

Gandhian Conception of Swaraj and its Post-Independence (Re)Interpretations by Jayaprakash Narayan and Rammanohar Lohia

Concepciones gandhianas de Swaraj y sus (re)interpretaciones posindependencia por Jayaprakash Narayan y Rammanohar Lohia

Mithilesh Kumar Jha¹

Indian Institute of Technology Guwahati

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1664-2959>

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Abstract

Swaraj has a prominent place in modern India's socio-political imagination. Its multiple interpretations by the leaders and organisations, often on the opposite spectrum of political ideologies, have shaped the nation's socio-cultural, political, and economic thinking and intellectual life. This paper examines the Gandhian conception of *swaraj* by comparing it with other equally important concepts in Gandhian lexicons of politics, such as truth, nonviolence, satyagraha, and sarvodaya. It underlines the significance of the socio-economic conception of *swaraj*, which Gandhi expressed through constructive programmes. The second part of this paper examines its re/interpretations by the two prominent socialist leaders – Jayaprakash Narayan (1902-1979), popularly known as JP, and Rammanohar Lohia (1910-1967). They were founding members of the Congress Socialist Party (CSP), formed in 1934. Although inspired by Mahatma Gandhi's (1869-1948) leadership and programme, JP and Lohia were, at one point, ideologically opposed to Gandhian ideals and methods. However, in their distinct ways, both re/interpreted the Gandhian conception of *swaraj* in post-independence India for the 'reconstruction' of its polity and society.

Keywords: Mahatma Gandhi, Jayaprakash Narayan, Rammanohar Lohia, *swaraj*, socialism, *sarvodaya*.

¹ (jhamk21@iitg.ac.in). Dr Jha holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of Delhi and is an Assistant Professor at IIT Guwahati. His research interests are political thought, theory and Indian politics. For further information and a list of publications, please visit: https://www.iitg.ac.in/hss/faculty_page_profile.php?name=RnUrSzB1enpWMHRFL01Bc2s5QXVVUT09

Resumen

Swaraj ostenta un lugar preeminente en el imaginario sociopolítico en la India moderna. Sus múltiples interpretaciones por parte de líderes y organizaciones, a menudo desde posiciones opuestas en el espectro ideológico, han moldeado el pensamiento sociocultural, político y económico y la vida intelectual de la nación. Este artículo examina la concepción gandhiana de *swaraj*, comparándola con otros conceptos igualmente importantes en el léxico político de Gandhi, tales como verdad, no-violencia, satyagraha y sarvodaya. Nuestro estudio enfatiza la importancia de las concepciones socioeconómicas de *swaraj*, las cuales Gandhi expresó a través de los programas constructivos. La segunda parte del artículo examina las (re)interpretaciones de *swaraj* por parte de dos preeminentes líderes socialistas: Jayaprakash Narayan (1902-1979), popularmente conocido como JP, y Rammanohar Lohia (1910-1967). Ambos fueron los fundadores del Partido Socialista del Congreso (CSP), fundado en 1934. Aunque inspirados por el liderazgo y el programa de Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948), JP y Lohia estuvieron, en ciertos momentos, enfrentados ideológicamente con los ideales y métodos gandhianos. No obstante, cada uno a su manera, (re)interpretaron la conceptualización gandhiana de *swaraj* en la India posindependencia como parte de la “reconstrucción” de su forma política y social.

Palabras-clave: Mahatma Gandhi, Jayaprakash Narayan, Rammanohar Lohia, *swaraj*, socialismo, *sarvodaya*.

Introduction

Swaraj is central in the Gandhian lexicons of politics. Political freedom was the primary objective of the *swaraj*, and it was equated with autonomy and sovereignty. However, Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948) intrinsically weaved individuals, communities, and states' independence and autonomy in a continuum through this concept. Thus, it was simultaneously applicable to individuals, communities, and state. Gandhi developed the concept of *swaraj* in his seminal text *Hind Swaraj* (1909). This text was written before he started political activism in India with the *Champaran Satyagraha* (1917). Throughout his political life, Gandhi returned to this concept time and again. Even on the eve of India's political independence, he invoked the ideals of *swaraj* and was quite vocal about its relevance beyond the political independence from the British.

Swaraj has a prominent place in the modern Indian's imagination of self, community, politics and society.¹ It has inspired leaders, groups, and

organisations often on the opposite spectrum of political ideologies. *Swaraj* remains a rallying point for numerous social and political groups and communities fighting for justice. It has been invoked in post-independence India on several occasions, such as during the socialist movements in the 1950s, Jayaprakash Narayan or JP-led students' movement; *Chipko movement*, *Narmada bachao andolan*, *India against corruption* and *Anna Hazare movement* and the formation of Aam Aadmi Party (AAP). Similarly, recent initiatives like *Swaraj Abhiyan* by Yogendra Yadav and *Jan Suraaj Party* of Prashant Kishor in Bihar derive inspiration from the Gandhian philosophy of *swaraj*.

Mahatma Gandhi's biographies remain a favourite hit among publishers, scholars and interested readers. Besides the classic works of Fisher (1951), BR Nanda (1958), Tendulkar (8 vols, 1960-63) and others, Sudhir Chandra (2020) and Gopal Krishna Gandhi (2021) in recent years have produced excellent and intimate accounts of Gandhi's life. The latter two biographies of Gandhi move beyond his messianic image to bring forth the humane aspects of Gandhi's life. Gandhian scholarships, however, have moved beyond his biography to establish him first and foremost as a 'theorist' or a 'political philosopher'. They privilege *Hind Swaraj* over Gandhi's other works.² Judith Brown considered Gandhi's *Hind Swaraj* 'nearest to produce a sustained work of political theory'. It remains the most systematic account of the Gandhian alternative to the soul-crushing mechanical civilisation of the modern West dominated by the market economy. Aditya Nigam (2009) has rightly argued that Gandhi should be read in today's context of the widely shared 'disenchantment, alienation and homelessness'.³

These works also focus on the relevance of Gandhian thought globally.⁴ However, there is an observable trend in these works. They focus more on the relevance of Gandhian thought for individual subjects and under-emphasise the Gandhian focus on collective actions and rejuvenations. Most of these works hardly engage with the Gandhian constructive programmes. Dhananjai Ray (2023) is a notable exception; it foregrounds the Gandhian emphasis on social and economic *swaraj* through constructive programmes. Gandhi realised and asserted many times – like B R Ambedkar – that socio-economic freedom for the majority of the masses would be harder to achieve.⁵ It is perhaps incorrect to think or theorise Gandhian conception of *swaraj* without critically engaging with his conception and practices of the constructive programme.

