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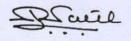
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RAMMANOHAR LOHIA IN PRE-INDEPENDENCE INDIA

DR. VIKRAMJIT SINGH

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
DAYANAND COLLEGE, HISAR

ABSTRACT: Ram Manohar Lohia was a great leader, social activist and had a great vision for domestic and international issues. He played a important and vital role in India's independence struggle specially from 1930s till independence. He had divergent opinion with the leaders of Indian National Congress but at that crucial and critical juncture he decided to work while remaining in Congress party only and formed Congress Socialist Party within Congress Party. His idea of Independence for India had different from the leaders of congress party. For him mere political transformation and transfer of political power is not complete independence. It will only be independence for middle class Indians and rest of the sections including submerged strata of society, peasants, workers and other deprived section will not be beneficiary of this independence. For him meaning of complete independence was independence of poor people from their starvation, poverty, illiteracy and deprivation. So for his whole life he fought for the causes of downtrodden society.

KEYWORDS: Revolution, Colonialism, Socialism, Communism, Imperialism.

INTRODUCTION: The Russian revolution of 1917 was a landmark event which changed the whole scenario of world politics. The idea of communism propounded by Karl Marx was concretised first time in reality and new ideology was introduced to world politics. The idea of communism was emancipation for the workers of the world to get rid of their exploitation from their capitalist masters. This ideology was not remain confined to Russia only, it had worldwide repercussion especially in colonial countries where the working class had been facing exploitation both external and domestic level. The freedom fighters of colonial countries got influenced with this new idea and they formed communist parties on Soviet lines. India was also not exception to it and Communist Party of India was formed in 1924. So a new class of freedom fighters emerged on the scene of India freedom struggle and idea of socialism and exploitation free society came as forefront in Indian freedom struggle. Congress and Communist party of India were fighting for Independence on different platforms. The core objective of Indian National Congress was to get independence but also to get

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rid of the exploitation from Indian capitalists because they had the opinion that only independence will be a transformation of power from British capitalist to Indian capitalist and the conditions of the working class will remain miserable and there will be no meaning of freedom for this exploited class. So the communist leaders in India not only wanted to get independence from British Raj but also wanted to establish exploitation free society. This ideology had influence not only to the followers of communism but it also influenced one section of Indian National congress. Although they considered the idea of communism as an alien idea but they were very much impressed with the idea of 'Socialism' and egalitarian society and had commitment to get rid of exploitation of capitalism but they wanted to introduce the socialism in Indian way. A section of socialist leaders within Congress got momentum during 1930s. The Congress Socialist Party was framed in 1934 within the congress by socialist leaders like Ram Manohar Lohia, Acharya Narender Dev, Sampurnand, Jai Parkash Narayan etc. Ram Manohar Lohia (1910-1967) was the founder member of Congress Socialist Party and had belief in indigenous way of socialism rather an alien ideology of communism. Lohia had multifaceted personality with a broad vision about society and nation. He was political activist and social reformist more than political theorist. He had the blue print of free India in his mind that's why he also put forth the various burning issues challenges of Indian society i.e. caste ridden Indian society, the status of women, the linguistic issues, the problem of poverty, the educational issues last but not the least India's foreign relations. He was a great visionary but the prime objective of Lohia was to get independence from the clutches of British colonial rule.

Ram Manohar Lohia was a staunch follower of Mahatma Gandhi and he took part in freedom movement as a follower of Gandhi but in the last of 1920s certain development forced Lohia to rethink and reconsider the way congress adopted to get independence. The first development was emergence of communist ideology and its growing impact on Indian youth. A section in congress party especially of youth felt alienated and was attracted towards the ideology of communism which emerged as the fastest growing idea among the colonial countries. Although Lohia himself had an orientation towards socialism and egalitarian society but he considered communism as an alien ideology and was not suitable to political, social, economic and cultural conditions. So he had to address the youth of India to understand the idea of socialism through Indian way rather adopting a violent ideology of socialism of west. This was a tough task before congress. He realised that the need of the hour is to reconsider the policies and the path adopted by Indian National Congress.





