

QUOTABLE QUOTES

Rammanohar Lohia



Re.
1/-

02250

BIO-GRAPHICAL SKETCH

- March 23, 1910 : Born at Akbarpur in Faizabad district (U.P.)
Father - Hiralal, Mother - Chandri.
- 1928 : Came in close contact with Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose and participated in the boycott of Simon Commission.
- 1929 : Graduated from Vidyasagar College, Calcutta.
- 1932 : Took Ph.D. in Economics from University of Berlin.
- 1934 : Actively participated in the formation of the Congress Socialist Party.
- May 24, 1939 : Arrested for the first time for his anti-war views in Calcutta.
- July 1, 1940 : Sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment for delivering a fiery speech in Sultanpur District.

QUOTABLE QUOTES

Rammanohar Lohia

Compiled by
K.C. Seth

Publications Division)
Ministry of Information
And Broadcasting
Government of India

COMMUNITY HEALTH CELL
326, V Main, I Block
Koramangala
Bangalore-560034
India

December 1990 (Pausa 1912)

©Publications Division

Price: Rs.1.00

Published by the Director, Publications
Division, Ministry of Information and Broad-
casting, Government of India, Patiala House,
New Delhi - 110001.

Printed at:

Seema Offset Press, Delhi-6

Publisher's Note

We are happy to introduce the new series 'Quotable Quotes' from great men and women of India. It is said that a good saying is like fragrance which lingers on en- thusing our lives and deeds. If we start our day with a good thought perhaps that may give us necessary fillip which is much needed to face tension-ridden modern day life. We hope the readers will welcome the series of these mini-anthologies which are handy and can easily fit into a pocket or a purse.

Dr. S.S. Shashi
Director

O India, Mother! Give us
the mind of Shiva,
the heart of Krishna,
and the word and deed
of Ram. Create us with
a non-dimensional mind
and an exuberant heart,
but a life of limits.

-Rammanohar Lohia

SOCIALISM

Socialism should cease to live on borrowed breath.

More than three fourths of the Indian people are outside the main current of politics; those who are expected to make history are out of it. To bring them into the great halls of collective life, as creators and not as objects, should be the supreme aim....

Anger towards those above and aloofness to those below is not socialism; the oneness of sympathy and the anger against exploitation can alone combine to produce right socialism.

Let it be realised that socialism has tended to over-emphasise the envi-

COMMUNITY HEALTH CELL

326, V Main, 1 Block

Koramangala

Bangalore-560034

India

December 1990 (Pausa 1912)

©Publications Division

02250
GIEN-180

Price: Rs.1.00

Published by the Director, Publications
Division, Ministry of Information and Broad-
casting, Government of India, Patiala House,
New Delhi - 110001.

Printed at:

Secma Offset Press, Delhi-6

Publisher's Note

We are happy to introduce the new series 'Quotable Quotes' from great men and women of India. It is said that a good saying is like fragrance which lingers on en-
thusing our lives and deeds. If we start our day with a good thought perhaps that may give us necessary fillip which is much needed to face tension-ridden modern day life. We hope the readers will welcome the series of these mini-anthologies which are handy and can easily fit into a pocket or a purse.

Dr. S.S. Shashi
Director

O India, Mother! Give us
the mind of Shiva,
the heart of Krishna,
and the word and deed
of Ram. Create us with
a non-dimensional mind
and an exuberant heart,
but a life of limits.

-Rammanohar Lohia

SOCIALISM

Socialism should cease to live on borrowed breath.

More than three fourths of the Indian people are outside the main current of politics; those who are expected to make history are out of it. To bring them into the great halls of collective life, as creators and not as objects, should be the supreme aim....

Anger towards those above and aloofness to those below is not socialism; the oneness of sympathy and the anger against exploitation can alone combine to produce right socialism.

Let it be realised that socialism has tended to over-emphasise the envi-

ronment and under-emphasise the individual.

Socialism stands for equality and prosperity.

The destiny of the world hangs on the question whether socialism would be able to acquire a world face. A first step towards that is to cleanse the socialist doctrine of the multiple layers of dust that many decades of ideological schisms have accumulated and to enrich it with the truths that have been discovered but are lying unused. Mutuality between theory and facts must be established so that, while theory must ever seek to mould facts, it must also be willing to be moulded by them.

Socialism is already on the world stage and if some of the ideas of Gandhiji can be woven into a consistent cloth of socialism, the new civilization may emerge and mankind may hope for an age of peace and decent living.