Similarly, the recent attempts to resurrect Gandhi 'foremost as a political philosopher' or 'a theorist' do little justice to Gandhian emphasis on practice. For Gandhi, his practices or experiments were as important – perhaps more, than his writings or utterances.⁶ There are inseparable connections in Gandhian politics between his ideas/thoughts and his political activities.⁷ It would be

grossly incorrect to reduce Gandhi and his thoughts to the substance of purely academic debates. In this spirit, this paper engages with the re/interpretations of the Gandhian conception of *swaraj* by the two prominent socialist thinkers and political activists in modern India, Jayaprakash Narayan (1902-1979), popularly known as JP and Rammanohar Lohia (1910-1967). Both were deeply influenced by Gandhian ideas and practices. They took part in the freedom struggle under the leadership of the Congress and Gandhi. They creatively engaged with Gandhian ideas in post-independence India in their distinct ways. JP's was more like a Gandhian stand on the question of socio-economic transformations. On the other hand, Lohia was steadfast in his radical socialist beliefs and ideas. Nevertheless, much of his writings and speeches reflect his admiration for Gandhian ideals and methods for bringing about large-scale socio-economic and political transformations. Retaining his creative autonomy, Lohia specifically highlighted the radical and revolutionary potential of Gandhian politics and *satyagraha*.

It is ironic that Gandhian scholars have hardly engaged with these two prominent Indian political thinkers and their interpretations of the Gandhian conception of *swaraj*. Otherwise also, except for a few biographies, monographs or hagiographies and compilations of their works,⁸ there are hardly any critical engagements with JP or Lohia's writings. There has been growing interest in Lohia's life and works in recent years.⁹ The engagements with JP's thoughts and writings are few and far between. There is hardly any analysis of the strong intellectual connections and political visions these two leaders shared with Gandhi. I hope this paper, in some measure, fills this gap and initiates broader and more critical inquiry in this direction.

This paper examines the Gandhian conception of *swaraj* by locating it within the Gandhian lexicons of politics, such as truth, nonviolence, *satyagraha*, and *sarvodaya*. It also examines its re/interpretations in post-independence India by JP and Lohia. This paper argues that the ideals of *swaraj*, as interpreted by Gandhi, remain relevant and continue to inspire several groups and communities struggling for socio-economic and political transformations.

Gandhi, *Swaraj* and *Hind Swaraj*

Much before the emergence of Gandhi on the 'Indian scene', *swaraj* had become a cliché in India's national-political discourse. Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917) invoked this term first in 1906.¹⁰ However, Gandhi provided a more systematic and philosophical conception of *swaraj*, which became the creed for India's struggle for Independence. His notion of *swaraj* was based on the twin principles of truth and nonviolence. They remain the foundational

source of Gandhian politics. Gandhi's conception of *swaraj* inspired and mobilised millions, especially those at the margins of Indian society, during the freedom struggle. It gave voice to the voiceless and courage and strength to the meek to fight against injustices.

Gandhi outlines his philosophy of *swaraj* in the *Hind Swaraj*.¹¹ It remains the most authoritative text on Gandhian thought. In this text, Gandhi spelt out the meaning of *swaraj* or 'home rule', *satyagraha* and nonviolence, his critique of modern civilisation, the superiority of moral/soul force over the brute force, the life of a *satyagrahi*, and so on. *Hind Swaraj* was a text to which Gandhi returned time and again throughout his life. Dennis Dalton (2012) calls *Hind Swaraj* 'a proclamation of ideological independence'. Soon after its publication, it was banned by the British government for fear of sedition "not because it advocated revolt or the use of physical force against British rule in India, but because it advocated a 'dangerous thought', that of passive resistance or *satyagraha*".¹²

Gandhi conceptualised *swaraj* in two fundamental ways – first, '*swaraj* as self-government or the quest for home rule or the good state'; and second, '*swaraj* as self-rule or the quest for self-improvement'.¹³ Interestingly, Gandhi used *swaraj* for both self-rule and self-government in the original Gujarati. However, in his English translation, he used *swaraj* for self-rule and *home rule* for self-government. Another interesting aspect of this distinction is that in his conception, *swaraj* as self-government is proportional to each individual's ability to govern him/herself. Thus, Gandhi viewed *swaraj* at individual and national levels in a continuum. It can be better grasped from Gandhi's response to a colleague who wondered, 'What one individual can do to emancipate India?' To which Gandhi replied, 'please do not carry unnecessarily on your head the burden of emancipating India. Emancipate your own self. Even that burden is very great. Apply everything to yourself. Nobility of soul consists in realising that you are yourself India. In your emancipation is the emancipation of India. All else is make-believe'.¹⁴ Thus, the emancipation of the self or the individual was central to the Gandhian conception of *swaraj*.

Swaraj: Socio-economic and political

Gandhi connected his notion of *swaraj* with concepts such as *swadeshi*, *sarvodaya*, truth and nonviolence, *satyagraha*, *oceanic circle* and so on. He argued that 'in spinning wheel lies *swaraj*', 'in prohibition lies *swaraj*', and 'in *swadeshi* lies *swaraj*'. Thus, he establishes the multifaceted meaning of *swaraj*. He equated it with a banyan tree with 'innumerable trunks, each of which is as important to the tree as the original trunk'. It was used not just for fighting against the British imperial rule. It was also used for fighting prevailing

social evils in the country to rid the toiling masses of the multiple conditions of unfreedoms – poverty, untouchability, illiteracy, and exploitation. It was a weapon to fight evils and injustices in their varied forms and manifestations.

Gandhi envisioned an ethical mode of living for individuals and society through his conception of *swaraj*. To realise this, he wanted each individual to be voluntarily ready to ‘observe perfect chastity, adopt poverty, follow truth, and cultivate fearlessness’.¹⁵ A *satyagrahi* leading such a disciplined life would be an example for others. Adopting such a mode of living by all the individuals in a community would be a precondition for attaining *swaraj*. Similarly, he argued for the purity of means and ends. For him, the nature of *swaraj* established by nonviolence would be very different from that established by violence or armed rebellion. *Swaraj* attained by violent means would lead to more violence and would be a menace to the world and India herself. Therefore, in his support for the struggle to attain *swaraj*, he shuns the use of all forms of violence. Hence, unlike Fanon¹⁶ (1925-1961) and other revolutionaries in the twentieth century, there is no conception of ‘sacred’ violence in Gandhian thought.

