to the people of the midlands not to bother about what happens in the coastlands. Appeal to accept Hindi must be given up, for it only leads to further irritation and embitterment.

63/Language

Hindi fanatics like Seth Govind Das and Mr. Ganga Saran Sinha as well as English fanatics like Mr. Nehru and Mr. Dahyabhai Patel, who go out of their way to denounce Socialist legislators for their action at the joint sessions of the parliament, are equally unable to understand the problem of language in the country. The war of the Socialist Party on English is for the sake of the mother tongue, which means Oriya, Bengali, Tamil and Telugu, as much as Hindi. India's misery and shame against China is due to many reasons not the least important of which is language. China has progressed far more than India in industry, science, knowledge, technology because of the use of mother tongue or people's language. The use of English, the language of minority rule means exploitation in our own country.

69/Language

We wanted the President to speak Telugu or Tamil, if he knows that better. We had wanted the U.P. Governor to speak Oriya. It is a deliberate lie to say and keep on saying that we had wanted these men to speak Hindi.

69/Language

I must state with grief that the only element loyal to the Constitution is the Socialist Party. But it realises that aversion to Hindi has gone quite far in the non-Hindi states. To persuade their ruling and middle classes to accept Hindi ever is the sheerest of lunacy. The Socialist Party is therefore tackling this problem from the viewpoint of the mother tongue. Let the mother tongue prevail.

70/Language

The coastal states may have their choice from among three alternatives, multi-lingual centre, Hindi centre with safeguards and bifurcated centre. Let Hindi go to hell, I am not so much concerned with it. English must go.

Speech 1960

The Indian Farmer and the Economy

To laws and practices of land-ownership must primarily be traced the inertia and selfishness of Indian character, the low level of agricultural production, poverty and the incapacity to act. Those who work on land are caught up in a prickly forest of laws and practices which press on them and leave them no time, nor/ taste except to protect their marginal livelihood. The division of land workers into landlords of various size and types, tenants, sub-tenants, of various removes and holdings, agricultural labourers of registered and landless labourers and artisans has, in conjunction with the (in support table) pressure on land, produced in the village a war of each against all. No one thinks of improvements. Everyone thinks of his own share. A snatch and grab from a larder that does not increase but whose shares increase continually becomes the dominating feature of life. The mind is palsied, greed and fear prevail and the search for individual uplift and security loses its direction because no one seeks for general uplift and welfare.

57/ Fragments of a World Mind

The five year Plan is a monstrosity except in one sphere, that is, the construction of dams and river training projects, in the end this plan will not bring about an increase in the standard of living of the people of India or even give them substantial industrial or agricultural base. A large scale famine is unavoidable unless this Plan is replaced by another.

132/ Will To Power

The drain of capital out of India is through illegal means and mainly through foreign trade. Lately, foreign trade has presented a strange story. Government policy has, perhaps, been of allowing enough cosmetics to be imported to keep the people happy. Till now we have been drawing on our resources, and therefore, the full impact of this suicidal policy will not be felt till the sterling balances are exhausted. Nationalisation of foreign assets is essential for the industrial development of the country, but this has not yet been taken in hand.

75-76/ Fragments of a World Mind

Unemployment, widespread in the country, is of two kinds. There are people who are completely idle; there are others who have no sufficient work to do, even though employed. Utilisation of idle hours will perhaps be the greatest objective of successful government. This is impossible of accomplishment on the basis of money payment. It could only be done on a voluntary basis. If people would feel themselves the owners of fields and factories, this feeling would bring them the realisation that their personal gains are possible through social activity alone. In addition to the 7 or 8 hours work for their livelihood, they could volunteer to work on every day for the nation.

80-81/Fragments of a World Mind

It is sinful to be idle spectators of the collapse of the nation. It becomes essential to declare oneself a fighter against injustice. If the people express themselves in a peaceful manner the government shall have to act according to the wishes of the people; also the Government itself shall be changed. But change of government cannot be the objective of Satyagraha; the demand will be for a change of policy.

86/ Fragments of a World Mind

Adulteration is the keynote of Indian life. Food is adulterated and so is oil and ghee and all mutual dealings are adulterated. No one can be quite sure about anything except that falsity and bribery are almost a part of every transaction. In such a national situation many men are losing faith in political changes and insist on raising up character as a prerequisite for everything else.

How is a character is to be built? In the situation that exists today, the greatest danger to character comes from greed and big money, wasteful expenditure and the social prestige that is falsely associated with it. Men want money; those at the top want more of it in order to maintain themselves in luxury and prestige and those at the bottom want a little bit more so as to fill their belly. The attack on greed must therefore take place at the top. This is the only way to rid the population of its present obsession with money.

94/ Fragments of a World Mind

Total loss of national character and austerity conditions prevailing in the country dictate such a ceiling on people's incomes and expenditures. That is the only way to make people think and feel along lines of general uplift in place of their present obsession with individual uplift. No amount of religion or education can achieve this diverting of people's attention from individual uplift to general uplift unless the law steps in and makes punishable all spending above Rs. 1,000/- per family. Once this is done prices will fall, habits will change, speculation will no longer be useful and education or religion can then step in to root out other remnants of falsity and bribery.

95/ Fragments of a World Mind

Education is at present built up on the same premises as the general falsity of Indian character. It neither trains the person's mind nor equips him for living. An increasing shift from barren education into the subjects known as Polytechnic or technical education is required. Parents and sons and daughters will heave a sigh of relief at such a shift.

95/ Fragments of a World Mind

What the spinning wheel was to the freedom movement, the spade is to the socialist movement. Around the spade can revolve a myriad of constructive activities so as to do some concrete good however small, and to awaken trust.

103/ Fragments of a World Mind

Groupism would be an inevitable accompaniment to the evils earlier outlined. Things are falling apart, instead of holding together. India is caught up in a centrifugal phase. The Socialist Party is also a victim to it. Party splits into groups which further split into sub-groups, standards of behaviour do not exist, an empty battle for power that is yet to come starts and all is fair in this battle; Socialists, like other sections of the Indian people, are rapidly unlearning the art of living together and striving together. The wells of sympathy are drying up. Where there is no sympathy, all is a pretty squabble and arid waste.

105-106/ Fragments of a World Mind

Socialists are quite good debaters, also theoreticians, although of an indifferent variety, but they are seldom competent. Very few try to train themselves up for their future calling; they do not prepare themselves. They do not study conditions of soil or water, nor possibilities of dairying or small-unit industry, nor trade in their respective areas. Of any serious concern with habits of thinking and culture, there is but little. Training for competence would be an antidote against groupism as much as it would restore political faith of the people.

106/ Fragments of a World Mind

Peasant aspirations have crystallised during the past two years and, in particular, since the inception of the Kisan Panchayats a year ago. Vast masses of farmers all over the country have summed up their wrongs and their desires in the will to achieve six aims:

- Land to the tiller by immediate decree
- Land army for uncultivated tracts
- Industrialisation through small-unit machines
- Re-division of land with the minimum of 20 bighas and a cow for family.
- Parity between agricultural and industrial prices, and
- The four-pillar state.

Although the voice of peasant India, these aims are not at all sectional, but relate to the general wellbeing of the people as a whole.

56-57/ Fragments of a World Mind

The only solution for the land problem in India with regard to its aspect of ownership would be to think boldly and act courageously. Those who actually till the land must be made secure masters of their harvest. This simple principle has to be legislated. Further legislation may come in its own time. But the simple thing here and now is to secure the harvest to the actual tiller of land.

58/ Fragments of a World Mind

Smaller landlords may be assured of rehabilitation compensation through another proclamation.

58/ Fragments of a World Mind

Some people would prefer to call this revolution rather than legislation. I do not mind what word is used, if the fear of insecurity and the corresponding greed that is born out of it are removed and an active mood for general improvements replaces the present struggle for a miserable living. The village today is a vast battleground of craven intrigues to save one's own plot or to seize another man's. This satanic war must end so that men's minds are enabled to think clearly.

58-59/ Fragments of a World Mind

Litigation, a major curse of the village, will be reduced after the application of this principle.

59/ Fragments of a World Mind

Considerable numbers without means of livelihood in the village also in town may be absorbed in the food army of uncultivated tracts. Undoubtedly, nearly a 100 million acres of cultivable land can be brought under the plough without doing any damage whatever to necessary forests and conditions of soil and climate. These cultivable tracts, however, lie largely in mass, away from settled villages and are not likely to yield immediate profit.

59/ Fragments of a World Mind

A food army recruited by the state and fed, clothed and housed by the state provides the only answer.

59/ Fragments of a World Mind

With immeasurably greater resources in manpower and land, the food army in India should be able to bring at least 10 million acres of land under the plough per year for a period of two years.

59/ Fragments of a World Mind

To feed the hungry millions of India, there is no other way; within a year or two of the inception of the food army, India will become self-sufficient in food. Again, the spectre of retrenchment and unemployment that hangs over vast numbers in towns and villages can be laid low by their recruitment into the food army.

60/ Fragments of a World Mind

Among benefits accruing from the food army would be not only the solution of immediate problems of food and employment but also the introduction of dynamic elements into the social structure and agricultural economy of our people. One can well imagine the effect of joint working on a project of peace by various castes and creeds on the social structure. It will be democratised in an enduring way.

61/ Fragments of a World Mind

The rate of capital investments per man ranges from Rs.100/- in India to Rs. 3,000/- in West Europe and nearly Rs. 8,000/- in the United States. Invitations to the Indian people to produce more wealth without equipping them with better tools may lead to certain virtuositities in advertising but nothing more.

62/ Fragments of a World Mind

India cannot for many decades to come realise the capital investments to the European level. She may not be able even to make a beginning if she plans her economic development on the large scale basis. Her only hope is spirit of inventiveness in the sphere of small machinery. Perhaps this compulsion to plan small-unit machinery is also desirable from a cultural and world viewpoint.

64/ Fragments of a World Mind

Scientists and technicians of India hold the key to the future of underdeveloped territories and, therefore, to the future of the world; they have not yet begun wielding the key. They have shown little skill or few opportunities have been available to them in the development of heavy and chemical industries. They have absolutely no record of inventions and they shall not have it, until they direct their energies into the sphere of small-unit techniques.

64/ Fragments of a World Mind

The system of overseas studies for Indian students will have to be planned and state-controlled, at least in the initial stages, so that public and private money is not wasted on futile subjects.

64/Fragments of a World Mind

Again, the practice of encouraging research on any odd subject, in any fanciful sphere, will have to be abandoned and a systematic planning of research, particularly for basic industries and small machines, carried out.

64-65/ Fragments of a World Mind

Villages and towns of our country have abundant raw material of various kinds. It is being wasted. Its processing and manufacture would be possible only when small machinery is available. I foresee the time when over all our country, in towns and villages, will be spread millions of little power-driven machines for producing wealth and easing the pressure on land.

64/Fragments of a World Mind

After acceptance of the principle that the tiller is the master of his harvest, re-division of land becomes inevitable. A ceiling of 30 acres must be fixed so that a family is unable to own more than thirty acres of land. Both the family and the acreage have to be measured in average; an acre means an acre of average fertility of five.

65/Fragments of a World Mind

If the total affairs of a country cannot be simplified so as to achieve the active participation of the common man, they have to be cut up in small and yet smaller quantities. Federalism must go whole hog. Sovereign power must not reside alone in centre and federating units. It must be broken up and diffused over the smallest region where a group of men and women live. The next great advance in constitution-making will be when a country frames its constitution on the basis of the four pillars of equal majesty and dignity. The Constituent Assembly of India might have done it. It missed its opportunity. It contended itself with a potpourri of European and American constitutions and the Government of India Act which foreign rule had framed.