PERCEPTION & PRACTICE

Truth is either whole or not at all. What is perhaps loosely meant by idiom 'partial truth' is not the denial of whole truth but assertion of aspectual truth or truth from an angle. All truth is discovered from the aspect or the angle which the seeker or owner adopts. Error may lie in not taking up the angle properly, or, even if a proper aspect or stance were adopted, error may arise from hurried, blocked or careless view.

Working on aspects in a knowingly aspectual manner, one does not have to tutor facts to fit them into a theory nor to torture theory in order to include all the facts.

A necessary work of 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. In brief the function of the mind is to understand 'is' and 'ought' or 'actual' and 'ideal'. But if 'ought' becomes 'is', all hope for the future and for enlightenment is lost.

The ideal in its abstract form motivates thought and in concrete form motivates action. The one cannot live without the other and if it does it stinks. 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 realities.

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 teachers, we cannot do without leaders, we cannot do without loyalty, we cannot do without imitation.

Abstract equality, for instance, must continually be brought into relationship with concrete equality and other generalization must be treated simi-

larly. Otherwise, the tongue will continually spin the charkha and hands will as continually set up textile machines. The tongue will sing of non-violence and equality and hand will practise inequality and use the gun.

The abstract must be clothed in such a way as corresponds to the age and the clime and the concrete should never be thought to be basically similar to the status quo.

The Indian mind has acquired a remarkable capacity for divorcing the abstract from the concrete and that is the root of our all evils.

Let us not forget that clarity is as essential as unity. What worth is

clarity of policy if in its process unity of endeavour is destroyed? What worth is unity if clarity is not there? I hope that it will be possible to adjust both claims, without having to sacrifice one to the other.

Means are ends in the short run and ends are means in the long run. Whatever method one employs in order to achieve one's desired aim tends to become the end in the long run and whatever aim one desires to achieve, if one goes about the process intelligently, the means are piecemeal achievements to that end.

DISCIPLINE & EFFICIENCY

Discipline does not concern itself with

what should not be done but more with what should be done.

To bow down before an act of indiscipline on the plea that everyone is guilty of indiscipline spells the end to all principles, policies and rules, and a concept like indiscipline in action becomes meaningless.

To frame rules is a big thing, but equally important is their observance.

Stagnation or relegation of a civilization so matured becomes inevitable until such time that it seeks a new direction of efficiency and its creative energies are re-awakened.

As long as 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 lots and, externally, they withstand pressures from outside and even draw sustenance from other societies.

The root cause of all the factors in the fall of civilization lies in the character of internal as well as external motions of a society that has reached maximum efficiency and can go no further and must like the monstrous reptiles of nature, fall under its own weight or outside pressure.

What is relevant is correct thinking and an integrated approach. Our mind must ever be on a quest....

Where there is no division of work and only one or two persons take all the responsibility on their shoulders, there cannot be an efficient organisation.

A people or a political party is strong only when its constituents learn to work within the circles of limited authority, subject themselves to publicly known principles of action, do not allow their energies to run waste because of wayward or arbitrary behaviour and are joined together in progress through the bond of free mind.

EQUALITY & JUSTICE

The eye must redden at an act of injustice, even while it sheds a tear....

Actually weapons mean injustice. Weapons are either meant to eliminate injustice or to reduce its intensity and that is why if injustice is totally eliminated there will be no need for armaments.

Freedom can exist only when there is equality in all the walks of life. Without equality, to talk about freedom is to deny freedom to many in the interest of a few.

Poverty and inequality march together for they are both derived from a relegated civilization and a hardened conscience.

The concept of equality should not rest on abstract but on the practical one that all men must be equal not within a nation but also among nations.

No nation can for long remain equal within its frontiers if it is unequal against those outside. As water finds its level, so human society tends to approximate to its lowest levels, unless these levels are otherwise raised.

As an abstract concept and generalization, equality can only mean an atmosphere, an emotion and perhaps also a wish that all arrangements, political, social or economic shall be equal between one individual and another.

The desire for equality in the modern world has become the desire for being similar and not equal. The effort to be equal both in collective and individual sphere will be corrupted if it simply becomes the desire to be alike.

Economic inequality leads to social injustice and it also hampers production.

If a society ever reaches the stage of possible equality, if not total equality, a stage might be reached for doing away with the weapons.

Equality must be grasped in all its four meanings. Material equality must mean the outward approximation among nations as well as the inward approximation within the nation. Spiritual equality must mean outward kinship as much as it means inward equanimity. Only an integrated concept of these four meanings of equanimity, kinship, material equality within the nation and among nations is

worthy to become a supreme aim of life and its purpose.