He was deeply disturbed by the ‘greed-driven industrialisation’ that ‘created mass unemployment, undermined human dignity, rendered people rootless, destroyed communities, and caused moral and social havoc.’¹⁷ He rejected both capitalism and communism as morally untenable. Gandhi argued that capitalism was based on private property and greed, aggressive competitiveness, and exploitation of nature. It fosters inequalities and dehumanises the rich and the poor. On the other hand, communism claims to be free from these evils and promotes sharing and cooperation. However, such sharing and cooperation are not based on mutual love or affection. Further, it enables the state to combine economic and moral power. Such a state becomes the greatest threat to individual liberty and self-respect. Thus, according to Gandhi, communism did not offer a higher-order civilisation. According to him, an individual’s quest for self-improvement and development of his/her full moral stature is possible only in a small, autonomous, and self-reliant community. In such communities, land will be collectively owned, farming will be done through cooperatives and produce will be equitably shared. Local small industries and crafts will be promoted, and only those products that cannot be produced locally will be imported.

The modern state, its centralised power, and its capacity to unleash violence aroused deep suspicion in Gandhi. He was critical of any form of state worship. He argued for a polity based on the people’s will rather than dictated by an impersonal, abstract machinery of the modern state. Gandhi, therefore, argued about a *swaraj*-based polity that would be ‘composed of small cultured, well-organised, thoroughly regenerated, and self-governing village communities’. These bodies would manage their local affairs and elect a small body of men

to enforce their decisions. It would function not merely as an administrative body but as an effective economic and political unit. Thus, they would develop ‘a strong sense of solidarity, provide a genuine sense of community, and act as nurseries of civic virtue’.¹⁸

He wanted these self-sufficient village communities to be organised in terms of ‘expanding circles’. A group of villages would be constituted into a district, and a group of districts would be constituted into a province. Each governed by its elected representatives enjoys considerable autonomy and a strong sense of community. Each tier of government in this pyramid would sustain and hold the government above it accountable. The top tier of government shall enjoy enough power or authority to hold the units of government below together. However, it does not have enough power to dominate or dictate them. Such polity would not be based on isolated or disconnected individuals driven by their selfish interests and dictated by an all-powerful state, but a ‘community of communities,’ a ‘living organism’ where the parts sustain the whole and, in turn, the whole unites the parts.¹⁹

Further, Gandhi regarded the constructive programme as outlined in the *Constructive Programme: Its Meaning and Place*²⁰ central to his quest for *swaraj*. Gandhi believed that non-cooperation and civil disobedience without constructive programmes would be ineffective. His vision of *Purna Swaraj* or complete independence was rooted in the ‘idea of a non-violent society, where every unit, even the most humble, was independent and interdependent’.²¹ The eighteen-point constructive programme discussed in this small booklet was to teach each Indian the ability and courage to take control of his life and participate meaningfully in the life of his/her communities. They include inter-religious relations, discrimination against the so-called untouchables, women, and aboriginal tribes, rural sanitation, small-scale industries, including *khadi*, and adult education.²² Thus, the Gandhian conception of *swaraj* was an innovation that enabled an alternative imagination of civilisation distinct from greed and speed-driven modern civilisation. It exhibits the superiority of soul force over the brute and makes it possible for individuals and communities to live shared and autonomous lives.

JP: A Marxist / ‘democratic socialist’ turned Gandhian

Lokanayak (people’s leader) Jayaprakash Narayan²³ is known for his leadership during the 1970s against the imposition of an internal emergency by Indira Gandhi. He was instrumental in establishing the first non-Congress union government. His call for *sampoorn kranti*, or *Total Revolution*, galvanised the democratic struggles in the whole country. However, JP had an eventful life

with many turns.²⁴ He was a devout nationalist who renounced his college studies to join India's struggle for freedom. The desire for higher studies took him to the USA, where he studied for seven years at various universities – California, Berkeley, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Ohio. He completed a master's in sociology from Ohio in 1929. During these seven years, he did all kinds of 'menial' jobs – working in the fields, bars, restaurants, slaughterhouses, and so on to support his studies. In the US, JP came into close contact with several Marxist scholars and study circles. He thoroughly studied Marx and his followers – Lenin, Luxemburg, Trotsky, and Plekhanov including Indian revolutionary and Marxist ideologue M N Roy's writings.

By the time he returned to India in 1929, JP was a committed Marxist who believed in the superiority of the Marxist 'scientific' theory of revolution. He joined the Congress and soon became close to Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. He was present at the Lahore session of the Congress in 1929 when Congress declared 'complete Independence' as its goal. The country was preparing for the Civil Disobedience Movement to be launched under the leadership of Gandhi. He was sent to Nasik jail in 1932 for involvement in the Civil Disobedience Movement. He came in close contact with young 'radical nationalists' like Rammanohar Lohia, Achyut Patwardhan, Minnoo Masani, Yusuf Meherally, and Ashoka Mehta. They shared common political views and, under the leadership of JP, formed the Congress Socialist Party (CSP) in 1934 – a 'left-wing' faction within the Congress.²⁵ For JP, it was an ideologically challenging time. He understood the limits of Gandhian politics and methods and yet believed them to be necessary for national liberation. He believed in Marxist philosophy and method but became increasingly suspicious of its totalitarian tendencies, particularly with the rise of Stalin in the USSR/Soviet Union. JP was equally uncomfortable with the Indian communist parties' harshly critical attitude toward the Gandhi-led freedom struggle. In this context, he thought of socialism – as a 'science of society', more specifically 'democratic socialism', as a way forward for the country.

After his dramatic and daring escape from Hazaribagh jail on the Diwali night of November 09, 1942, JP became a national icon. He provided leadership to the Quit India movement (1942) and was arrested again in 1944. By the time he returned from jail in 1946, much after the release of many nationalist leaders, JP had become a 'legendary folk hero'. However, in the 1940s and 50s, more specifically after the CSP decided to part ways from the Congress in 1948 contrary to Nehru's wishes, JP found it increasingly challenging to resurrect an independent path for the Socialist Party in India. After its poll debacle in the first general election (1952) and internal feud within the party ranks, JP renounced the 'party' or 'power politics'. Inspired by the Vinoba Bhave-led *bhoodan* (land-gift) movement, he committed himself to the realisation of Gandhian

ideals and constructive programmes. JP revisited Gandhian philosophy and realised its superiority over socialist and communist ideas and methods. He wanted radical transformations of society and politics based on the Gandhian philosophy of *swaraj* and *sarvodaya*. However, it must be noted that through all these turns and ideological re/discoveries, JP remained steadfast in his belief in democratic freedom and equality. He expressed it thus:

Freedom became one of the beacon lights of my life and it has remained so ever since... Freedom, with the passing of the years, transcended the mere freedom of my country and embraced freedom of man everywhere and from every trammel – above all, it meant freedom of the human personality, freedom of the mind, freedom of the spirit. This *freedom has become a passion of my life and I shall not see it compromised for food, for security, for prosperity, for the glory of state or for anything else* (emphasis added).²⁶