The another development which changed the mindset of Lohia about the policies and actions of congress was the failure of agitations launched by Gandhi ji especially, the Non-Cooperation movement and two Civil Disobedience Movements as a tool of fight in freedom struggle. Non-Cooperation movement was failed due to violence in ChauraChori. The first Civil Disobedience movement has to withdraw due to invitations of talk from British Government but due to failures of Round table conferences, Gandhi again launched second Civil Disobedience movement but this time it couldn't get momentum and it was totally failed. These failures distanced Gandhi from the politics and freedom struggle and he decided to devote his whole life and energy for social cause and constructive work especially for the upliftment of Harijans. Even he resigned from the primary membership of congress party in 1934. These failures and aloofness of Gandhi from active politics created feeling of discontentment among a large section of congress party. In such circumstances the leaders of Swaraj Party tried to revive the party and tried to influence the discontented section of congress to join it. So the challenges before congress party were manifold and at this critical and crucial juncture Lohai has not only to rejuvenate the discontented workers of the congress but also has to address the failures and to chalk out new policies and strategies of congress party to fight against British Imperialism to get independence.

The burning issue of his time was communalisation of politics. The British Government had played a divisive card to divide two major communities to rule India. The partition of Bengal in 1905 was first clear manifestation of their intention. They were very much aware that they can rule India for long only by dividing these two major communities. This problem reached at its height during 1930s and Lohia was much aware about the nature of this politics and realised that current policies were not able to address the issue because the leadership was in hands of middle class. He was very much aware that this issue can't be resolved until and unless the congress becomes a mass organisation. All the sections of society must come together to fight against imperialism irrespective of their caste and religion and it was the major challenge before Lohia. Jai Parkash Narayan, associate of Lohia described this as "Our movement is not mass movement. It is not problem of masses that we discuss, that guide our action, that determine our social philosophy. Our outlook is yet limited by middle class ambitions and desires and if are leading a genuine mass movement, the masses of all communities would gather round our banner, in other words, the communal problems have ceased to exist." In such scenario Lohia and his like minded associates had to reorient the philosophy and ideology of Congress party to rejuvenate its leaders and cadre.



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Lohia was not only a politician and freedom fighter but had great insights on domestic as well as on international issues. In addition to a freedom fighter he was a great social reformer who addressed the various core social issues of society and he had opinion that without addressing these social issues our independence will be incomplete. The was the champion of social justice and had opinion freedom never means freedom to particular section of society, for freedom means complete freedom, freedom from social discrimination, freedom from poverty, freedom from illiteracy, freedom from gender bias, freedom from social, economic and political inequality. Such was the concept of freedom for Lohia and major challenge before him was how to incorporate these core issues in the policies and programmes of Congress party. In this scenario Lohia has to reorient the goals of objectives of Congress party to get rid from the clutches of British Imperialism but it was not easy task. He had two options before him to achieve his desired goals. Either he form his own party and fight to get complete independence based on his ideology and ethos or to work within Congress and try to incorporate his philosophy and values in the policies and programme of Congress party. At this crucial juncture it was beyond his imagination to set apart from congress because it could derail the freedom movement. So he decided to remain in congress but with a separate group of his socialist associates.

The first effort to set socialist group within congress party was made in 1934 when first 'All India Socialist Conference' was organised in Patna. Lohia was elected in organising committee. Lohia got encountered with his associates on the issue of complete independence with socialist society and his vision and objectives to get such freedom. Most of the members of organising committee were not in agreement with the ideas of Lohia. The disagreements were tried to resolve by Acharya Narender Dev and Jai Parkash Narayan. Ultimately Congress Socialist Party was constituted and Sampurnanand was elected as the first president of the party. The party started its weekly magazine 'Congress Socialist' from Calcutta and Lohia was appointed its editor and he started to propagate his ideas through this weekly magazine.

The British Government passed Government of India Act in 1935 and paved the path for elections in states and centre. Diarchy was abolished from the states and was established at centre. Indian National Congress accepted this act and decided to contest elections both at centre and state level but Lohia and his group in Congress Socialist Party was against this act and was also against to contest elections because according to Lohia this act was against the basic principles of the concept of complete independence and was a diversion for the fight against imperialism. Lohia and Jai Parkash brought a resolution against this act and against

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contesting elections under the provisions of this act but resolution was defeated and Indian National Congress decided to contest elections both at centre and state level but Lohia and leaders of Congress Socialist Party decided not to take any office and make to distance from the elections but they also decided that they will not create any hurdle to congress party to contest elections in 1938. Lohia criticised this act because he had a belief that this act will delay the complete independence and leadership in congress party will remain in hands of middle class and submerged strata of society will remain miserable which will defeat the cause of complete independence. So Lohia continued on his old stand of complete independence despite the fact that congress accepted the act and got ready to contest elections. Lohia continuously expressed his strategy to resistance against imperialism. He became the spokesman of poor, downtrodden, peasantry, working class and the most submerged section of society. He still had the faith freedom of India will be incomplete without the freedom of these sections. So he propagated the problems and miseries of these particular sections.

The Second World War was a historic turning point in freedom struggle of India. The world war was fought between axis powers and allied powers. The fascist powers Germany, Japan and Italy were termed as fascist because of their fascist regime and on the other hand the capitalist and later Soviet Union constituted as allied powers. The Britain was part of allied powers and they wanted to indulge India in second world from the side of allied powers. Although Nehru was against India to become the part of second world war but he supported allied powers on certain terms and conditions but Lohia and his associates of congress socialist party were totally against this war because according to Lohia one party in the war is fascist which is the most dangerous development in world politics and other hand the imperialist powers which exploited not only India but many countries as their colonies. According to Lohia, the situation of Second World War emerged as a golden opportunity for Indians to get rid from the jaws of British imperialism. He also encouraged the leaders of other colonial countries to take this situation to get rid of imperialism. He warned Nehru that he should not support any of the party in the war because both are dangerous for colonial countries. Lohia brought resolution at congress socialist party conference at Lahore in 1938 to take pledge and urged "upon the Indian people to prepare for the event when they will refuse supplies of men and money to the British 'Empire and utilise it to achieve independence".

After second world war, the British Government decided to form the constitute assembly for the constitution of India in 1946, although during at its initial stages Nehru and congress

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party opposed by calling it inadequate but later with certain amendments congress party accepted the plan and got ready to form constitute assembly but Lohia and congress socialist party totally opposed the British idea to form constitute assembly because he considered it an effort for incomplete independence and called it a strategy to postpone delay of independence and Lohia and his associate were against such independence. They called it compromise of congress party for incomplete freedom. According to Lohia this was not the freedom which they dreaming for. So he decided to not constitute assembly by quoting "The attitude of congress socialist party towards the constitute assembly is well known by now. In view of that attitude it would have been inconsistent for the members of the party to go the constitute assembly". Lohia was also against the independence act which divided the nation into two states. Lohia opposed idea at congress working committee in June 1947.

Lohia's contribution in freedom struggle of India is very crucial and vital. Although he had different path of action and thoughts from the leaders of Indian national congress party but despite this fact he didn't leave party because it could distract the movement for freedom struggle and he decided to remain in congress. He formed Congress Socialist Party within Congress party. For Lohia simple independence will not serve the purpose, it will only be a transform of power from British to Indian middle class. For independence means independence for all sections of society not only for middle class. For him independence means independence of workers, peasants, and submerged strata of society from hunger, poverty and illiteracy and it will be real and complete independence for India.

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