Real unity could be brought about by removing all the distinctions of high and low, rich and poor, and touchables and untouchables.

Man must strive to feel an inward equality between contrary conditions of pleasure and pain, heat and cold, victory and defeat.

Liberty is inseparable from equality.

LIBERTY & DEMOCRACY

A people that tolerates internal tyranny is, in course of time, acclimatized

to it and is prepared to tolerate the subjugation by a foreign power. A country becomes slave to a foreign power if its inhabitants are not conscious and vigilant.

The freedom of the individual would seem to depend as much on external as on internal conditions of equality, also the mental or the material.

The concept of salvation after death has given birth to complementary notion of salvation in life.

The people become makers of their own destiny only if they enjoy adequate power in the direct democracy of a small community and also in the belief that an old civilization cannot be otherwise revived into fresh forms of life and hope.

The Government of the people, by the people, for the people may be achieved through the government of community on the one hand, and the government of mankind for mankind on the other.

Man's right to travel, work and die anywhere in the world should be recognized and laws of restrictions on travel and stay on grounds of indigene or undesirability should be abolished. Citizenship should as much be a matter of intention and cultural loyalty as of birth or residence.

Freedom of speech includes the right to speak things not necessarily right. What is right or wrong must be allowed to be judged by the people. Restrictions should be imposed only

when it can be established that the security of the country is in danger.

The individual's welfare and happiness, education and health, also his leisure and much of his life and thoughts are subject to planning of various kinds.

In India people working in the public sector are deprived of their rights. They become Govt. servants. Laws have been made prohibiting them from taking membership of any political party. This is wrong. This will mean socialist slavery as in a socialist system the public sector will go on increasing. Therefore, political rights of all the government servants must be protected.

If one cannot give life, one has no right to take it. COMMUNITY HEALTH CELL

02250 326, V Main, 1 Block
Koramangala
GIE N-10 Bangalore-560034
India

National freedom is on the way to becoming men's irremovable property.

Violation of human rights no matter where they take place should arouse warm sympathy with the victims and indignation against the tyrant.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Civil disobedience is assured reason.

A day may come later when the whole nation is summoned to organise resistance against injustice and for the achievement of a new order.

Only a moron will assert that civil disobedience of the law spreads anarchy and destroys the state.

When thousands suffer, millions are awakened. When thousands pass through the fire of sufferings, their purity and strength increase. Indian history has always placed on its agenda the question as to whether the spirit of killing or the spirit of suffering shall seize the land.

When disobedience is open and unarmed, it strengthens the state and encourages active obedience to just and proper laws.

When we have recourse to weapon we become weak of heart. Those who rely on weapons do not rely on their hearts. They turn into slaves of their own weapon. They have no strength left in themselves.

Satyagraha or class struggle must pass the test of immediacy and it must not make use of lies, deceit or violence. Crude practices should be eliminated.

In the modern world where two third of the world is so steeped in misery and poverty, parliamentary means will often be found to be inadequate.

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.

As collective resistance involves not alone the fate of an individual but of many, it must be resorted to only after collective decisions and sanc-

tions have been taken at all appropriate levels.

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. Mankind will ever hurtle from the hands of one tyranny and irresponsibility into another if it continues to seek and organise its revolutions through violence.

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 organise violence, then, I would be willing to use organised violence.

I can at least understand mass violence at the last moment when the capture of power is on the agenda. But killing otherwise is revolting to me, or any form of beating or indignity to human body or mind.

In fact, civil disobedience has a specific purpose alone in a free and democratic country. Under other conditions the use of violent methods may not be altogether unavoidable and, in any case, its condemnation is not above debate.

A hunger strike for any public reason, and which is publicly undertaken

outside the prison breeds hypocrisy, untruth and individualism.

That is the kind of revolution that I have in mind, where things will happen, where efforts will be made to end existing tyranny, where laws will be violated, where people will suffer, where beatings and deaths will abound even by thousand and more, but where revolutionaries will not employ agencies of fear and hate in order to achieve their purpose.

SOCIAL EVILS

The entire scale of values has been upset.... To beg is believed to be less shameful than to do manual work.... A general atmosphere of fraud prevails, for to protect caste-men and

relations becomes an aim rather than to protect justice and national well being.

National character cannot be built on the shaky foundations of untruth, hypocrisy, ostentatious and conspicuous consumption.

Greatest danger to character comes from greed and big money, wasteful expenditure and the social prestige that is falsely associated with it.

On the one side, we come across national language, national dress, national food and national architecture. Arrayed against these stand feudal language, feudal dress, feudal food and feudal architecture.