When JP saw the growth of left-wing extremism in many parts of the country, including in Bihar, along with the deterioration of democratic practices and the gradual unfolding of authoritarian tendencies, he returned to active politics in the 1970s as the nation's 'conscience keeper'. His call for 'total revolution' inspired youths and many parties across the country. The 'end of emergency' in which he played a critical role is celebrated as 'India's second freedom'.²⁷ JP was a true visionary leader and political activist who developed a unique synthesis of different strands of thoughts in modern India and 'represented an extra-ordinary convergence of commitment for truth, pursuit of freedom, courage of conviction, and faith in peoples' power ('Lokshakti')'.²⁸

JP: From *Socialism* to *Sarvodaya*

As discussed earlier, initially, JP was committed to Marxist and socialist ideals. He considered Gandhi and Congress necessary for India's independence but inadequate to radically transform society. He believed that socialism and the Socialist Party alone could do that. Thus, JP started his political career, much to the distaste of his long-time companion and faithful wife, Prabhavati – whom Gandhi treated as his daughter – by nearly denouncing Gandhism. In *Why Socialism?* (1936), he expressed his uncritical acceptance of the Marxist approach to socialism. For him, socialism was a 'science of society' 'interested in permanently destroying the basis of economic exploitation and inequality'.²⁹ Although partly accepting Gandhian views on decentralisation, non-coercion and the role of a cottage industry in generating employment, JP comes out in this pamphlet as a bitter critic of Gandhian ideals and methods. He refused to accept the Gandhian precept of a 'change of heart' and instead argued for social

revolution. He regarded nothing ‘distinctively Indian’ about Gandhian ideas, including trusteeship and Gandhian socialism. Responding to Gandhi’s ideals of *Ramrajya* ‘for princes and pauper alike’, JP sarcastically remarked –

A Ramarajya of paupers and princes! Why not? How else will the noble souls get an opportunity to practice deeds of high-minded philanthropy and thus prove the Hindu conception of human nature?³⁰

Further, he argued:

Gandhism may be a well-intentioned doctrine. I personally think it is. But even with the best of intentions, it is, I must admit – it gives me no pleasure to do so – a dangerous doctrine. It is dangerous because it hushes up real issues and sets out to remove the evils of society by pious wishes. It thus deceives the masses and encourages the upper classes to continue their domination.³¹

However, this clear ideological opposition to Gandhism began to loosen as early as 1940 when he wrote *An Outline Picture of Swaraj*.³² Here, he presents a picture of a democratic socialist society. JP began to use the term ‘democratic socialism’. Mainly due to Stalin’s purges in the USSR and partly after reading his long-time comrade and associate Minnoo Masani’s *Socialism Reconsidered* (1944), JP began to reconsider his views of the 1930s and argued that freedom and democracy were essential for the realisation of socialism. Since then, JP’s political views have been tilting towards Gandhian vision and politics. He describes his picture of *swaraj* in the following words:

The law of the land to be based on the will of the people freely expressed by them; guarantee of full individual and civil liberty and religious freedom; abolition of all distinctions of birth and privilege and guarantee of equal rights to all citizens; social justice and economic freedom to be the guiding principles of the political and economic organisation of the State; all large-scale production to be under collective ownership and control.³³

In such *swaraj*, the state shall work for ‘the satisfaction of the rational requirements of each member of society, material satisfaction shall not be its sole objective. It shall aim at healthy living and the moral and intellectual development of the individual’.³⁴ And further, ‘the life of the villages shall be reorganised and the villages shall be made self-governing units, self-sufficient in as large a measure as possible’.³⁵ The draft of his picture of *swaraj* was sent to Mahatma Gandhi to be discussed in the Ramgarh session of the Indian National Congress held in March 1940. But, it was not discussed in the session. However, Mahatma Gandhi liked the draft and approved most of its recommendations. He also published this draft in the *Harijan*, along with his own comments.³⁶ JP

outlines a similar notion of *swaraj* in *My Picture of Socialism* (1946). Here, he referred to himself as Marxist but argued that Indian socialism must develop its own vision of development in the light of Marxist thought, developments in world history since Marx's death, and the historical background and specific conditions in this country.³⁷ In *The Transition to Socialism* (1947), JP grapples with the question of the method to be followed for realising his 'picture of socialism'. He was critical of the state monopoly and control over every sphere of human life. He also believed that violent revolutions often led to a totalitarian and dictatorial state. Thus, he strongly pleaded for a peaceful and democratic method for realising socialism. This point was further reinforced in his other important essay, *Ends and Means* (1948), published after the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. In this, JP – like Gandhi, categorically emphasised the role of ethics in politics and argued that purity of means was as important as goals. Acknowledging the role of Gandhi, JP writes –

there were many things that Mahatma Gandhi taught us. But the greatest thing he taught us was that the means are ends, that evil means can never lead to good ends and that fair ends require fair means....nothing but good means will enable us to reach *the goal of a good society – which is socialism* (emphasis added).³⁸

Thus, JP's dream of a good society remains firmly tied to socialism. However, its methods and ideals shifted from Marxism to Gandhism. In an article in the socialist weekly *Janata*, JP laments the failure of the socialist parties to understand the workings and philosophy of the *Sarvodaya Plan*.³⁹ He writes that 'this plan is no wishy-washy sentimentalism, but a concrete programme of basic revolution'.⁴⁰ Similarly, in his letter to Nehru in March 1953, acknowledging the relevance of Gandhi, JP wrote –

we have all been deeply influenced by Gandhiji. I do not mind saying that I have been rediscovering him lately and reunderstanding him. I believe he was one of the most vital thinkers of the modern age...I feel sure that the Gandhians and the socialists, dropping their respective jargons, must work together.⁴¹

He expressed his disenchantment with socialism and its methods in *The Ideological Problems of Socialism* (1953).⁴² In the same year, he wrote *A Plea for Gandhism* (1953), where he discussed how the newly formed Praja Socialist Party (PSP) – after the merger of Socialist Party and Kisan Majdoor Praja Party (KMPP) led by JB Kriplani, a devout Gandhian, in 1952, could achieve cohesion and unity 'only on the basis of Gandhism'. He argued that communism led to state capitalism and dictatorship wherever it was victorious, and socialism had become 'only a parliamentary creed'. Thus, JP found Gandhism – 'revolution by nonviolence mass action' – the only viable alternative. He argued how it

creates a classless and casteless society without pitting a class/caste against the other, without using or capturing the state's power. In fact, according to JP, Gandhism was superior to other doctrines because it makes 'the social process as little dependent upon the State as possible'.⁴³

A complete rupture from the socialist ideology and party-led 'state politics' that JP called *rajniti* (party/power politics) distinct from *lokniti* (people's politics) came a year later when taking inspiration from Vinoba Bhave's works,⁴⁴ he took a pledge of *Jeevandan* (dedicating one's life to a cause) at the *Sarvodaya Conference* held at Bodh Gaya in 1954. He lived in an Ashram in Gaya, Bihar, for many years. JP began to argue for a different kind of politics that could help create a condition where people can manage their affairs without relying on parties, parliaments, or the state. He firmly believed in and argued for socialism's eventual merger with Gandhism in India. He recognised Gandhi as an exceptional revolutionary. According to Bimal Prasad, the three core tenets of Gandhian thoughts that influenced JP immensely were – 'its moral and ethical basis and its insistence on values; its great contribution to revolutionary technology in the shape of civil disobedience and satyagraha; and its insistence on political and economic decentralisation'.⁴⁵

JP's writings in this phase - *From Socialism to Sarvodaya* (1957), *A Plea for the Reconstruction of Indian Polity* (1959), and *Swaraj for the People* (1961) essentially capture his engagement with Gandhian ideals of *swaraj* for the people. Like Gandhi, JP understood the limits of party and state-centric politics. He succinctly provided a critique of party functioning and its impacts on realising true *swaraj* for the people in the following words:

The party system, with the corroding and corrupting struggle for power inherent in it, disturbed me more and more. I saw how parties backed by finance, organisation, and means of propaganda could impose themselves on the people; how people's rule became in effect party rule; how party rule in turn became the rule of a caucus or coterie; how democracy was reduced to mere casting of votes; how even the right to vote was restricted severely by the system of powerful parties setting up their candidates from whom alone, for all practical purposes, the voters had to make their choice; how even this limited choice was made unreal by the fact that the issues posed before the electorate were by and large incomprehensible to it.⁴⁶

Further, he feared the hegemonic presence of the economic and political bureaucracy of the state controlling and regulating citizens' lives. JP, therefore, wanted to create a decentralised administration with effective participation of the people. He regarded *sarvodaya* as "peoples' socialism". *A Plea for the Reconstruction of India Polity* and *Swaraj for the People* further elaborated upon the nature and characteristics of such polity. He wanted the *swaraj* to reach the lives of millions of Indians by inverting the hierarchical pyramid. It can be

done through strengthening the *Panchayati Raj*. He envisioned it as a self-governing small village community not subjected to control from above. This could be achieved through maximum economic and political decentralisation. Second, a band of selfless workers should be prepared to live and move amidst people and help them learn self-reliance. Finally, the large mass movements of a nonviolent character could be adopted to fight for justice. Further, JP talks about the nine ‘moral qualities and mental attitudes most needed’ for the success and effective functioning of democracy – ‘(1) concern for truth; (2) aversion to violence; (3) love of liberty and courage to resist oppression and tyranny; (4) spirit of co-operation; (5) preparedness to adjust self-interest to the larger interest; (6) respect for other’s opinions and tolerance; (7) readiness to take responsibility; (8) belief in the fundamental equality of man; (9) faith in the educability of human nature’.⁴⁷ He wanted civic affairs to be free from party politics, which focused on cooperation rather than contestation or competition. Thus, JP envisioned an India where people – from the *Gram Sabha* to the highest body in the state – would take power in their own hands.⁴⁸

Lohia: A ‘heretic’ Gandhian

Rammanohar Lohia – a quintessential critic and ‘non-conformist thinker’⁴⁹ was a socialist-visionary leader. He is in/famously known for his uncompromising and acrimonious stand against Nehru’s politics and leadership. He is also known for his call for *angreji hatao* (banish English), which received popular support in the ‘Hindi heartland’.⁵⁰ He fought for the political empowerment of socially and economically marginalised sections of Indian Society. Lohia’s theorisation of *samta* (equality), *saptakranti* (seven revolutions), and *chauhamba* (four pillars) state provides a unique lens to understand the limits and possibilities of post-independence Indian politics.

Lohia was born in Akbarpur, UP’s Faizabad (now Ayodhya) district. His father, Hiralal Lohia, was a businessman and devout Gandhian. After receiving his early education from Bombay and Calcutta (now Kolkata), Lohia went to Germany in 1929 to pursue higher studies. He studied at Humboldt University, earning his doctorate in 1932 on ‘The Tax Act and *Satyagraha*’. It is evident from this title that Lohia was intellectually and emotionally committed to the political developments in his country. He returned to India in 1933 as a firebrand young revolutionary.

Nehru, then President of the Congress Party, invited him in 1936 to work as the secretary of Congress’s Foreign Affairs Wing. He published several booklets in that capacity on foreign policy, India and China, war in Spain, and civil liberties. He opposed the colonial administration policy of involving

India in the Second World War. Lohia was a leading light along with several other socialist leaders like JP, Achyut Patwardhan, Aruna Asaf Ali, and Usha Mehta during the Quit India movement. He was instrumental in underground revolutionary activities, including the formation of 'Azad Dasta' and 'Congress Radio Station' during 1942-44. He was imprisoned in May 1944 and was released only in April 1946.⁵¹

Like JP, Lohia was one of the founding members of the CSP. Gandhi's politics and methods did influence him. He understood the value of Gandhian politics but was equally aware of its limits. His anti-elitism, demand for caste-based reservations in employment and education, women's empowerment, support for Indian languages and vernacular knowledge traditions distinguished him from his contemporary socialist peers. Lohia was as much critical of Indian communists and Marxism. He believed that Marxism had little to offer for non-Western societies engaged in bitter struggles against imperialism. He also opposed Marxism as a Eurocentric philosophy.

Like JP, Lohia, too, identified the revolutionary potential of socialism by correctly applying Gandhian thought in the Indian context. For him, Gandhi was the most influential and original thinker of modern India. He sought to transform Indian society and polity by critically applying Gandhian politics in the deep-rooted power structure in Indian society, which keeps the masses out of the corridor of powers and state politics. Lohia was inspired by the Gandhian ideals of decentralisation and people's participation in politics. However, unlike JP, he remained steadfastly committed to 'party politics' or what JP called *rajniti*. He was deeply involved in organising socialist parties as an effective opposition to the Congress. In the 1950s and 60s, he emerged to function as the tallest leader and intellectual of the Socialist Party. Through the publications of Weekly, *Chaukhamba* and Monthly, *Jana* in Hindi, and Monthly *Mankind* in English, Lohia expressed his ideas on various domestic and international issues. His call for *dam bandho* (control price), *jati todo* (end caste), *angreji hatao* (banish English), and *Himalaya bachao* (protect the Himalayan border from Chinese aggression/intrusion) still resonates with many today.

Lohia was elected to the Indian parliament in 1963. He became the most vocal voice of the opposition parties. He was arrested and put in jail on several occasions in post-independence India. He was also instrumental in defeating the Congress party in several Indian provinces in the fourth general elections of 1967. Inspired by the Gandhian ideals of decentralisation, constructive programmes, nonviolence and *satyagraha*, Lohia wanted the socialist parties in India to work simultaneously for 'vote' (ballot), 'constructive works' (spade), and 'agitation' (jail). However, his untimely demise in 1967 was a severe blow to the socialist movement and 'opposition unity'⁵² in the country. Since then, Lohia was by and large forgotten or side-lined until his 'Birth centenary'

celebrations, started in 2009, as a two-year long celebration (2009-2011) by the academics, journalists, and writers influenced by his ideas and politics, revived some interests in his life and works.⁵³

Marx, Gandhi, and Socialism and Sapta Kranti

Lohia was not a blind follower nor sentimental about Gandhian philosophy. His was a critical re/interpretation of Gandhi for socialist politics.⁵⁴ For Lohia, Gandhi was ‘the most original mind of the twentieth century’ and also the ‘world’s greatest symbol for resistance to oppression and injustice’.⁵⁵ He was more influenced by Gandhi’s ideals of truth and cyclical views on history. However, Lohia called himself and the socialist party ‘Gandhian heretics’ to differentiate themselves from the ‘governmental’ and ‘priestly’ or ‘monistic Gandhians’ – which together became authoritative Gandhians in the 1950s and 60s.⁵⁶ According to him, while the latter followed the ceremony and the form of Gandhism, they had done away with its substance – i.e., using the weapons of *satyagraha* for a radical transformation of society, polity and economy.⁵⁷ Lohia wanted to resurrect this radical potentiality in the Gandhian philosophy of *satyagraha*.

Rammanohar Lohia, in his two speeches– ‘Gandhism and Socialism’ and ‘Anecdotes of Mahatma Gandhi’, delivered in Hyderabad in August 1952 – discussed in detail his intimate but critical engagement with Gandhi and his ideas.⁵⁸ In the latter, he shares several anecdotes from his two-decades-long personal experience and interactions with Gandhi. In the first, he critically engages with Gandhian thought and argues that adopting his ideals within socialism could help establish a peaceful world free from miseries and inequalities. According to Lohia, capitalism and communism were closed worldviews – full of wars, mistrust, and systemic violence. In comparison, he considered socialism an evolving doctrine and open system. He argued that Gandhian *satyagraha*, nonviolence, and philosophy of decentralisation could save the world from many miseries.⁵⁹ For Lohia, the greatest quality of Mahatma Gandhi was his ability to ‘enable the individual to resist oppression by himself without any support’. He expressed it thus:

At times, when I have tried to think of Gandhiji, he has come to me in the shape of an image; a series of steps mounting upwards, all set in a specific direction, but the top of it never yet completely formed, and ever continuing to go... one step goes on leading to the next step in such a fashion that not alone a great man but millions alongside of him mount up the unending ladder going into a specific direction.⁶⁰

Thus, for Lohia, Gandhi's strength was to achieve greatness not for himself but in enabling the millions beside him to raise their moral fortitude and fight oppression using truth and nonviolence as the only weapons. Similarly, Lohia believed in the Gandhian precept of 'ends and means', which he calls the 'theory of immediacy'. It means taking one step at a time. For Lohia, means are ends in the long run, and similarly, ends are means in a series of steps.

Lohia underscored the relevance of *satyagraha* and civil disobedience in resisting injustices and argued that 'socialism must ever denounce the advocacy and organisation of violence'.⁶¹ However, Lohia also argued that as a last resort, people may choose to exercise their majesty through 'spontaneous violence' 'displayed only for a brief moment'.⁶² Thus, not being doctrinaire, Lohia wanted people's voice/expression to be heard. The mode of such expressions – violent or non-violent was secondary to him. Many Gandhians or socialists could not agree with this adaptation of Gandhian *satyagraha* and nonviolence. Howsoever brief or spontaneous, Gandhi would not have ever approved it in his scheme of things. Thus, Lohia, unlike JP, took creative liberties in re/interpreting Gandhi.

Lohia helped develop a distinct Indian variant of socialism based on Gandhian values and philosophy.⁶³ He included constructive programmes within it and acknowledged their role in 'educating' and 'getting educated' from the masses. He emphasized on the constructive programme and invited socialist party leaders and workers to identify themselves with the people and become their spokespersons. He advocated the 'spade', 'vote', and 'jail' work for the radical restructuring of society. Lohia argues that no other philosophy has such interregnum policies in the form of constructive programmes in between large-scale mass movements. Gandhi had been practising it since the 1920s. It is striking that both JP and Lohia acknowledged and argued in favour of constructive programmes to bring about large-scale radical changes in a deeply hierarchical society.

Similarly, Lohia's call for *sapta kranti* (seven revolutions) was inspired by Gandhian philosophy. He argued for the following seven revolutions to realise the dream of *swaraj*: (a) for equality between man and woman; (b) against political, economic and spiritual inequality based on colour or race; (c) for the destruction of castes; (d) against foreign domination and democratic world government; (e) for economic equality, planned production and against private property; (f) against interference in private life and for democratic method; and (g) against use of arms and weapons in politics and for *satyagraha* as its main tool.⁶⁴

Lohia also envisioned a radical restructuring of Indian polity based on his notion of the 'four pillars state', also known as *Chaukhamba* state. This idea, again, is deeply inspired by the Gandhian philosophy of decentralisation and

bottom-up approach to politics. In such a state, power is shared collectively among – the centre, state, district, and village panchayats. Lohia argued in favour of sufficient power and resources for the elected members at the lower levels. Particularly, he argued for the greater role of the village panchayats. However, Lohia did not want villages to be just ‘independent’ or ‘self-reliant’. Instead, he argued for their relative ‘autonomy’ but interconnected and shared destiny with other villages and structures of polity.

Like Gandhi, Lohia was suspicious of the state’s power and interference in individuals’ lives. He wanted democracy, freedom, and citizens’ civil liberties to be protected for their full moral and material development. He advocated for the larger areas of individuals’ and communities’ lives to be free from the state’s regulation.⁶⁵ Thus, despite being critical, one can trace several underlying connections between Gandhi’s ideal of *swaraj* and many of Lohia’s political ideas.

Conclusion

Gandhi’s conceptualisation of *swaraj* brought the self, community, and state together in a continuum. It combines the self with others, social with political and economic. In other words, it provides a practical guide to socio-economic and political transformations, a source for resistance while outlining how human beings can realise their true self or potential. It provides a plausible alternative to the intoxication of modern civilisation. It can also serve as a guiding light for the realisation of a non-violent and truthful society.

Existing scholarships on the Gandhian notion of *swaraj* remain confined by and large to Gandhi’s *Hind Swaraj*. This paper argues that to develop a broader and better understanding of *swaraj*, one needs to locate it not just in connection with the other ideas and concepts in the Gandhian lexicon of politics but also in his constructive programmes and their re/interpretations in the post-independence India. Certain elasticity is associated with *swaraj*, making it possible for very different people and groups to interpret it differently in different contexts.

JP and Lohia provided creative re/interpretations of the Gandhian conception of *swaraj* in post-independence India. They saw in *swaraj* a radical possibility of transforming Indian polity and society. There are, however, two major differences between JP’s and Lohia’s approach to Gandhi and *swaraj*. First, compared to JP, Lohia never renounced socialism for Gandhism. He acknowledged the relevance of Gandhian methods and ideas. Much of his ideas were influenced by Gandhian thought. However, it did not lead him to renounce socialism. Second, unlike JP, Lohia operated within what JP

described as *rajniti*. For Lohia, capturing the state power through party politics was a necessary precondition for realising socialism in India. He also argued for the opposition's unity. Thus, after independence, when JP was involved in Gandhian 'constructive' programmes, Lohia immersed himself in forging alliances among the non-Congress political parties.

After JP and Lohia, there have been very few large-scale, effective mobilisations of the masses or public opinion based on Gandhian principles. Nevertheless, the ideals of *swaraj* continue to inspire many movements, parties, and public intellectuals. Drawing inspiration from Gandhian conception of *swaraj* and particularly K C Bhattacharya's 'Swaraj in Ideas',⁶⁶ a newfound spirit emerged among many public intellectuals, such as Bimal Krishna Matilal, Daya Krishna and others in India, in the 1990s to critically engage with the classical Indian 'Hindu' texts to provide them with much broader and inclusive interpretations.⁶⁷ Gandhian thought and his conception of *swaraj* continue to draw the attention of philosophers, policy practitioners, politicians, and social-political and environmental activists alike.⁶⁸

Notes

- 1 One can imagine the influence of Gandhi and his ideas on modern Indian selfhood by the fact that one of the prominent scholars and historians of modern India, Ramchandra Guha, presents the history of modern India as 'India After Gandhi' and 'Gandhi Before India'. For further details, see Guha, *India After Gandhi*; Guha, *Gandhi Before India*. The third part of this trilogy is *Gandhi: The Years That Changed the World (1914-1948)* by the same author, published in 2020.
- 2 Skaria, *Unconditional Equality*; Bilgrami, "Gandhi the Philosopher"; Mehta, "Patience, Inwardness, and Self-Knowledge in Gandhi's *Hind Swaraj*"; Devji, *The Impossible Indian*; Kapila, *Violent Fraternity*; Jahanbegloo *Gandhi and the Idea of Swaraj*.
- 3 See Nigam, "Gandhi – The 'Angel of History'".
- 4 Parel, *Hind Swaraj and Other Writings*; Hardiman, *Gandhi: In His Time and Ours*; Dalton, *Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action*; Devji, *The Impossible Indian*; Jahanbegloo, *Gandhi and the Idea of Swaraj*.
- 5 Hardiman, *Gandhi: In His Time and Ours*.
- 6 Hardiman, *Gandhi: In His Time and Ours*; Dalton, *Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action*.
- 7 Hardiman, *Gandhi: In His Time and Ours*; Dalton, *Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action*; Devji, *The Impossible Indian*; Kapila, *Violent Fraternity*; Jahanbegloo, *Gandhi and the Idea of Swaraj*.
- 8 Prasad, *A Revolutionary's Quest: Selected Writings of Jayaprakash Narayan*; Prasad, *Jayaprakash Narayan: Selected Works*, Vol 1 – 3; Prasad, *Socialism, Sarvodaya and Democracy: Selected Works of Jayaprakash Narayan*.
- 9 For details, see Yadav, "Remembering Lohia"; Yadav, "What Is Living and what Is Dead in Rammanohar Lohia"; Tolpadi, "Context, Discourse and Vision of Lohia's Socialism"; Jha, "Thinking Inequality Through Socialism in Modern India (1929-1980)"; Sherman, "A New Type of Revolution"; Ankit, "Jayaprakash Narayan, Indian National Congress and Party Politics, 1934-1954"; Kent-Carrasco, "A Battle over Meanings".
- 10 Dadabhai Naoroji was the President of the Calcutta (now Kolkata) session of the Congress. However, this term has been in circulation for many centuries. Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj (1630-1680), the founder of the Maratha empire (1674-1818), invoked the term *Hindavi Svarajya* (self-rule of the Hindu people) against the Bijapur Sultanate and Mughal rule. Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824-1883), a social-religious reformer and founder of *Arya Samaj*, also referred to the term *swaraj* in *Satyarth Prakash* (1875).
- 11 He wrote this text in ten days, between November 13-22, 1909, while returning from England to South Africa on-board the ship *Kildonan Castle*. This text was originally written in Gujarati – his mother tongue. Gandhi translated it into English in 1910.
- 12 Suhru, "Gandhi's Key Writings: In Search of Unity", 72.
- 13 *Ibid.*, xv.
- 14 CWMG, Vol 10, p. 206-07, cited in Parel, *Hind Swaraj and Other Writings*, lxii.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 73.
- 16 Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*.
- 17 Parel, *Hind Swaraj and Other Writings*, 98.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 100.
- 19 Parekh, *Gandhi: A Very Short Introduction*.
- 20 See an excellent introduction and afterword on this in Rai, *Poorna Swaraj*.
- 21 Suhru, "Gandhi's Key Writings: In Search of Unity", 79.
- 22 Parel and Brown, *The Cambridge Companion to Gandhi*, 167.
- 23 For an excellent biography of JP, see Prasad and Prasad, *The Dream of Revolution*. Also, Bimal Araucaria. *Revista Iberoamericana de Filosofía, Política, Humanidades y Relaciones Internacionales*, año 27, nº 58. Primer cuatrimestre de 2025. Pp. 439-462. ISSN 1575-6823 e-ISSN 2340-2199 <https://dx.doi.org/10.12795/araucaria.2025.i58.20>

Prasad's "Introduction" is in his (ed.) *A Revolutionary's Quest*. Bimal Prasad was JP's long-term associate and compiler of most of his writings. Also, see Scarfe and Scarfe, *JP: His Biography*. Both authors lived in the JP's *Sarvodaya* Ashram in Shekhdewra, Gaya, Bihar.

24 For a detailed discussion on the turns, shifts, and conflicts in JP's politics, see Bhola Chatterji, *Conflicts in JP's Politics*. Also, a digital platform – loknayakjp.org, devoted to commemorating JP's life and writings identifies six turning points in his life journey – a nationalist student, Marxist-influenced nationalist, socialist, 'from socialism to sarvodaya', 'face to face with the deficits of nation-building', call for a total revolution or 'retrieving the Indian republic'. For further details, see <<https://loknayakjp.org/turningpoint.htm>> Accessed on October 05, 2024.

25 For JP's role in the Congress Socialist Party in particular and the socialist movement in particular, see Ankit, "Jayaprakash Narayan, Indian National Congress and Party Politics, 1934-1954".

26 Narayan, "From Socialism to Sarvodaya", in Prasad, *A Revolutionary's Quest*, p. 183; Devasahayam, "Jayaprakash Narayan: An Idealist Betrayed." <<https://www.thehinducentre.com/the-arena/current-issues/article25188707.ece>> Accessed on October 05, 2024.

27 Devasahayam. "Jayaprakash Narayan: An Idealist Betrayed."

28 See <<https://loknayakjp.org/default.htm>> Accessed on October 05, 2024.

29 See, Narayan, *Why Socialism?* Ch – 3, "The Gandhian Alternative" in Prasad, *A Revolutionary's Quest*, p. 35.

30 Ibid, 39.

31 Ibid, 51.

32 Narayan, "An Outline Picture of Swaraj", in Prasad, *A Revolutionary's Quest*.

33 Prasad, 'Introduction' in his *A Revolutionary's Quest*, p. xxvi.

34 Narayan, "An Outline Picture of Swaraj", pp. 113-114.

35 Ibid, p. 114.

36 For further details on Mahatma Gandhi's Comments on the Draft Resolution of Jayaprakash Narayan for the Ramgarh Congress, March 04, 1940, see Prasad, *Jayaprakash Narayan: Selected Works*, Vol – 3, pp. 306-307.

37 Prasad, "Introduction" in his, *Jayaprakash Narayan: Selected Works*, p. xvi.

38 Narayan, "Ends and Means", in Prasad, *A Revolutionary's Quest*, p. 143.

39 Inspired by the *Sarvodaya* movement, JP prepared this plan in 1950. It encapsulates the vision for the new India based on Gandhian ethics and politics.

40 For details, see Narayan, "Socialism and Sarvodaya" in Prasad, *Socialism, Sarvodaya and Democracy*, p. 91-96.

41 Ibid, p. xxxvi.

42 He gave this address at the First Asian Socialist Conference held in Rangoon in 1953. See Narayan, "The Ideological Problems of Socialism" in Prasad, *A Revolutionary's Quest*, p. 158-172.

43 Narayan, "A Plea for Gandhism" in Prasad, *Socialism, Sarvodaya and Democracy*, p. 119-122.

44 Vinoba Bhave, a long-term associate of Gandhi, rose to prominence through the *gramdan* and *bhoodan* movements in post-independence India. He established *sarvodaya samaj* in March 1948 to bring about larger-scale socio-economic transformations, particularly in rural areas. His *bhoodan* movement was a remarkable success in Telangana, Bihar, UP and other parts of the country. However, the movement's momentum began to decline by the 70s. For details, see Hardiman, *Gandhi: In His Time and Ours*.

45 Prasad, "Introduction" in his ed., *A Revolutionary's Quest*, p. xxxvi.

46 Narayan, "From Socialism to Sarvodaya" in Prasad, *A Revolutionary's Quest*, p. 197.

47 Narayan, "Reconstruction of Indian Polity" in Prasad, *Socialism, Sarvodaya and Democracy*, p. 196.

48 Narayan, *Swaraj for the People*.

49 For a detailed account of the life and legacy of Lohia's non-conformist thought, see Krishna, 'Rammanohar Lohia: An Appreciation', pp. 1105-1114.

50 For details on the language politics in the 'Hindi heartland' and Lohia's stand, see Jha, *Language Politics and Public Sphere in North India*, and also Jha, "Language Movements and Democracy in India", <<https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/lseviewofbooks/2018/12/13/feature-essay-language-movements-and-democracy-in-india-by-mithilesh-kumar-jha/>> Accessed on October 05, 2024.

51 Dubey, 'Dr Rammanohar Lohia: A Rebel Socialist and a Visionary'. *Mainstream* XLIX, no. 13, March 19, 2011.

52 A popular phrase in Indian politics refers to the need for the opposition parties to unite to end the longstanding dominance of the Congress party at both the state and the union levels.

53 For example, see Yadav ed., a special edition of *Economic and Political Weekly* dedicated to the 'Politics and Ideas of Rammanohar Lohia', XLV, no. 40, October 02, 2010. Also, Dubey, "Dr Rammanohar Lohia: A Rebel Socialist and a Visionary."

54 Lohia, *Marx, Gandhi and Socialism*.

55 For further details, see Singh, "Gandhiji and Lohia: An Intimate and Fruitful Relationship." In *Samta Weekly* [India's Oldest Socialist Weekly], (Oct 2019): <<https://janataweekly.org/gandhiji-and-lohia-an-intimate-and-fruitful-relationship-part-1/>> Accessed February 27, 2024.

56 Lohia, "Gandhism and Socialism" in his *Marx, Gandhi and Socialism*, pp. 119-138.

57 Lohia, "Preface" to his *Marx, Gandhi and Socialism*.

58 These speeches are part of Lohia, *Marx, Gandhi and Socialism*, pp. 119-178.

59 Lohia, "Gandhism and Socialism" in his *Marx, Gandhi and Socialism*.

60 Ibid, p. 124.

61 See Lohia, "The Doctrinal Foundation of Socialism" in his *Marx, Gandhi and Socialism*, p. 347.

62 Ibid pp. 342-49.

63 Lohia, "The Doctrinal Foundation of Socialism."

64 For further details, see Lohia, *Saat Krantiya*; Kumar, "Understanding Lohia's Political Sociology."

65 Lohia, "*Marx, Gandhi and Socialism*."

66 For further details, see KC Bhattacharya's lecture with the same title under Sir Ashutosh Memorial Lecture Series, organised at Chandernagore by Charu Chand Roy in Oct 1931. It is available on <<https://library.bjp.org/jspui/handle/123456789/166>> Accessed February 13, 2024.

67 For more details on this debate, see Jha, "Bimalkrishna Matilal"; Jha, "Daya Krishna".

68 See "Eco India: How Gandhi's idea of Swaraj is inspiring communities to take charge of their environment" <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pp4EfKyD7Ls>> Accessed on February 12, 2024.

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