70/Fragments of a World Mind

The four-pillar state is obviously not a mere executive arrangement. It is not as if superior parliaments legislate and the village and district organs are left with the execution of the laws. The four-pillar state is both a legislative and an executive arrangement. It is a way of life and to all spheres of human activity, for instance, production, ownership, administration, planning education and the like, the four-pillar state provides a structure and a way. The commonality of a state is to be so organised and sovereign power so diffused that each little community in it lives the way of life that it chooses. Through these various ways of life must indeed run a common bond strong enough to band the numerous communities into a state. How strong must these various bonds be in their four-pillar order must be left for time to determine.

70/71 Fragments of a World Mind

It may be permitted to indicate certain illustrations of the four-pillar state which may or may not turn out to be valid in practice but which are adequate pointers of direction and policy.

The armed forces of the state may be controlled by the centre, the armed police by the province, but all other police may be brought under district and village control. While industries like the railways or iron and steel may be controlled by the centre, the small unit textile industry of the future may be left to district and village ownership and management. While price fixing may be a centre subject, the structure of agriculture and the ratio of capital and labour in it may be left to the choice of the district and the village. Several departments which are at present run by state government through their servants, for example, those for Co-operative Societies, rural and agricultural development, a substantial part of irrigation, seeds, revenue collecting and the like may be transferred to the village and the district. I need not add that a substantial part of state revenues should stay with the village, the district, as in the case of U.P., anywhere between 15 to 20 crores out of total state revenue of over 60 crores should by right belong to the village and the district.

71-72/Fragments of a World Mind

Lohia in his own words

Democracy can bring warmth to the blood of the common man only when constitutional theory starts practicing the state of four limbs, the village, the district, the province and the centre.

4/Fragments of a World Mind

The time is ripe to add a fifth limb to the state, at least in theory, for a world centre is an urgent necessity.

4/Fragments of a World Mind

The price factor in agriculture is decisive. Prices of agricultural produce are normally low and the terms of trade are unfavourable to agriculture.

66/Fragments of a World Mind

The principles of parity between agricultural and industrial prices does justice to all sections of the population and ensure production and well-being.

671/Fragments of a World Mind

The following are the thirteen points of the plan:

- ✓ Lowering of prices on the basis of parity between agricultural and industrial prices.
- ✓ Austerity and sacrifice to be shared by all so that no income or salary exceeds Rs. 1,000 a month.
- ✓ Industrialisation with the help of small-unit machines, the invention and manufacture of which to be promoted by the state and organisation of multi-purpose co-operatives of the producers.
- ✓ Any factory running below capacity to be taken over by the State and immediate nationalisation of basic industries.
- ✓ Anti-corruption commissioners in every state and at the centre with departments independent of the Government.
- ✓ Land to the tiller and immediate re-division of land so as to plan a maximum of 30 and a minimum of 12 ½ acres per family. Stoppage of ejections from land or homesteads. Cancellation of all agricultural debts.
- ✓ Cultivation of one crore acres of new land by a state-recruited land army and to devise necessary means for a proper feeding and binding of cattle.
- ✓ Decentralisation of administration and economy so as to achieve the four-pillar state. Repeal of discriminatory laws such as tribal law, civil liberties and equal treatment by the government to trade unions, peasant and other organisations. Administration of economic controls by appropriate organs of the four-pillar state.
- ✓ Housing programmes and other economic activity to provide full employment.
- ✓ Establishment of polytechnic schools and people's high-schools and centres for youth and women and for cultural activities.
- ✓ Immediate adult franchise elections in unrepresented areas, that is, merged states and unions.
- ✓ Pursuit of a positive policy of world peace through promotion of full freedom and rights for all nations, social and economic equality among people and between peoples, and a peace block which can dictate truce to warring power blocks.
- ✓ Volunteer bands for agriculture, irrigation, road-making and the like.

09-110/Fragments, of a World Mind

On Organisation, Struggle and the Will to Power

Not the ultimate use but the continuing organization of violence or non-violence should be the central theme of the debate on revolutionary outbreaks. While a revolution may regrettably erupt into violence in its last stages, particularly when a decaying government seeks to dispense with democratic forms, participants in a revolution must definitely resolve to organise on the continuing base of peaceful methods.

431/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

No free and democratic government has in all the history of the world, opened fire on its own people as often as the Indian Government have. The land of non-violence and Mahatma Gandhi seems determined to hold the record in the matter of police firing upon the people and deaths resulting therefrom. To bewail such a situation and to condemn or abuse guilty governments is not enough. Nor is it rational to throw the blame on crowds and charge them of lawlessness, when against several hundred persons killed by the government not more than a policeman or two have been killed by crowds. Governments have undoubtedly acted like maniacs. Even so, a more satisfactory explanation than a simple accusation is wanted of the extraordinary conduct of governments which claim to be the inheritors of Gandhi.

433/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

For the first time in the world, the weapon of civil disobedience which had been in use by great men from Socrates to Thoreau was put into the hands of whole masses of men by Mahatma Gandhi. Human history probably turned a wholly new leaf and free India's governments were indeed attempting an almost impossible reaction by trying to tear the page away. The people have sometimes practiced civil disobedience for wrong causes and they have also allowed it at times to degenerate into petty scuffles of stoning or burning. There was no force at hand to keep the people straight. But that would neither justify nor explain the killings by the government.

433/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

A serious misunderstanding in connection with civil disturbance has arisen. Some educated persons believe that to practise civil resistance habitually would be to live in a state of permanent lawlessness. Some judges also hold this view. But lawlessness must be strictly and juridically examined and vulgar opinions should not be allowed to mar its interpretation or to imperil the future of the human race. Not even wildest practice of civil resistance can affect public order or state security. The threat may of course be there. The danger may exist of the people erupting into acts of violence or armed struggle. But, until that happens and as long as an organisation is professedly content to methods of peace, lawlessness arising out of most massive civil resistance must always be sharply distinguished from uncivil lawlessness. The answer to it should never go beyond arrest and imprisonment.

437/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Lohia in his own words

A state that owes its birth to civil resistance should at least understand this doctrine. A civil resister, both individual and collective, may of course be working for an unjust cause, but, as long as he confines himself to methods of peace he harms no one but himself. The society is never harmed by the practice of civil resistance.

338/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

An opposition party will come into existence only when it adopts comprehensive varied aims, is prepared to evolve a social outlook that sees the connection among isolated acts, undertakes action on all fronts and is willing to lead the people effectively into civil defiance of all capitalistic and unjust laws and acts so that it may soon become the government in order to achieve a socialised agriculture and industry. Until such a party comes into being, all opposition to the government will be partial, floating and episodic and therefore, infrequently vulgar and pettily violent.

439-440/Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Eclipse of the sun or moon takes place and while these last in terms of minutes or hours, the awakening of a people may be somewhat obstructed by incompetent government in terms of years and decades but no more. The working men of India have awakened. Their forces are at work. Even in the midst of the dark hours of eclipse, they are laying down the basis for new constructions of society, for the abolition of princes and capitalists and high castes and inclusive of talent and of all which makes the association of men unfair and their chest narrow.

443/Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

The ideal appears in the human mind in two shapes. One is abstract and the other concrete. An abstract ideal has a concrete shape although it remains an ideal still. Sometimes it happens that a general ideal fails to get a concrete shape, and then it becomes meaningless. In order to convey a meaning an ideal has to have both of its forms, the abstract and the concrete. The abstract ideal relates to general desires. Democracy, justice, equality, and the ending of exploitation by man of man are such general ideals. They have powerfully motivated human minds. They are purely abstract and eternal, and change from time to time. Thus, the equality of the French revolution had a meaning different from what it has today. Thus, to the protagonist of these ideals they must have concrete shapes although the shapes may differ from time to time and place to place. It is only when ideal appears in a concrete shape that it can influence human action. During the French and Russian revolutions it was not the general ideal but its concrete contents, which of course have changed since then, that brought about the action. That one cannot live without the other and, if it does it sinks. In order to link the general ideal to the current reality, it must have a concrete image. The abstract must first be translated into the concrete in order to be standard for measuring the current reality.

211-212/Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

India seems at the moment to be passing through such a phase in her thought. She wallows in the slush of the generalized principles of socialism, equality, nonviolence, decentralization, and democracy. The Indian mind is making little effort to think out such concrete particulars as would turn this slush of generalized principles into firm ground. Generalized principles have thus become mere manners of speech.

213/Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

The absence of concrete images is primarily responsible for the ideological crisis in our politics. We have been repeatedly told that there are no ideological differences between Congressmen and Socialists. This seems to be true if we consider the highly abstract ideal alone, and the reasoning can even be extended to prove that there are no ideological differences between us and many other parties, for who does not subscribe to the abstract ideals of democracy, equality, justice, and the like? Only when the concrete meaning that we put into these generalized concepts is brought to the fore do differences reveal themselves.

213-214/Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

To a person who truly accepts a principle, there is always a concrete image of that abstract principle. Only parasites can do without such an image.

214/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Whoever refuses to resist injustice peacefully, when other forms of agitation are not available or exhausted, becomes a party to it. To the extent that such potential SATYAGRAHIS INCREASE in a nation, to that extent is the nation free. The best defense of freedom is the readiness of individuals of primary units of organization to resist injustice.

345/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Apart from the political advantages of a struggle, it is difficult to believe that a genuine doctrine can stay unmoved in the face of an injustice and, whenever a doctrine does so, there is something lacking in it. A propagandist agitation against injustice, if it is not fake, must necessarily lead to resistance.

345/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

As the meaning of concepts such as equality and decentralization become clear, the meaningless craze to equate effective leadership with governmental authority or progress with all party cooperation would go. An opposition that puts clear meaning into the ruling concepts of the age through intense intellectual, constructive and combative action begins to dominate the affairs of the government even when out of it.

429/Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Socialists must overcome their corrupting aversion to reading.

344/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

The issue of force plays a large part in any socialist debate, and some socialists believe that ultimate overthrow of the existing order cannot be carried out except by force. This debate has proved harmful to the progress of the Socialist doctrine and movement. Whether the force is ultimately used or not is a secondary question, and the primary issue is whether to organize the people's will on the basis of peaceful struggles or otherwise. The distinguishing feature of a movement should be whether it advocates and organizes violence, and not whether it ultimately uses force.

346-347/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

A brief instant may be reached in the life of the people when the existing order rests alone on bayonets, and these bayonets are shaky, and the vast mass is determinedly striving for the new order in this brief moment, the people may well choose to exercise their majesty of war so as to end the agony of the old and give birth to the new. This will be spontaneous violence of the people displayed only for a brief moment. One may hope that even this may not be necessary. In any event, such a momentary display cannot become the enduring basis of a theory of organisation.

347/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Immediately the question of ideology is raised, some persons accept it to answer all the questions of life much in the same way as Catholicism or collective political and economic conduct, it need not aspire to become a total ideology, which embraces life in its entirety and has an answer for reference on every question.

428/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

A main defect of Socialist agitation is to look upon themselves as teachers of the people, and they must realize that they are students as well. A two-way relationship of student and teacher should be established between the people and the Party.

349/Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

A Socialist movement without the active participation of women is like a wedding without the bride. Not only are women ultimately responsible for the health of the race and the growth of the new generation, they are also the chief support of a movement for peaceful resistance. Every six out of ten men, but every eight out of ten women are today undernourished. The Socialist Party and the women of India may both ponder the need of coming together.

350/Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Socialists must also learn to appreciate the principle of withdrawal. Withdrawal is not necessarily permanent; it may be temporary or from certain spheres.

353/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Lohia in his own words

The principle of temporary withdrawals will give freshness and zest to political life. New men will get trained; they will express their zest and also become responsible. This will minimise the chance of organizational disputes over personnel of executives turning into ideological disputes. People will cease to fight an unreal and disastrous battle of ideas, when they are actually fighting a battle of organization.

353/Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

In the long run, the Congress Party is, without a doubt, superior to the Communist Party, for one may reasonably expect it to act democratically and nationally within certain limits. In the short run, however, the Congress Party is the party of famine and corruption and disguised capitalism. Socialist support extended to such a party would defeat the very purpose for which it was intended. Such a policy of support would disable the Party from organizing the people's will and combating injustices.

357-358/Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

There seems to be a spark in Acharya Vinoba Bhave which has already led to this massive expression of love in collective life and which may one day lead to an equally massive expression of anger.

362/Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Youth all over the world is distressed at the future of humanity and its own, Indian youth is particularly so. European and American youth are not so worried about their food and general standards of living as youth in India and other poor countries. They are indeed worried, but more at the threat of impending wars and at being unable to reform and make things beautiful. Indian youth has these worries and, in addition, those of food and housing.

198/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

The main revolution of our times is achieving equality between man and woman.

XXXII/Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

A revolution specific to our time aims at demolishing inequality spring from skin-colour. Aside from material handicaps of productivity or weapon power that belong to coloured skin, the impression prevails that beauty goes with fairness. Not least does this erroneous belief obtain in duski lands? This downgrading of coloured skin is certainly the result of white supremacy in the past four hundred years, at least in some measure. Political situations intertwine with aesthetic opinions of different lands in various ages. There was certainly a time in India when 'the dark one' was synonymous with a young and handsome damsel same as the fair one is today.

XXXVII/Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Lohia in his own words

Women's participation in collective life is exceedingly limited, also in Russia and America; which boast of having achieved equality between the sexes. Unequal employment practices are a very small expression of woman's inferior position, often insidiously concealed.

XXXIII/Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Barring some times and ages, when mother-in-law prevailed, man has ever been actuated by two contrasting impulses towards woman. He wants his woman to be bright, intelligent, and handsome and the rest, in short, a very living person. He wants her to be wholly his. Nobody can be wholly another's, unless she or he were reduced to the spiritual status of a tree or a dog. In the mind of the male, therefore, resides a grievous clash between wanting her to be his woman, as also alive and beautiful, therefore, to be free and at the same time unfree. Not unless this clash is resolved at least tentatively and pragmatically, can there be equal status for woman. Certain disadvantages of earlier ageing and bodily strength apply to woman and crust of customs centuries old 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.

XXVIII/Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Why do errors occur in understanding of the being and becoming? Between the image and the reality there always falls a shadow. The mind has its place always, and let no one believe that, merely by exercising the faculties of sight and taste and sound and so forth one has been able to get at the facts of a situation. This is always at play, and it permits the eye or the ear and other senses or agencies to perceive only that which it permits. There is a screen of the mind, and no matter what particular type of sociology or political philosophy one accepts, one cannot get away from this screen that the mind places before itself and which intervenes between the object and the subject. There can never be a true and complete comprehension of things, and if anybody thinks that mankind will ever be able to reach to complete knowledge is at the same time an expression of ignorance. Any student of physics or chemistry or history or sociology knows this. Not that the situation remains the same. The levels become different. We reach a different level of knowledge.

193/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

What may happen, for the first time on earth, is a joint endeavour of the human race to devise these new forms. That will be the latest intelligence and a consummation devoutly to be hoped. Who likes these continual shifts? At least not the Asians, who remember the ashen taste of having in the past sat on the peak points of history.

339/ Marx, Gandhi and socialism

Lohia in his own words

The will to power must indeed be a chaste and vigorous will, as far away from perversity as it should be from weakness. A healthy will does not make use of lies, deceit and violence. Only a frustrated will indulges in perverse conduct and is consumed by its own despair. At the same time, a will, whose vitality is at a low ebb, loses the power to move and stands still in the stream of events or is tossed about if it is not drowned.

4/ Will to Power

The will to power of a person or a party is best measured by the will to react to situations, old and new. The world abounds in men with delayed reactions or none at all. Challenges come to them, often even unnoticed.

4/ Will to Power

Let it not be forgotten that the will to construct and to cooperate is the other side of the will to agitate and combat and the two together make the will to power. Those who do not know how to construct can never know how to combat cleanly.

6/ Will to Power

Age youth are alike caught in a palsy. If the old are greedy and overbearing and tend to behave like warlords, the youth has little of its much talked idealism and practices intrigue and falsehood just as avidly, though not in so skilled fashion. This is a vice common to all politics in the country and not peculiar to the Praja Socialists. Where then is that faint ray of hope?

26/Will to Power

No party ever did great things unless it was prepared from time to time to face popular disapproval in the service of causes that displease the people, when they are fruitful.

136/ Will to Power

I should first of all like to point out that reform of one's political action should at best be regarded as an incidental outcome of other aims. A political party must set before itself the aim of its reform and strengthening, and that of the country.

136/Will to Power

I do not think there exists a clash between party interest and national interest unless the party has lost all its good content and is merely a ladder for mere power. A party inevitably arises when the existing ways have lost their value and a new way becomes necessary.

144/Will to Power

There is great need to appoint a commission for the purpose of framing programmes for the Party both when it is in office and when it is not, such programmes will be a political education of the people as a whole and of the party in particular.

149/ Will to Power

Lohia in his own words

It may be possible that when such a commission gets down to work what appear to be formidable theoretical differences may turn out to be very small differences in actual practice.

149/ Will to Power

Democratic victory can only come to a party which can sail through electoral reverses because of its patience and faith in the ultimate intelligence of the people.

165/ Will to Power

In the training of the socialist legislator, committee men or councilor I should emphasize three qualities – courage, consistency and skill. Out of these, consistency is undoubtedly the greatest quality and may easily be eclipsed both by errors of understanding and errors of emotion.

196/ Will to Power

To refine and enhance the other quality, that is courage, committee men of the Socialist Party should spend two months a year in jail and all councilors should take part at least in one mass campaign for justice and against poverty in the seven-year period. Only men, who habitually violate unjust laws when out of office, can frame good laws when in office.

196/ Will to Power

Socialist Party should be prepared to risk temporary unpopularity for great ideas. Social changes were never carried out by a party that did not possess the courage to become unpopular for the time being.

197/ Will to Power

On Gandhism, Violence & Non-Violence

The mind of modern civilization came to the end of its voyage some decades ago. The present century has known only one originator Mahatma Gandhi, and only one discovery, the atomic bomb.

335/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Whatever may have been the inadequacies of Gandhism as a governmental doctrine of doing good it was unmatched in all history as a people's doctrine of resisting evil. Civil disobedience both as individual's habit and collective resolve is armed reason, and anything else is either weak reason or unreasonable strength. Such civil disobedience is Gandhiji's direct gift to mankind.

XVII/Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Gandhism is today expressing itself in its two shoots, governmental and monastic. These governmental and monastic wings together comprise what is authoritatively accepted as Gandhism. Of heretical Gandhism, the time is not yet come to speak. Authoritative Gandhism has proved after victory to be mousy doctrine. All its teeth are out, giving rise to the doubt if it ever had any. Monastic Gandhism wholly depends for its being on governmental Gandhism. Governmental Gandhism does nothing. Both live a merry, contented, smug life, not devoid of luxury of a hierarchic kind.

II/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

The doctrine of means and ends has naturally much to do with the quality of Gandhi's action. Means and ends, according to the philosopher John Dewey, are more or less convertible. Means are ends in the short run and ends are means in the long run.

123/Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

One does not pay enough attention to the immediate steps that one undertakes, with the result that certain mysticism has begun to operate in collective life. When asked as to how an immediate and a particular act is related to the end in view, one is told 'wait for the next act, and when one has waited for the next act and is still waiting to get an answer, one is again told' "wait yet for the next act". The chain of acts goes on lengthening and no single act is a justification in itself. Its justification is continually sought in the succeeding act that never occurs, and the chain goes on lengthening, and in the name of truth and world peace, wickedness abounds.

123-124/Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Gandhism as opposition was revolutionary in its own fashion; as government, it is most staid respectable and colourlessly conservative. Marxism is revolutionary, of course within limits, both as opposition and government. Its revolutionary career is not obstructed or regulated by the fact of its being in government or otherwise. Such checks as it suffers from time to time on its dynamism derive principally on its warped understanding of ideological issues. The fact of its being in government had little relation with the loss of its fervour, which is result of other forces. In fact, Marxism is more revolutionary after it captures the government than when it is struggling for power, it must upset the old order of property, religion and other relationships. Not so with Gandhism for the Gandhi doctrine has behaved in government as it ought to do, no functions of its own to perform, Governmental Gandhism has made the list of its daily chores out of non-Gandhian books, the less upsetting the better, and designed to prove not that it governs differently but as well as any other doctrine. Gandhism in government is not at all upsetting, it lets everything live as of old or almost everything.

XII-XII/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

No government, not even a truly Gandhian one, can love those who resist it or its acts however civilly. Civil resisters must ever be ready to suffer government's displeasure when they transgress the law, they must be willing to take the consequences.

XVIII/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Civil resisters must not practice violence under any circumstances.

XVIII/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Since the discovery of thermo-nuclear fission and the invention of nuclear weapons, a new situation has emerged. Weapons have for the first time become useless. They can only destroy. They can destroy not only the enemy. They will destroy the enemy as well as oneself; for the enemy also possess the means of practically wholesale destruction.

XXIVII/Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

This system dare not be used. Its utility lies only upon the point that it is not used. Even that utility is dubious. To reassure oneself, to frighten the enemy and to impress the neutrals seem to be the only objectives of nuclear armaments.

XXIX/Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

If the nuclear system of weapons is not put into use during the rest of this century, the ordinary people of Russia, America as also their leaders are bound to ask themselves why they must pile up unusable things with such persistence that they must answer.

XXIX/Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

It is not enough to destroy nuclear weapons. All weapons must be destroyed. If the system of weapons remains, in however crude and ancient form, unless all other technology becomes equally crude, to gallop once again to nuclear weapons would only be a matter of months. The idea of destruction of weapons in their entirety does not lend itself to easy comprehension and analysis.

XXIX/XXX/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

How does a nation police itself without weapons? In the asking of this question lies the mystery of weapons and their future. On the one hand, the absurdity of a condition without weapons becomes patent, and on the other, the door is opened on a life without them. Men need weapons either to grab what others have or to hold what they possess, also small weapons. They need them in order to practice injustice or secure themselves against it. So, injustice is at the root of it. To abolish weapons is to abolish injustice and inequality. Either situation in its fullness seems absurd to contemplate. Then begins the need of weapons once again for tranquility, for internal order and against external foe.

Once the need has begun, the argument completes the circle at nuclear weapons and beyond. The question of futility arises again. Once again comes with a bang the answer of removal of injustice and inequality. This ideal condition of justice and equality, so patently absurd to the practical man of today, will soon enough become the only answer to armaments, nuclear or conventional. One need not bother about the marginal delinquents. If a society is otherwise just and equal, it will know how to keep its small fringe of delinquents in check even without weapons.

The point is how to achieve justice and equality. At first road block must be removed at once. The achievement of justice has been traditionally linked with the threat or use of weapons as indeed its slaughter. A way must be found to combat injustice without weapons. That way has already been found. In the act of civil disobedience lies the irresistible impulse of the man without weapons to justice and equality.

XXX/Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Individual civil disobedience is yet a rarity. It is difficult to contemplate the time when all men or most men will each of them singly and without organisation, all alone, and without anybody else to lean on, resist ferociously organised might with no weapon except their refusal to obey. When such a condition of habitual civil disobedience is difficult to contemplate against native authority, its possibility against the invader is yet no more than a dream.

XXX/Marx, Gandhi and socialism

Lohia in his own words

If even, one tenth of a people should ever become habitual and individual civil resisters against native tyranny, they could be reasonably expected to act as a good deterrent against invasion.

XXX/Marx, Gandhi and socialism

The crux of the matter is, therefore, individual and habitual civil resistance. The greatest revolution of our time is therefore a procedural revolution, removal of injustice through a mode of action characterized by justice.

Constitutional and orderly processes are often not enough.

XXX/Marx, Gandhi and socialism

I believe that parliament may not always prove to be a satisfactory agency of change, and I am not prepared to subscribe to the reactionary view of Engels that parliament is capable of achieving the revolution, particularly in the modern world where two-thirds of the world is so steeped in misery and poverty that parliamentary means will often be found to be inadequate. In India and of course, other similarly situated countries, the extent of underemployment, dismissal, starvation, and even deaths due to famine would indicate that to depend upon parliamentary means alone would be in the ultimate instance to defeat parliament.

126/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

If parliament and constitutional methods were the only way to achieve salvation, I have no doubt in my mind that two-thirds of the world, particularly Asia will rush to systems and creeds that believe in insurrection or violence of the dagger and the acid bulb. It is here that the third course of action suggested by Mahatma Gandhi comes to be singularly effective. It is not necessary for the people suffering from starvation or large-scale dismissals to depend on parliament or to wait expectantly for another general election. They have this priceless, matchless weapon, civil disobedience in their hands when injustice and oppression go beyond bearable bounds. When constitutional methods have proved incapable of achieving redress, it should be open to the people to violate unjust laws and wrongs and injustices that are inflicted upon them.

127/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

I believe that it is silly to be a Gandhian or Marxist and it is equally so to be an anti-Gandhian or anti-Marxist. There are priceless treasures to learn from Gandhi as from Marx, but the learning can only be done when the frame of reference does not derive from an age or a person. Researches must still inquire into a man's thought, particularly if the man is Marx or Gandhi.

I/ Marx, Gandhi and socialism

Lohia in his own words

I have asked for the bomb, if it were available, I may not use the bullet for victory over another's home, but, when my own country is attacked, I would not hesitate to use any weapon that is necessary and available.

XXXX/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

The seventh revolution aims at protecting privacy against encroachment by the collective. The individual weakening of national will is caused by their un-integrated talk. But that is happening in India. Keepers of armed forces and their Gandhian priests talk intermittently of sentimental non-violence.

XXXXII/Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

The existing civilization is the producer of poverty, fear, and war. About that there can be no doubt, however much one part of it may accuse the other. America may accuse Russia and Russia may accuse America. Communism may demonize capitalism, but the patent fact remains that these two systems, in spite of 40 years of simultaneous existence as powerful systems of governmental positions of mankind--as theories one has existed for more than 100 years and other for nearly 300 years, as powerful systems of government one for 40 years and the other for over 100 years--these systems have been unable to alleviate even by a small measure these three poisonous portions of mankind: poverty, war and fear.

187/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

It is always good to want to change the heart of the well-placed, the exploiters and oppressors, but much more necessary is it to change the heart of the weak and the lowly, the exploited and the oppressed. A sterile Gandhism has come into existence which concentrates almost exclusively on changing the heart of the well-placed to the utter neglect of change of the poor man's heart. The millions of India and the world, who alternate between long term submission as tamed animals and short-term ferocity of the tiger in their futile effort to combat tyranny, must change their heart into ordinary and simple human behaviour through continual practice of civil disobedience.

427/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

I am being accused of propagating violence these days. No, I should like to maintain non-violence. But if the only way to save ourselves from this cruel, inhuman, barbaric violence is that we take to organised violence, I would be willing to use it.

Mankind, Sept.1966

In history the hand of the murderer has already worked both ways. Today it is on the side of the government acting against the people. It killed in Bengal, it killed in Bastar, as it had killed in Kharaswan eighteen years ago.

Mankind, Sept. 1966

Lohia in his own words

I am willing to consider organised violence. But it can't be organised in a day. If we begin to think about it now, it will take six months or a year for all the parties, particularly the SSP, to consider the whole question. That is a long-term proposition, but in any case, we have to think of how to stop the cruel and inhuman murders. The government is cruel and inhuman. It seems a little inappropriate to call it barbaric, for I expect somewhat better conduct from wild animals, like lions and tigers. But, let us leave that for the moment. The question we have to face is, what are we to do when a crowd or a part of it locks up human beings in a house or a shop and tries to burn them alive.

Mankind, Sept. 1966

The assassin's hand is hitting out everywhere. I am not afraid for myself, but sometimes I feel that it is coming towards me. If this hand is not stopped and the people do not strive with us to stop it, then let all of us beware that the assassin's hand does not hit only in one direction. I am not saying this with any pleasure. I say it only as a student of history trying to look into the future. The assassin's hand will not stop. I can see it approaching and I do not know where and whom it will strike in two months or two years or five years. But the assassin's hand is approaching the head and neck of the Prime Minister, the Home Minister, and other Ministers of the Government.

Mankind, Sept.1966

On Foreign Policy

Should foreign policy ever become objective and acquire clear present and immediate aims, it would strive for, first Indo-Pakistan confederation and secondly Tibetan freedom. The Russia-American alliance should not be averse to these two aims. In fact, it would welcome them, the moment it became aware of the true situation its own interests and the needs of world peace. In order that this may happen, India would have to display an idealistic realism far above any one has done so far.

Foreword: 1 Foreign Policy

When the issue of India's integrity is at stake, debate is cleverly veered to non-alignment, as though to secure non-alignment integrity could be risked. The real situation is that neither has been risked. India has never really non-aligned. Nor is she so today. She has merely been playing a great power game with chips of no value and calling the clever alternation, of her favours and services between the Atlantics and the Soviets, non-alignment. The Indian Government had in fact divided itself up into two wings, one that aligned with the Soviets, and the other with the Atlantics, in the hope that alignment in two different directions would result in alignment. This cup will have to be drunk to its bitter drugs.

Foreword: 4-5/Foreign Policy

What use is that non-violence, unless it shows us a way to resist the violators of our frontiers and land. So far, its authorised votaries have talked more hot air than any other group. Today, we have no choice. We may have it tomorrow. A country whose frontiers and territories are threatened, if it keeps armed forces and uses them, must take all types of military assistance from wherever it can get them.

Foreword: 6/Foreign Policy

The crisis of foreign policy anywhere is today the crisis of human civilisation. And no Government in the world is pursuing its foreign policy so as to solve this crisis of human civilisation.

1/ Foreign Policy

India must go through a revolution of the mind deeper than any she has known before. She must know that the Indian Renaissance is yet to come and to the extent that it has taken place, its father was not the rich, English-speaking, fair-skinned Raja Rammohan Roy, but the poor, the commonly dressed, dark Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar. India must abandon her craze for and respect for a fake aristocracy.

172/ Foreign Policy

Lohia in his own words

The practice of democratic and decentralized socialism can alone secure this entire territory doxologically and economically, while a series of mutual assistance pacts would provide it some armed security.

279/ Foreign Policy

The Socialist party would also like India to obtain entire freedom of action by stepping out of such a move – Commonwealth. India must be a friend of Britain as of other countries, but not its relation.

281/ Foreign Policy

The fairest and the most frigid hills of mankind are warming up. On both sides of the mighty Himalayas, around 80 million people are astir and their old stability is gone. Warring ideas and armies are competing for their souls and, should they lose their freedom or fall under the influence of other people, they as well as the world will lose and the Himalayas will cease to be the traditional sentry of India.

From Afghanistan to Burma over Tibet and Nepal spread these people who are tempting missionaries of the idea and the sword. Beyond are the Russians and the Chinese and somewhat uncertain peoples like those in Sinkiang. All these are bearers of the Soviet idea and sword, at least for the present. What yet remains to decide, therefore, is the fact of Afghanistan, Tibet, Nepal and Burma.

A peculiar feature of these territories and peoples may be noted. Corresponding to each one of them is a territory and a people closely related to them on the Indian side of the Himalayan frontier, thus, the tribal areas at both ends and the Pathans of the Tibeto-Burmans of the east and, in between, Indians of Nepal ancestry as well as Tibetan such as those in Sikkim and Bhutan. A responsive relationship between these allied groups on both sides of the Himalayas exists. This provides an instrument of state policy to whoever can get hold of one group or the other.

165/ Fragments of a World Mind

Pakistan is a bit of India torn away from her on 15th August, 1947 and constituted into a separate state. This would indicate clearly that India-Pakistan relations are as much a matter of internal as external policies with the two territories.

126/ Fragments of a World Mind

Whether Pakistan will endure will ultimately rest on the solution of question that has vexed the Indian people for 700 years and more.

126/ Fragments of a World Mind

Are the Hindus and Muslims of India two Nations or do they constitute one nation? Seven hundred years of Indian history have been of two minds over this question and a continual settling of answers has taken place. Brave efforts have been to melt the two faiths into the political communion of one nation and they have often come within an ace of success. But the irritant of difference in faith has been too strong for the melting pot to settle down and fanatical fires have as often posed the question over again. One outcome is nevertheless undisputed. The Muslim of India including Pakistan has greater affinity with the Hindu than with any other national including the Muslims of other lands. Likewise, the Hindu of India is related with the Muslim of his land more than with any other national.

126/ Fragments of a World Mind

No matter what happens, the Indian people must determine not to treat the minority in India or allow the minority in Pakistan to be treated as pawns and slaughter material in a game of politics played on other fields.

132/ Fragments of a World Mind

Certain groups of Hindus are also pursuing their separatist inclinations. In a burst of un-cultured revivalism, they want to miss the substance for such empty satisfactions as naming their country Bharat. They are also inclined to give up words, most of who are derived from Sanskrit, which have been rounded off by the wisdom of centuries into simple and sonorous symbols of meaning. Islam came to India as a conqueror and such Hindus have not yet grown viral enough to conquer the memory of that period. They are anti-Muslim, must necessarily be pro-Pakistan and anyone who wishes the end of the Pakistani idea must necessarily be pro-Muslim. These people might well be astounded when they are told what they really are. They probably imagine that a powerful Hindu Raj, which treats Muslims as second grade citizens and worse, will one day conquer and subjugate Pakistan and they therefore resent being called friends of Pakistan. That day indeed may never occur, not at least on the basis of conquest and subjugation. Meanwhile, they give succor and support to Pakistan with their separatist action and are therefore her friends.

140-141/ Fragments of A World Mind

To Pakistan, What seems decisive is the desire for military superiority over India; probably, also because of its frustrated efforts to reach a settlement on Kashmir, Pakistan is presumably willing to risk all objects to this single-minded pursuit of armed superiority over India. With such attitudes of the U. S. and Pakistan governments, the people of Asia including the people of Pakistan should have nothing to aim, for they would otherwise reduce themselves into coloured mercenaries of white powers.

95-69/ Will to Power

Lohia in his own words

I am troubled about the future and that future relates not so much to Kashmir or the Indo-Pakistan relationship as the Hindu-Muslim relationship. In the ultimate instance, India belongs to Pakistan as much as Pakistan belongs to India and it is a tragic failure of Indo-Pakistan statesmanship that foreign powers will perhaps be able to intrigue in an independent Kashmir Valley. Very much more tragic may be the impact of the Kashmir failure on Hindu-Muslim relationship.

170-71/ Will to Power

All Asian Governments must try to maintain correct diplomatic and wherever possible friendly relations with the Peking Government. But this should under no circumstances involve distortion or even silence which in some ways is worse.

290/Foreign Policy

The Chinese are ancient and great and I have nowhere seen a finer texture of skin or sensed a greater suppleness of minds. Between the people of India and China the ties of traditional friendship must stay and their Governments, however one may judge them, strive to observe correct relations.

292/ Foreign Policy

As a world body, the U.N. must be replaced by a world parliament, which no more amendments in the U.N. charter can achieve. Human democracy will continue restricted as long as the adult vote determines and elects a national parliament without in any way determining and electing a world parliament. The powers of such a world parliament should not be difficult to draw up and they may be restricted to the right to impose peace and to help in world reconstruction.

76-77 /Will to Power

The world today, and the U.N. as a reflection of it, is the result of the past four hundred years of relations between the one third, which is developed and two-thirds which is under-developed of the world. I do not have to analyse the U.N. You know that practically three-fourths of the executive committee of the U.N. is held by the advanced economics. In the General Assembly, sixty percent of the voting power is in their hands. So there is gross inequality in the structure of the U. N.

58/Will to Power

Government of the people, by the people, for the people will be possible for the first time on earth when government of the commune, by the commune, for the commune on the one hand and government of mankind, for mankind on the other are brought into existence.

61-62/Wheel of History

Lohia in his own words

A world government would stultify itself unless it established an international pool of capital resources, which takes from each country according to its capacity and gives to each country according to its needs.

62/ Wheel of History

There is need to state the issue of foreign aid in simple human terms; it is still thickly overlaid with sentiments and demands of arrogance on the part of the giver and with varieties of inferior complexes on the part of the receiver.

63/ Wheel of History

Some glimmers of a visible connection between peace and disarmament on the one hand and world development authority on the other have appeared.

63/ Wheel of History

Moscow's security or that of a New York lies not so much in their armed forces as in developing prosperity of the whole world. To conserve their achieved wealth, the master states of the white world will necessarily have to help the coloured peoples to create minimum wealth in their own way. To conserve in Europe-America is to create in Africa-Asia.

63/ Wheel of History

As long as foreign aid is not looked upon as a two-way traffic blessing both the giver and taker, the petty arrogance of the giver of small charities and corroding jealousy of the taker of pilfered goods will continue to pollute the entire arrangement.

63/ Wheel of History

Whether human intelligence will ever design this approximation of a world development authority as a deterrent to the rise and fall of civilization and to war will perhaps be known when the next world war has ended.

63/ Wheel of History

The socialists of Asia believe that there is and ought to be a third camp of forces which are not attached to either camp. One of primary tasks is to keep away from these two camps and not to get involved in their disputes and, at the same time, to see that whole of Asia gets emancipated as early as possible.

63/ Will to Power

The creation of adequate strength in the third camp would also help in preserving world peace, in compelling by authority, ideology or otherwise, the two camps to live in peace. That seems to be unanimously agreed. But from this it is quite obvious that the third camp must grow in ideological, economic and, in time if necessary, armed strength in order to carry out these objectives.

63/ Will to Power

Lohia in his own words

But we must bear in mind that we, the socialists of Asia have to build up the third camp of socialism. The two other camps of the Atlantic and the Soviet have also got their hold in Asia, and even in Asia, there are three Asias -- the Asia of capitalism and chaos, and status quo, the Asia of communism and chaos, and the Asia of socialism and progress. And this Asia of socialism and progress for which we are trying to co-operate with each other in a friendly manner will accomplish our final task of emancipation of Asia.

68-69/ Will to Power

Peace-making is impossible until new forces are created and the suppressed sections of humanity acquire new reservoir of strength.

161/ Will to Power

On Our Civilisation

For those who profess to give us a law or even some inkling of a process as to how man has developed through various periods must be able to indicate why peoples and classes have risen and fallen. If there is no answer to that, it would be futile to speak of a law of history.

2/ Wheel of History

Every society or civilization has tended so far to develop into a certain direction of organizational or technical efficiency. As long as this efficiency grows, there are two possible spiritual reactions to it. Some reject it outright, for it does not correspond to their ideas of what a society should be. However loud their protests may be, the influence of such a reaction on the course of events is negligible. Another reaction is to mistake this growing efficiency in one direction for total efficiency and, with or without alterations in detail, to put oneself in its service. When men confuse partial with total efficiency and begin to see in it the aim of their effort, they lose their capacity for a rigorous internal examination of the system which they live. The system then continues to grow in the direction that accompanies its birth. Such a society inevitably develops like the dinosaurs and other monstrous lizards or animals whom nature tried out perhaps also in its search for maximum efficiency in any one direction. A like as these Dinosaurs and other animals' weight or their incapacity to match creatures developing maximum efficiency in some other direction, a civilization or society tends to develop maximum efficiency in the initial direction and then to fall under its own weight or under pressures from outside. As long as the efficiency continues to grow, there is health, vigour and general movement and, internally, different sections of the population engage in a class struggle to improve their various lot and externally, they withstand pressures from outside and even draw sustenance from other societies. When maximum efficiency has already been reached and a deadlock ensues, the internal class struggle becomes unbearable and an attempt is made to resolve it into an apparently just system of caste and the external struggle with other societies becomes increasingly painful and outside the limits of strength. Under such conditions, the relegation or fall of civilization becomes inevitable. If the attempt at a justifiable system of caste succeeds, the relegation is postponed for a while. But the ultimate end is postponed for a while. But the ultimate end is beyond dispute when castes cause stagnation and outside pressures disruption. These two phenomena, of class changing into caste and vice-versa and the external phenomena of shift in the strength of nations, have been universal to all hitherto known societies.

26-27/ Wheel of History

What distinguishes caste from class is immobility that has crept into class relationship, the immobility of an individual to get into a higher caste and of a whole caste to move up in status or income. Class is mobile caste; caste is immobile class. Every society or civilization has known this movement from class to caste and vice-versa.

28/ Wheel of History

The Roman experience of movement from class to caste and caste to class went through various phases. Caste at one time was used as an instrument for creating the power and wealth of Rome. Class was often the struggling aspiration of the Roman citizen to achieve equality in society. Caste later became an instrument to prevent internal disruption and protect what had been achieved. At the very end, justice could no longer be contained in any achievable order of castes and disruption followed. All these movements from class to caste and the reverse took place alongside of the Roman effort to achieve efficiency in a limited direction.

28-29/ Wheel of History

With Mahatma Gandhi has begun a general stirring of Indian castes up and down and a search for efficiency of the society as a whole.

31/ Wheel of History

While this saga of India's movement, back and forth, between class and caste may reveal many gleams of a diamond, the outstanding glitter must not be missed. Internal and external decline go together, whatever may be the time-lag between the two. Increasing efficiency of society as a whole is invariably accompanied by internal stirring of various classes up and down.

32/ Wheel of History

Recent most Europe has given birth to two such movements, the Hitler movement in Germany and the communist movement in Russia. These two movements have ordinarily been understood to be antagonistic of each other. They have indeed been so. But I venture to think that both these movements are similarly motivated in regard to the internal oscillation between class and caste. When the struggle amongst classes in Germany became insupportable and strikes kept on mounting, when relationships among armed forces, industry, the free professions, students, workers and farmers became so strained that it was not possible to run the economy or government smoothly, the national socialist movement came along to achieve a system of castes in which various classes seemed to be coordinated in a new and intelligent scheme, which appeared to be intelligent to Germans of that time.

34/ Wheel of History

That the Russian effort is also a caste effort may be difficult of acceptance by persons superficially influenced by communist theory.

35/ Wheel of History

No matter what formula is enunciated, the fact remains that inside Russia various groups of toilers have got fixed up in their status and their incomes.

36/ Wheel of History

Lohia in his own words

Internal oscillation between class and caste has been tied up with alternations happening outside the contours of a society or a civilization. For, alongside of this struggle of classes has gone a struggle among nations.

40/ Wheel of History

All human history hitherto has been an internal oscillation between class and caste and an external shift of prosperity and power from one region to another. This external shift and internal oscillation are related to one another.

40/ Wheel of History

The connecting link between these motions, internal and external of a society is supplied by the state of its organisational and technical efficiency.

41/ Wheel of History

From equality to class and then to disruption, which releases the counterpart processes of justice to caste to sloth and back again to equality is the full circle of human destiny in any civilization.

43/ Wheel of History

Is man forever fated to witness this rise and fall of civilization and to see spread before him an eternal desert of history and also to swing like a monkey from this branch of class to the branch of caste?

43/ Wheel of History

No past civilization was ever able to alter its course and to change from maximum efficiency in its initial direction to total efficiency in all directions. In order to attain total efficiency, a civilization would have to be valid for the whole of mankind and the whole individual. On both these counts, previous human civilizations have failed to develop. Every one of them attempted to attain maximum efficiency for its own special people so that a civilization and its carrier could contend with and overpower the outside world. The nature and type of this efficiency always varied but it could not abolish the barrier between the chosen people and the outside world and could never, therefore, overcome regional shifts of power and prosperity into a single world of comparatively equal welfare.

78/ Wheel of History

In like manner, the possibilities of the individual in any human civilization were opened out only to the extent that maximum efficiency of the collective required. Such talents or insights as have been unnecessary for the efficiency of a particular civilization have generally not been used at all.

78/ Wheel of History

The full development of personality has therefore, never taken place. Existing civilization and its future must be tested by these two criteria of total efficiency.

78/ Wheel of History

Lohia in his own words

In the manner that existing civilization is unable to spread its benefits totally over mankind, it is also not able to awaken the entire being of man.

82/ Wheel of History

Man stands before the choice of hitting out into yet another direction of maximum efficiency or walking into a state of total efficiency. Should he choose to break the wheel of history, the outlines of his new civilization would attempt to achieve approximation of the human race and the overcoming of class and caste and regional shifts through comparatively equal production in all the world.

86/ Wheel of History

In broad statistical outlines is hid the story of misery and filth for most mankind, of general inequality, but of groaning inequality in lands that are filthier and more miserable. Conscience dies in lands where the gulf is so wide that the eye prefers to avert its gaze. Their parliamentary system gets poisoned with privilege and voters are too dumb or listless to make effective use of their vote.

XXXVI/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Hidden imperialisms of various kinds are showing themselves. The most pernicious and root of all else is productivity imperialism. Accidents of history have equipped some peoples with a production apparatus of vastly superior yield. While, for instance, the Indian people must content itself with a per head income of around Rs.1,000/-. All coloured people suffer from a similarly low productivity.

XXXVI/ Marx, Gandhi and socialism

The world shall not be equal or peaceful unless all imperialisms are hunted out of their darkest layers.

XXXVII/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

We are either accusers or defenders but almost never those who seek to understand.

188/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

I have tried elsewhere to look for ingredients of the new civilization after an examination of driving forces of the existing civilization. Suffice it here to itemise that first, maximum attainable equality; second, maximum geographical distribution of power; third, social ownership; fourth, small unit technology; fifth, a decent standard of living within national frontiers; sixth, a maximum privacy of individual life protected from all collective encroachments; seventh, world parliament and government would probably be the ingredients of this new civilization.

188/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

The death of an old civilization and the birth of a new one is attended not alone by a great effort at thinking but also by what may be called a revolution, not indeed a revolution in

Lohia in his own words

the sense in which it is ordinarily used for we have had already a little too much of revolutions of that kind. They leave an ashen taste in the mouth. Revolutions happen and nothing changes. That is an object lesson of history. Within limits, it is true, for dictators move into king's palaces, and cathedrals and temples, even if they are deserted, are replaced by secretariats.

188-189/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

How that revolution takes place is another question. Until now most revolutions have depended upon the motive forces of hate and fear for their emergence and for the first time we are made aware of a revolution, which has its motive force in love. I must here utter a warning, love as well as anger, because this is the revolution which we have been witnessing in our country in the past thirty years, which for the time being seems to have degenerated. But a revolution which was based essentially on love as well as anger, against injustice.

190/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

The like debacle of capitalism and communism is easily understood when they are viewed as parts of a single civilization that appears to have neared the end of its voyage. All civilizations have aimed at comfort, culture, peace, and the ideal kingdom, and what distinguishes one civilization from another are the processes to attain them and their precise content. Every civilization is moved by certain purpose of life and certain specific drives. To seek to understand these human purposes through categories such as religious or secular, authoritarian or libertarian, rational or emotive, feudal or capitalist, spiritual or materialist is not an adequate venture. Modern civilization cannot be understood in terms of democracy or totalitarianism, private or state property alone. The distinguishing drives of modern civilization are continuous application of science to economy, rising standard of living, and increasing social equality. What moves a modern man is the desire for rising standards and an improving home. No previous civilization entertained such impulses, for it did not possess a revolutionary technology. Nor was any previous civilization for social equality, also now possible though this changing technology.

333/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

On Communism

Communism is the latest weapon of Europe against Asia. For 300 years, Europe has been the prince among continents, and liberalism, Christianity, or capitalism have admittedly served, each in its own way, Europe's imperial purposes. Old weapons are blunted. It may well be that Europe's undefeated intelligence is making use of yet another ideological weapon to retain its slipping hold over the world. Whether this latest weapon of communism, like liberalism or Christianity, was ever intended by its makers to be used for such purpose, in other words, whether the original doctrine of communism carried this inspiration or has later been distorted, is of course an important question. But the first stage in this enquiry is the discovery of effects that communism has produced in Europe and in Asia.

260/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

You may be familiar with many, what I would call, automotive philosophies. The actual contains the ideal. Capitalism and communism have already been shown to be examples of these philosophies.

181/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

In capitalism, industrialisation and perfect competition by themselves were expected to produce world peace, prosperity and the other qualities of enlightenment. When this did not happen, communism substituted class struggle for perfect competition and imagined that industrialization and class struggle would by themselves produce the new world. Almost all the major philosophies that prevail today have this automotive quality.

181-182/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

That which we love and admire, whether it is a country or a person, we tend to regard as our ideal, which would then make all critical faculties vanish; whatever that person or that country is ideal. This is a process of thinking of which we have to be aware, where the actual and the ideal tend to get mixed up. After all, a necessary business of the mind is to understand what exists, and at the same time to form a picture of what ought to exist, and then to weave a relationship between the two.

181/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

But if the "ought" becomes the 'is', then all hope for the future and for enlightenment is lost, because then it is no longer a question of trying to actualize the ideal. We tend to idealize the actual. The modern world is suffering from this grievous disease of the mind, that, instead of trying to actualize the ideal, tends to idealize the actual, whether that relates to personal life or collective life, collective within a nation or international relationship. We are all familiar with the phrases, "under the circumstance, nothing else was possible," "under the circumstances nothing could be done. All these phrases are indicative of an attitude of mind where the existing is regarded as the embodiment of the ideal; that may be so aggressively or

that may be so passively, because nothing better is possible. When that happens, non-violence tends to degenerate into the bestial mass of concealed violence, which one justifies and allows to exist. And therefore, when I have projected the idea that under capitalism and communism, the actual becomes the ideal, let me also issue warning against the danger of a similar phenomenon appearing in the Gandhi attitude of mind.

After all, the Communist does nothing worse than what I did with regard to Mahatma Gandhi.

182/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

He also typifies ideal in Soviet Russia or in Marxist theory. Russia is the ideal for him; whatever exists actually in Russia is the ideal, and therefore whatever acts of blemish the Russian government or society perpetrates are justified. There is a reason for it and a convincingly final reason, which goes to show that the ideal could not have acted any better. In fact, it acted in the best possible way under the circumstances, because, already, the ideal is embodied in a particular person or country. Of course, there is a vital difference between trying to encase the ideal in Mahatma Gandhi and in Soviet Russia or Stalin, because, no matter how much one may try to exaggerate, the acts of blemish in Mahatma Gandhi's life would number under half a dozen, whereas in the case of Stalin, they would probably go up to several dozens or hundreds of dozens.

182-183/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

It is true that the problem is not quite so easy, for one has to embody the ideal in some actual manifestation. There is the teacher, the leader, then memory and association, and ever since our childhood we are subject to so many influences of reality and imitations, which are not necessarily conducive to evil, influences which are absolutely and vitally necessary for the growth of human personality. When therefore, I have cautioned against the danger of actualizing the ideal in the shape of a person I am perfectly well aware of the fact that we cannot do without loyalty, we cannot do without imitation. But even so there is a human problem, the critical faculty is lost and then understanding of the actual as well as the correct formation of the ideal are lost. So long as we are made aware of this grievous error of the mind which makes it lose all critical faculties, all comprehension of the existing situation, and which makes it form ideals which can do no good to the individual or to mankind my job is done.

185/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

The class struggle against capitalism is expressed through two major types, that which destroys capitalism in one of its aspects and reinforces it in another, and the other that achieves socialism. Depending on what one thinks should be the outcome of the struggle against capitalism, one chooses between the two types. Those who believe that capitalism should be destroyed in its aspect of private property but should be strengthened in the aspects of own peculiar technology and forces of production are naturally fond of large concentrations,

centralized control, and apparatus in which everything gets done to the detail according to a master plan. Such an approach inevitably strives for power to the exclusion of all else. All such struggles, forms of party organisation are encouraged, in which, no matter how much the general aims of society are sacrificed, power appears to ensue. Hatred becomes the chief motor of such struggles and organization. As this power will be unable to achieve its economic aim of the big machine in industry and the combine in agriculture in two-thirds of the world, it will be marked after victory by barren cruelty, as it is based on barren hate in the period of struggle, however fiercely waged, is reactionary for it can best destroy capitalism in its aspect of private property but must restore it in its aspect of technology, and in two-thirds of the world this technological restoration of capitalism will spell economic barrenness and general inhumanity.

330-331/ Marx, Gandhi and socialism

Each act of struggle should contain its own justification. Its immediate quality must be such as makes it pass the tests of general aims of society. It must not justify a present lie by future truth, an immediate bureaucratization by remote democracy, a present sacrifice of national freedom by a remote world, an immediate murder by a future health. Man has today become victim to ideologies of remote success, so that the chain of acts of horror lengthens and the last link of the good acts is never forged.

331/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

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.

333/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Sacrifice of national freedom and treason becomes a commendable virtue if practised for the international solidarity of the working class as expressed through Russia or China. Democracy or parliament is utilized alone for its destruction; complete obedience to the party leads to the abandonment of all responsibility and democratic conscience except such as is expressed through the highest committee. Mass violence and purges are necessary instruments. Above all, communism denies reason and has no faith in the capacity of the people to reach a decisively clear judgement except through civil war or improbable conditions of democratic maturity as in England.

332/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

It is useless to ask the Communist not to tell lies. It is useless to tell him not to engage in a conduct of deceit. He thinks himself superior to the one who goes about lecturing to him on good conduct because he has already given himself in service to a high and noble ideal as he construes it.

113/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

The communist believes that he lies in the service of truth, that he murders in the service of health, that he destroys democracy in order to have world revolution, that he sacrifices the freedom of nations in order to achieve the unity of the world's working classes. In the service of his noble and high ideals he descends, according to our language, into the bottomless pit of dark and deceitful conduct but he just cannot see it that way.

113/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

With the communist, class struggle is an easy matter; there is just one aim, and single-mindedly one can pursue that aim, which is, to destroy the capitalist classes. Whether in the execution of that specific aim any general aims of society are sacrificed is no consideration to the Communist or the Marxist. I do not have to produce any evidence for it, it is there. In fact, all these people were honest enough and honestly confessed that deceit and killing are essential and necessary instruments when they further the cause of the revolution. The actual killing and lying that these people are engaged in assumes a more heinous aspect in view of their basic doctrine that the greatest and all-devouring virtue for them is the revolution. Once the revolution occurs, everything purifies itself and improves itself. Destroy the capitalist relations of property and man improves and exploitation ceases, things get administrated, and the golden age is ushered in. In order to usher in that golden age which is of great morals and high virtues and also individual values, should it be necessary to tell lies and commit murder that would only be in furtherance of the great and noble aim and therefore justified. All ethics are relative, there is nothing absolute. It is perfectly justifiable to achieve the world revolution in whatever way one may find it necessary, and therefore Lenin as very clearly spoken in favour of force and duplicity, which Marx did not.

110-110/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Marx, because of his general theory of capitalism stayed a democrat throughout; essentially and fundamentally this was the nature of his mind, because he was thinking in terms of his theory, and theory said that the revolution would occur in countries of advanced forces of production. He did not have to think of what economically may be called primitive and retarded countries or those semi-primitive and semi-retarded nations like India, Russia, and China. He thought in terms of England and Germany where this revolution was expected to occur, where democratic processes would continue and deepen.

III/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

On Economics After Marx

Communism began as a programme of social justice. Its basis was the achieving of a classless society. Like other programmes of social justice, it was easily faced with greed and ignorance and the sarcasm of those who denounce everything great as unpractical and impossible. It therefore elaborated a whole system of philosophy, history and economy.

2/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

A study of this system of laws should preferably begin in the realm of capitalist economy, to which it is nearest in scope and about which it is likely to have made the least errors. A summary of the principles and the laws of capitalist development as formulated by Marxism must first be made.

2/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Capital lends to further accumulation of capital. Surplus value or capitalist profit is used for improved machinery and joint labour which in their turn produce increased surplus value. This is the law of capitalist accumulation.

3/ Marx, Gandhi and socialism

Under capitalism, however, production and circulation cannot keep pace with each other. More is produced than can be bought because productivity of labour and profits continually increase while wages remain comparatively fixed. There is thus a lag between the production and the purchasing power of a population, which causes crisis in industry and this is the law of the periodic crisis of capitalism.

3/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

More capital is put into making heavy and intricate machinery, into building the means of production. It tides over the crisis for a while, for it does not immediately lead to increased production, but it lays the basis for a higher productivity in the near future. The organic composition of capital increases, the rate of profit falls, large-scale production increases, smaller capitalists are thrown out, and capitalism changes into monopoly capitalism. This is the law of concentration of capital or of large scale and monopoly production.

4/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

While capital accumulates and concentrates, large sections are turned into the workers, the reserves of industry, and the workers themselves become increasingly poorer. This is the law of pauperization and of accumulation of poverty.

At the same time, the working class is increasingly united and become conscious of itself, by virtue of the fact that it works co-operatives, and in large numbers in the big-scale monopolist industries. This is the law of socialization of labour.

Passing through these laws of development, the contradiction between the price of labour and its produce assumes sharp form; becomes the contradiction between capitalist appropriation and socialized production, between old relations and expanding forces, between monopoly capitalists and an angry, numerous, socialized working class. The class struggle enters its last phase, when the capitalist husk is burst as under by the working class. This is known as the law of the class struggle, leading to the dictatorship of proletariat.

4/ Marks, Gandhi and Socialism

To these laws must be added yet another on the general crisis of capitalism, when there are no longer any alternating periods of boom and depression in industry. In this period of general and continuing crisis, there are imperialist wars, general exhaustion of capitalism and the victory of the world working class. This is the general crisis of capitalism leading to imperialist wars and the law of the World Revolution.

4-5/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

As to the law of socialized production, it must be admitted that monopoly capital and large-scale enterprises have appeared. What has not taken place is the wiping out of the small capitalist. In fact, the number of small capitalists, either as shareholders in large undertakings or as owner-managers, of their own, has increased. In the same manner, although socialization of labour in the limited sense of thousands of workers working co-operatively in a single establishment has taken place, what has not taken place is their unification. Aside from the technical and managerial classes, the free professions, and the clerical classes, the workers themselves are cut up into a hierarchy of skilled workers, unskilled workers seasonally employed and their differing wages have turned the predicted solidarity of the working class into a piety-reality.

3-8/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

The worst trick played by history on the Marxist laws of capitalist development lies in the fact that the Revolution took place not in Germany, where it was expected, not in any other developed country of Western Europe, but in Russia.

5/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

According to the immanent laws of capitalist development, the capitalist husk was to burst as under where it proved incompatible with the socialization of labour and the accumulation of capital leap still remains unexplained and undigested by Marxist theory. Trotsky's explanation that the capitalist chain snapped at its weakest link is indeed a graphic phrase, true but an entire denial of the communist teaching on capitalism. Where is the capitalist chain to break? At its most developed link, says Marx; as its weakest link, says Trotsky, and between these two with various other shades communism will of course always be right. Lenin's explanation denies Marx as much as Trotsky's does. Lenin explained the Russian revolution by the active role of the Bolshevik party.

9/ Marx, Gandhi and socialism

Lohia in his own words

How this final activity of the class struggle flew out of its iron laws nobody has cared to explain on any scientific basis.

9/ Marx, Gandhi and socialism

The master's teaching proved greater than the big fact of the revolution.

9/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Marxism is quite accurate in its findings on capital accumulation, correct from one angle on questions of industrial crisis, of monopoly and socialization of labour, but factually wrong in the spheres of accumulating property, casual class struggle, and the world revolution. Where comes this conflict between its insight into production and the blind spots regarding circulation? It is not as if poverty and pauperism world revolution could not be located. It is also of that Marx and his disciples were of the relevant facts, it is this that Marxism was not strong enough to digest these facts and weave them into its general theory on capitalism.

9/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

The first industry to employ machinery, which is the technical basis of capitalism, was textiles. Hardly had this Lancashire industry begun when it had to look out for a dynamic outside its own country and found it in India. British textiles did not overcome Indian textiles in an economic way. When one of the British parliamentary commissions pointed out that the wares of Lancashire were bleached with the dirty bones of Indian weavers it did not mean that Indian artisans could not stand competition with British manufacturers. Aside from whatever measures were adopted for direct attack upon Indian weavers, the East India Company 'and its servants by taking the monopoly of internal trade into their own hands were able to dictate what goods should or should not flow in the normal trade channels. The victory of British textiles over Indian textiles was political; the dynamic that Lancashire industry, at its very start, got out of India was due to Britain's rule.

10/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Once again when British capitalism was faced at the end of the 1914 war with what had come to be known as a general crisis, Indian railroads alone rushed to its rescue by ordering goods worth a billion rupees and more. This rapid survey of British capitalism has brought us to the conclusion that imperialism and capitalism are of joint origin and development. A similar development can be traced through the career of German capitalism, either by way of sharing in the Austrian, British and French imperial expansion or on its own.

11/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Capitalist development in the United States has needed an identical imperial dynamic, has made use of the same elements as Britain.

11/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Lohia in his own words

No less than 30 million European paupers came to the United States during the century and settled in its factories or on its lands. Each fresh batch of immigrants stood, at least for a generation, in an imperial-colonial relationship with the older inhabitants, until it got Americanized. That imperialism and capitalism have jointly developed in capitalist history is clearly established by the American case.

12/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

How American capitalism overcame its twins is a brave story of Jeffersons and Lincolns.

13/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

In the face of this wide wealth of facts, how anyone could have suggested in the last stage of capitalism is beyond comprehension.

13/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Let us now reconstruct the theory of capitalist development. Marx's initial fallacy was to have examined capitalism in the abstract, to have wrenched it outside of its imperialist context. Marx was not unaware of imperialism, exploitation and his disciple, Lenin was even more keenly aware of it. But imperialism is with both Marx and Lenin a tumour of capitalism, an odorous after-growth and this has at best awakened an unintelligent concern for the colonial races. Marxism has therefore not been able to give a consistent theory of capitalist development.

16/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Marxism to this day remains stuck in this picture, no doubt formulating laws about these outside repercussions, but wholly unable to state the basic interacting principle of the two, internal external, movements of capital.

16/ Marx, Gandhi and socialism

Socialism must forever shatter this unreal Marxist picture. In its place must arise a picture of two circles, one placed inside the other. The inner circle representing the free capitalist structures with its dynamic in the contradiction between capitalist profits and mechanized labour. The other circle representing the colonial economy of the world with its dynamic between imperial exploitation and colonial labour, the aim of the inner circle possessing an enormously porous capacity to suck into itself the dynamic of the outer.

16-17/ Marx, Gandhi and socialism

At the estimate of 2,500 labour-hours per year, we get a total of 5,000 crore labour-hours spent on the production or our exported agricultural goods. Likewise, if out of the British production estimated Rs. 4,000 crores in a normal year, Rs. 100 crores worth of industrial goods enter the export trade. 1/4th of British population, that is, 10 Lakhs of men have been at the job of producing these exported goods. Thus 250 crores of labour-hours are spent in the

production of industrial goods imported into India. This is the real story, which money statistics of India's foreign trade are so shy of revealing, that the labour of 2 crores of men is exchanged against that of 10 lakhs of men; 5,000crores of labour-hours are exchanged for 250 crores of labour-hours. It will have to summon the exploded concepts of labour productivity or of natural resources to explain this fantastic exchange. The concept of the imperial colonial division of labour, of the productivity of total economic structure can alone explain it. Behind this fantastic exchange lies the history of layer upon layer of saved labour from generations of tillers and miners of India, China, Java, Malaya, Africa and other lands which have continually been converted into the gigantic machines of England, Germany and Japan.

22-23/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Economists, including communists are wrong in crediting this entire produce to imperial labour and in using pompous phrases about the higher productivity of labour in Europe as compared to Asia or Africa. Labour on the whole uses the same muscle-power and skill everywhere and what appears as the higher produce of imperial labour is directly due to the many generations of imperial-colonial division of labour in the world. One might almost say that the ghosts of hundreds of millions of colonial toilers are invisibly moving the machines in imperial factories. The highly elaborate machinery and its continuing improvement in capitalist countries are due in large part to the surplus value created in colonial firms and mines. The continuing use of the productive capacity of these factories is also due in large part to the vast masses of colonial toilers who buy their produce.

24-25/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

If capitalism has extracted surplus value from its home labourers by paying them less than what they produce, upon this extraction has continually acted the far greater surplus value derived from colonial toilers.

25/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Doesn't imperial labour itself, at least some of its better paid ranks, receive a large measure of surplus value extracted from colonial labour?

25/ Marx, Gandhi and socialism

We must forever abandon the habit of examining a country's economic structure as a self-moving entity; we must therefore abandon the Marxist understanding of capitalism as a self-moving West-European entity. Capitalism from its origin to its most recent development has moved mainly on the imperial dynamic.

25/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Lohia in his own words

Capitalist crises are often sought to be understood in terms of the rise or fall in the rate of interest. As an outward appearance, it is incontestable that crisis is a period of very low out-turns on capital that is almost negligible rates of interest while boom is a period of high out-turns. It is also true that after a period of abnormally low out-turns, a new invention for the production of goods used to bring a higher yield on capital. A new composition of capital and labour took place. But this is merely touching the surface of the problem of crisis or even of the rate of interest. Going deeper, we are offered such explanations as that new inventions caused a fall in the costs of production and the price of goods and with the increase in population and this gave higher profits to capitalists and thus restored equilibrium. This is yet not a full explanation. Each boom making utilization of new inventions and the consequent fall in the costs of producing was possible only with the fresh markets of large overseas populations for trade as well as investments. It was this situation that restored capitalist equilibrium and profits and the new restorations tended to be on lower levels of interest. With the possibility of such new restorations now blocked, capital is faced with the problem of a zero or a minus rate of interest. Capital is faced with its own extinction. This is the problem of general crisis of capitalism.

28/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

The history of capitalist development is the history of the increasing poverty of colonial masses and their reduction into starving and landless labour.

28/Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

The worst sufferers under capitalism are the colonial masses. Presuming the validity of the communist law of class struggle, there is obvious need to exchange its basis.

29/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Not the working class in capitalist countries but the colonial masses are the principal grave-diggers of capitalism.

29-30/ Marx, Gandhi and socialism

On Being and Consciousness

The relation between being and consciousness, between mode of production and expressions of consciousness has not been studied in any detail or in its totality. Why an object may be the same in all the world and yet possess a variety of names in different parts of the earth, all incomprehensible one to the other, is a present question. The woodcutter and the axe are the world over, but they have a hundred different names in different languages. The question may not in itself be of much philosophical import except consciousness may well have a style and a significance of their own and an enduring character. Schools of dialectical materialism are not wanting which have ascribed to style and tradition in philosophical and literary expression an autonomous importance and credited them with the power to influence social change.

372/Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Marx said that men make history but only within the environment within which they are born, this is a true statement but its meaning is as elusive as that of any other great saying. It depends upon the type of votary as to what meaning he would put into it. The statement appears to give a range of choices in any human situation. This range is of course limited by the environment. But whether the range of choices is real or not and whether the fact that this and not any other choice is made which changes the quality of events are left to the imagination. The orthodox interpretation of dialectical materialism would seem to assert that the range of choices is only illusory, that the mode of production prescribes an iron law of development, that only one choice is correct and that any other choice is a mistake. Even the mistake is ascribed to the mode of production which is yet unripe for the expropriators to be expropriated. All development seems to be an affair of the mode of production, intelligence plays no part in it save to hasten or to hinder which is itself an illusory appearance of the realities of production. The range of choices is thus given by one hand and denied by the other. Even this would not have mattered much if the iron laws of development based on the mode of production were correct. It would not matter much whether man did or not make history, if only one could know how history is made. History is not being made in countries where concentrated capital and socialized labour reach their ripe points nor are expropriators being expropriated there. Perhaps the laws of economic development would be somewhat better understood if history were conceived as a compound of the two separated entities of economic movement and expressions of consciousness.

382-383/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

There is no need at all to choose between free will and determinism. The world may in fact be predetermined. But the point is whether it is at all possible for men to unravel the mysteries of this determinism. Every expanse is the art of ignorance. This is not to say that an expanse is the area of ignorance. This is not to say that an explanation is knowledge. Man

must seek other remedies. He dare not lay all his eggs in the basket of a millennial future of complete knowledge that will never arrive and he must seek in the ever-imperfect present some way to comprehend or to feel the whole.

All being is no doubt becoming but through all becoming runs also a pattern of being. Every moment is no doubt a passing link to the great flux but it is also an eternity in itself. The current age of man has laid great stress on achievements and little on being. Forgetful of the two-fold character of the moment, it has raised the antinomies of the material and the spiritual which should never have been done. The great debacle of the human mind and its callous self or its coarse brutality have reached.

The moment as flux is material, while the moment as eternity is spiritual. Expanding knowledge and the method of dialectical materialism may reveal the flux. Compassion and contemplation or spirituality may reveal the eternity. But the two methods must inform one another. Dialectical materialism by itself may well be termed dialectical idealism and vice versa. Philosophies that prescribe an idealistic eternal law or materialistic law of flux and turn man into an instrument of either lead to ignorance and coarseness. The present is sacrificed to the future. Undoubtedly, the future has its claims and they must be satisfied. The present by itself leads to hedonism and the pursuit of pleasure that is after all not pleasing. But the future too is full of peril of ignorance which appears as the mirage of knowledge and its results are cruelly in the service of an imagined truth. Man must live for the future but he must also live in the present.

The two-fold character of the moment settles the relationship between the material and the spiritual; to the realm of dialectical materialism belongs the moment as the present. The method of spirituality informed by dialectical materialism may raise the edifices of being. The range of choices in a human situation is considerable. The method that combines the knowledge of trends of development based on the mode of production with the two worthwhile expressions of spirituality minimizes the chance of error and should an error take place, its capacity for mischief is limited. In any event, it seems to be the best available remedy today for making man's sojourn on earth good as well as joyous.

374/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

While an old-time socialism denounced religion as opium to man, the more modern attitude seems to be one of indifference to matters of religion and belief in secularism. This is not a complete attitude. Religion appears in four different ways. It breaks out as quarrels, sometimes bloody, among various religions. It defends and upholds the existing order with its modes of property, caste and woman. It is also an ethical and social training in good conduct. Finally, religion at its best appears as the discipline of compassion and contemplation.

374-375/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

Lohia in his own words

The first two expressions of religion are indeed an opium to the people. Instead of making politics religious and thereby softening somewhat the clashes of power, religion itself becomes political and thereby adds fanaticism to intrigue. Such a religion must of course be denounced but the other two expressions of religion cannot be a matter of no concern to politics or socialism.

375/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

While a socialist may be a believer or an atheist or even an agnostic, he cannot stay unconcerned about religion. His disputations on religion must be explanatory and not contentious. The imagined antinomy between the religions and the nonreligious must be laid to rest. Religion must shed its querulousness and its defense of the existing order. Socialists will also do well to feel somewhat humble towards the compassionate discipline and the ethical training of religion.

375/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

The opposition between the individual and the social is resolved as soon as the two-fold character of the moment is borne in mind. For the moment as the link with the past and expression of the future, the individual is the product of environment and the instrument of its change. For the moment as an expression of the present, he is the executor of his human destiny and the moulder of environment. The individual is both an end and a means; as an end, he is the unfold of love unto all; as a means he is the tool of revolutionary anger against tyranny. All problems of the individual and the social of ends and means, fall in their true perspective. The good means must not be postponed until after the advent of the revolution and the revolution must not be postponed until all men have become good.

375/ Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

On the 1967 General Elections and After

The post-1967 elections situation can be summed up in the following words: As the festering sores of the last twenty years seem to be drying up, the disease of the thousand years of our history is showing its symptoms more clearly. The task before the nation is to recognize those symptoms and prepare the remedy.

Objectivity in politics is a rarity, more so in India, whose body politic is so diseased with inhuman irregularities, poverty and insensitivity that even parties ideologically committed to revolutionary change hang on to the ways and styles of continuity. Here continuity can have no other consequence than old disease giving rise to new festering.

What was the most important single factor in the last elections? It was certainly the popular desire for change which expressed itself in the shape of anti-Congress vote. The Congress government at the centre which was formerly backed by the support of one-fourth of the total votes, is now precariously standing on the vote of less than one-fifth. Democracy is further ridiculed in Uttar Pradesh where the Congress government can draw its sanction from only one out of every seven voters.

Among the other factors which had decisive influence over election results was Dynastism. Swatantra, Congress and Jana Sangh parties made deliberate and ample use of it. Rajas, Maharajas, their family members and candidates supported by them in the ex-princely state areas have won numerous seats. Similarly, the sons, daughters and such relatives of old leaders or ministers have also been elected.

Caste is always there as an important factor in India's elections, but now here, save in Bihar and Madras where the backward castes organized more over a large area in favour of a change against the Congress. Although there is not a single Brahmin among DMK legislators in Chennai, the DMK itself does not seem to attach much significance to it. It is only in Bihar that masses of backward caste population with the support egalitarian-minded Dwija youth made a deliberate bid for change. In other areas caste played its usual, limited role of accentuating the chances of the caste candidate no matter to which party he belonged and thus had a bizarre effect.

Thirdly, there was the influence of money. It played a decisive role where the anti-Congress voter had no clear choice. As it is, elections in India are expensive, the expenses are growing with each general election, and in the absence of intense party organization, money coupled with caste, or dynastic influence brings victory. When all the three or at least two of these factors, caste, dynasty and money are combined at the constituency level, organized political strength is overcome.

Dynasty, caste and money influences have cut across political opinion, but these forces were mainly used by Congress, Swatantra, Jana Sangh parties or Independents with status-quo outlook. Broadly speaking these factors were more active in the poorest states of India. In contrast, the states which are vocal sections had made some economic progress by co-operating with the British raj, have projected the trends of continuity. Whereas the business man and the landlord provide the main support to the backward-looking and conservative forces, the forces of continuity are backed by the more or less educated middle class of the urban and semi urban areas of these states.

The Promoters of continuity specialize in verbal radicalism along with belief in top manoeuvre. They sometime cling pitifully to worn out concepts or personalities. For a considerable section the personality is India's first Prime minister. This section also looks forward to the day when the 'Progressive' elements within the Congress will either overwhelm the ruling Congress organization or decisively tilt the political balance in favour of leftism by uniting themselves with the left forces outside Congress. There is an innate disbelief, incapacity, or unpreparedness for ground revolution which leads these politicians to wait for top or outside manoeuvre to work in their favour, or in favour of the desired revolution and hence the desire for continuity and stability. This explains the childish hope of the right communists about progressive forces within the ruling Congress party and the disgusting eagerness of the Left Congress party and the disgusting eagerness of the left communists for the smooth state-centre relationship or the anxiety of both the communists for not replacing the English language.

The campaign of the Swatantra, Jana Sangh politicians was highlighted by their criticism of corruption in the administration, high prices, scarcity of consumer goods and surrender of national frontiers, whereas the communists concentrated their criticism against profiteering, monopoly and the unholy alliance between politicians and monopolists. None of the non-Congress parties have secured more than two or three hundred seats out of the total four thousand and odd. In this context it is puerile on the part of either the Swatantra or Jana Sangh to claim that the poll result has reflected the country's swing from socialism or for the communists to claim that there was a definite swing towards the left.

The desire for country also finds expression in a middle class regional outlook combined with an obsession of the English language in a pathetic attachment to old, irrelevant, now almost meaningless ideas, and in preference for a corrupt bureaucratic public sector over an equally corrupt private sector. And the fact is there for everyone to see that a new generation of young political leadership has failed to emerge in the country. Except in the sons and daughters of the old leadership.

We have to consider these symptoms in the context of the need for a people revolution which would usher in an era of equality, austerity and reconstruction. And let there be no mistake, over and above all these symptomatic tendencies is the desire for change expressed in

the ant-Congress vote. Otherwise, the Congress party, more than anyone else, embodies all these tendencies from down to continuity.

Disgust with ministerial and bureaucratic corruption, and nepotism and the government's failure to solve the problems of food and rising prices along the desire for the security of national frontiers contributed to the success of Swatantra candidates. Similarly disgust with profiteering and the unholy alliance of ministers and millionaires and the government's failure to check rising prices contributed to the success of the communists. But political parties and their commentators seem to suffer from a strange puerility. None of the non-Congress parties secured more than 300 seats in a total of 4000 and four of them secured about equal votes. In such a situation the cry of leftist or rightist success of danger is wholly unreal and puerile.

This sort of puerility makes introspection almost impossible. Consequently, when Mr. Krishna Menon and others like him are defeated the so-called leftist commentators had found that big money or the ruling party's goondas or the misuse of government machinery brought it about. But when a Maniram Bagri or a Kishen Patnaik is defeated, the person concerned of the organization is to blame. This puerility is tied to the desire for continuity and as the so called leftist leaders are praised as 'Able administrators' and not as radicals. These leftist journals and commentators shun facing the basic question as to what does the country need today, a good administration to continue what exists or a government that would change things and build anew.

A good administration can at best provide some small relief to the people, but it cannot replace the present stagnant economy based on selfishness, inequality and corruption with a growing expanding economy based on maximum equality and higher productivity. It is not without significance that the entire conservative press in the country is advising non-Congress governments to be constructive to provide immediate relief to the people and to give up the so called doctrinaire attitude. Behind this clever verbiage is the assumption that immediate programmes and long-term policies and principles are not related to each other in any way. But in fact, programmes, policies and principles are tested only in their inter-relationship. And people do not mean only the middle class and the higher ups. Just as it is imperative for a growing economy that wasteful consumption should come to an end and the money saved be invested in production. It is equally important that small, poor peasants generally, and harijans adivasis and other submerged sections particularly should be freed from the burdens that have crippled their productive capacity. It is impossible to proceed in these directions without changing the present economic, social and administrative systems. Our need today is not so much of able administrators, as of men who can see what required to be changed and in what manner and who have the will to bring about that change.

The wind of change has begun to blow. But the direction of change is not yet, and new sources of power have not come into being. In order to build new sources of power, all those tendencies of dynastism, caste, money stability and continuity that impede the setting of the direction of change have to be fought and defeated. Nothing can stop the wind of change now. The Congress Party does not have the inner strength to renew itself: or to solve any of the big problems. But along with finishing the Congress those tendencies also have to be fought which symptomise thousand year disease in the body politic of the country.

To complete the first phase of change, continued adjustments among non-Congress parties is necessary. It is now proved beyond doubt that such adjustment makes the defeat of the Congress comparatively easy. While a concrete and time bound programme is required to give meaning to the change, only organization can make it the expression of the people's revolution.

None of the non-Congress parties dare isolate itself from the process of change and so a working adjustment has come about among all non-Congress parties, both in government and in opposition, over most of the country. There may be difficulties while working in opposition, as for example on questions of foreign policy. Policy agreements may be difficult to achieve, but an adjustment can be achieved here also. If non-Congress parties keep in mind the fact that if the country's economy is pawned with the USA it was done by the Congress Government, and not by the Swatantra party or the Jana Sangh. Similarly problems of Kashmir and Pakistan have been aggravated by the Congress government. It was the Congress government which brought national shame in the face of Chinese aggression and not the communists. And in any case, it should be remembered that timid and weak-kneed people can neither be strong nor revolutionary. The Swatantra and Jana Sangh parties should not find it impossible to understand that we cannot be a strong nation if our economy is controlled by the USA. If communists are really interested in a social revolution, they find it easy to understand that bringing about the end of the country's national frontiers would be the natural policies of a revolutionary India.

But, in any case, even if non-Congress parties are unable to agree to attack the Congress alone, their different angles and not to attack each other.

Besides, it is possible for all non-Congress parties to agree on a concrete programme. This has been proved by the formation of united groups in Bihar, UP, Rajasthan, Panjab and Mysore. While maintaining their separate organisations and policies it is impossible for all non-Congress parties to agree on a concrete governmental and legislative programme for the achievements of some definite aims that would bring far-reaching changes in our economy and society. The 1967 election manifesto of the SSP outlines the border of such a programme.

Lohia in his own words

Far more important than any of these for a spontaneous people's revolution is organisation. All political parties in the country barring the Socialists draw their strength from and depend on dynastism, caste, money and the desire for continuity for the expansion of their influence. But these traditional sources of power cannot give birth to an organization that would even destroy the Congress, leaving aside the question of people's revolution. So long as an organisation does not come into being all over the country that would be able to function, the process of change would not go beyond adjustments and limited programmes.

The new age that is being ushered in during these last days of the Congress party can become the age of radical change of equality and prosperity, when the 90 million peoples of the country have an organisation of their own. Only such an organisation can fight successfully the forces of dynastism, caste, money and continuity. The greatest drawback of the socialist movement is that its ideas and policies are not backed up by a continuously active organisation that would engage itself in providing political education to its members and others all the time on the basis of both of general principles and concrete programmes in agitation and struggles for the people's just demands when need be.

The co-existence of class and caste in our country makes it necessary that while industrial workers, peasants, agricultural workers and low-paid employees etc. have their class organisations, there should also be combination of harijans, adivasis, women and other submerged groups with equalitarian-minded dvija youth and on the level of political organisation. And again, these should branch out in organisation with single definite aims like the 'Abolish English' 'Peoples' Prices', 'Abolish Caste', 'Indo-Pak reunion' and other conferences. Needless to say, if we leave out the struggles waged by socialists from time to time for people's demands, the socialist organisation presents a dismal picture. Once in two or five years, there is conference to demand abolition of English from public use, or the reunion of India and Pakistan, but that is all.

The Kisan Panchayat and Khet Mazdoor Panchayat exist only on paper if at all. Barring few exceptions trade unions where they exist engage merely in legal work. The policy of special opportunities to submerged groups is often limited to a single case if it is numerically large. There is no attempt to bring all the submerged groups together.

The longer these organisational weaknesses continue, the more difficult it will be to fight and destroy old and status quo sources of power like dynastism, caste or Anglicism. The sooner Socialist organisation improves and becomes active the faster will be the process of change and prosperity come nearer. When organisation spreads and is activated at the people's level, working with a common concrete programme, bring non-Congress parties to a point where a new broad-based political force, based on democracy, nationalism and radicalism comes into being and bring change, a new and real renaissance.

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