An awareness of nation's history moulds the Nation's present. This awareness must be objective and truthful and should correspond to events as they actually took place.

Due to caste system Indian character has become the most split in all the world.

Many socialists honestly but wrongly think it is sufficient to strive for economic equality and caste inequality will banish of itself as a consequence. They fail to comprehend economic inequality and caste inequality as twin demons, which have both to be killed.

With caste develops disinterest and disinterest of the people leads to defeat in war.

Life moves within the frontiers of caste and cultured men speak in soft tones against the system of caste, while its rejection in action must not occur to them.

On no account do the high-castes comprise more than one fifth of India's population. But they keep to themselves almost four-fifth of the nation's leadership.

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

Of all injustices plaguing the earth, arising out of the inequality between sexes are perhaps the bed rock....

Two segregation of caste and women are primarily responsible for the decline of spirit in India.

Certain disadvantages of earlier aging and bodily strength apply to woman and the 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.

LANGUAGE

How can there be democracy when the work of the Govt. is not done in the people's language? It is slavery which

functions through an alien language.

Jesus Christ spoke in Aramaic. It has nothing to do with English. It is closer to Hindustani than to English.

I am no enemy of English language, but I have also no doubt that as long as English rules the public life of this country, minority rule and corruption will also stay.

RELIGION

Religion must shed its querulousness and its defence of the existing order.

We are living today in an unfortunate situation when religion has almost nothing to do with struggle against evil and has become lifeless while politics has become far too querulous and useless.

Hinduism has given its votaries, the commonest among them, the faith of metaphysical equality or oneness between man and man and things, such as has never fallen to the lot of man elsewhere. Alongside of this faith in metaphysical equality goes the most heinous conduct of social inequality.

It is true that Rama of Hindu will never get respect equal to Rahim in the heart of Islam, and similarly Rahim of Islam will never get respect equal to Rama in the Hindu's heart, but both should respect each other's gods.

There would be no Hindu-Muslim problem today or when partition was accepted if Hindus and Muslims had been able to interpret their history unitedly and learnt to live in peace.

ECONOMIC FOUNDATION

Regional inequality in production is the world's most dangerous and obstinate disease.

There is need not alone to secure full employment but also such employment as produces comparatively equal wealth in all the regions of the world.

Small-unit technique, power driven of course as distinct from large-scale technique, can be a better road to engineering to achieve new formation of capital on a world scale.

Socialist distribution is not the immanent law of post-capitalist development, it is the result of an effort of will acting in unity with an appropriate economy.

The poverty of India is vast and for its removal not only the imperialist system must be destroyed but the entire population should engage in a mighty and cooperative economic endeavour.

The co-existence of public and private sectors in our caste-ridden society has brought corruption and is responsible for an unholy alliance between the capitalist and the bureaucracy.

The mind must no longer be clogged by antiquated notions of large scale industry or of cottage industry. A rigorous search must be made to see how far power, whether in the form of oil or electricity or coal, can be used for the propelling machines that do not need heavy capitalization.

In a civilized society, incomes and prices must keep in step, but in India, prices gallop at horse speed, while incomes lag behind at donkey pace.... I want strike not for raising D.A. but for price control.

Those who get incentive only from fat money and luxurious living are not needed by this country, and it is better if their existence is obliterated from the face of the earth. Only that political party has future now in the country which would make itself the spearhead of the social revolution and by its organisation herald a new dawn.

Hunger can be removed only by those who are truthful and who forgo their desire for increasing poverty.

- May 20, 1944 : Again arrested in Bombay and sent to Lahore Fort Prison.
- April 11, 1946 : Released along with Jaya Prakash Narayan.
- 1949 : Became first President of the Hind Kisan Panchayat.
- May 25, 1949 : Sentenced to two months imprisonment for leading a procession towards Nepal Embassy.
- July 3, 1951 : Took part in International Socialist Conference in Frankfurt (Germany).
- 1953 : Elected General Secretary of the P.S.P.
- 1955 : Became Chairman of the Newly formed Socialist Party of India.
- 1958 : Advocated a new form of civil disobedience, i.e. GHERA DALO movement which has now become famous as GHERAO.
- 1963 : Entered the Lok Sabha.
- Oct. 12, 1967 : Death finally cut the journey of his life.

I have nothing of my own except the fact that the poor and the common people of India believe that perhaps I belong to them.

The people will listen to me, perhaps after I am dead, but listen they must some day. What is wanted is a new type of leadership and a new quality among the people.

-Rammanohar Lohia



PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION & BROADCASTING
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA