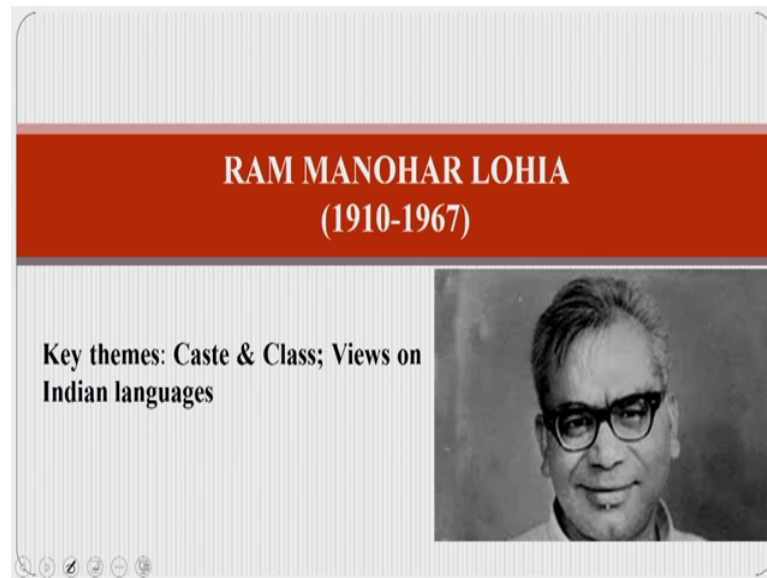


**Introduction to Modern Indian Political Thought**  
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**Lecture – 29**  
**Rammanohar Lohia: Views on Indian Languages**

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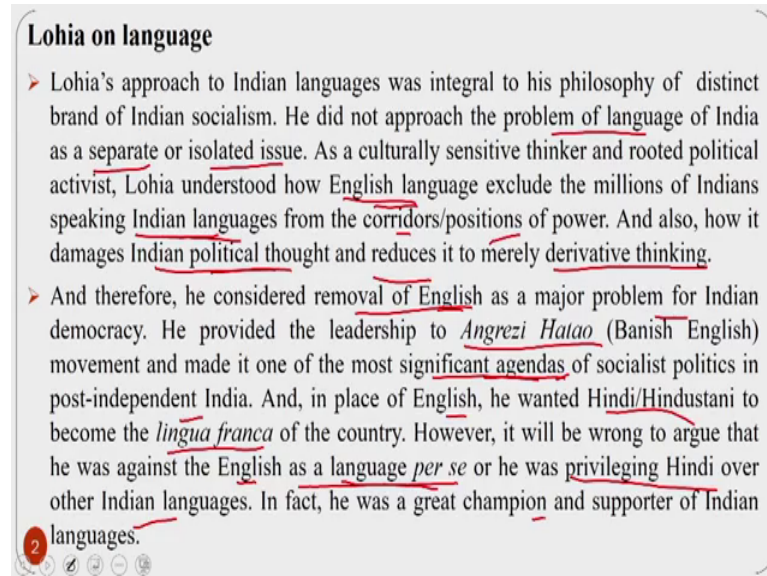


Hello and welcome friends to this 3rd and concluding lecture on Ram Manohar Lohia. In this lecture, we are going to focus on his views and his preposition or his solution to the emotionally charge and politically contentious issue of language problem in India. So, today in this lecture, we will discuss his views on a language, the kind of solution he was providing. And how the issue of language for Lohia is part of more than a cultural or the question of identity and how he related it with the question of democratization, social equality and empowerment of the masses.

So, Lohia took the issue of language in the broader contexts democratization and social equality in India. So, he did not see or he studied the language problem in it is isolation, he saw it in the connection with the other problem that was there in post-independent India. And here it is also to recall the kind of intersectionalist approach that he had about the politics, about the challenges that India was facing and how that can be overcome by looking at simultaneously different interconnected problem with caste, class, gender,

language etcetera. So, Lohia has a kind of broader approach towards the politics. So, in this lecture, we are going to focus primarily on his views on Indian language.

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**Lohia on language**

- Lohia's approach to Indian languages was integral to his philosophy of distinct brand of Indian socialism. He did not approach the problem of language of India as a separate or isolated issue. As a culturally sensitive thinker and rooted political activist, Lohia understood how English language exclude the millions of Indians speaking Indian languages from the corridors/positions of power. And also, how it damages Indian political thought and reduces it to merely derivative thinking.
- And therefore, he considered removal of English as a major problem for Indian democracy. He provided the leadership to Angrezi Hatao (Banish English) movement and made it one of the most significant agendas of socialist politics in post-independent India. And, in place of English, he wanted Hindi/Hindustani to become the lingua franca of the country. However, it will be wrong to argue that he was against the English as a language per se or he was privileging Hindi over other Indian languages. In fact, he was a great champion and supporter of Indian languages.

So, Lohia's approach to Indian languages was integral to his philosophy or his understanding of a kind of different or distinct brand of Indian socialism that he was arguing. And he did not approach the problem of language as a separate or isolated issue in India. So, as he was a culturally sensitive and a rooted political activist, he understood how English language excluded the millions of Indians speaking Indian languages from the corridors or positions of power.

So, Lohia did understand the language or domination of English and it is not correct to brand him as a kind of chauvinist linguistic (Refer Time: 03:11). But to see his philosophy about language or his support for Indian language in the larger context, where for a Lohia any kind of domination or hasimany of one over the other was problematic and need to be opposed or dismantled. And his opposition to English language was in continuous and in continuity with such kind of views and politics.

So, Lohia as himself was a kind of culturally sensitive, so he understood the social and the cultural value of different languages in India. At the same time, he was also aware of how a particular language say in the context of India English prevented a large number of masses. Millions of Indians who used to speak their mother tongue, different Indian languages modern Indian languages, where excluded from the corridors of power

because of their inability to understand or a speak a foreign language. And that is the basis of his larger criticism to the domination of English language rather than the language form or the English language for say that was the basis of his criticism.

And also, the other criticism that he had against the domination of English was it also damage the Indian political thought and reduce it merely to a kind of derivative thinking. So, you may be aware of a kind of borrowing of ideas, concepts, themes and methods to explain an India an interpret Indian society. And in the beginning of this course, we have also talked about how Indian political thought and more critical engagement with the modern Indian political thought, enable us to develop or to identify the concepts, themes and method through which we can better explain Indian society, and not by merely borrowing the terms conception methods from the others soils or the foreign origin.

So, Lohia besides this domination of English language in terms of excluding the millions who is speak their respective mother tongues or Indian languages from the corridors or positions of power. English language also damage the political thought Indian political thought by reducing it to it form of nearly derivative thinking, where we borrow the concepts, ideas and methods from say waste or say European countries or some other foreign soils and then try to apply it to understand explain an Indian interpret Indian society.

So, Lohia was against that kind of derivative thinking also. So, to support Indian languages follow he have was also to a strengthen to assert the independence or the capability or competence of Indian in a way the text I have told you to read Swaraj in idea in terms of thinking, how one can apply once on theories concepts independently from any kind of derivation or borrowing from other others also. So, as a Lohia's support for Indian language and position to English was also to do with this a strengthening of Indian languages and Indian political thought and rescuing it from a kind of derivative mode of thinking.

And therefore, he considered removal of English as a major problem for Indian democracy. So, this is for Lohia the biggest problem. And to free oneself from domination not merely the political or the physical material sense of the term, but also cognitively in terms of thinking, how one is free and independent to understand to

explain to then provide solution to the various challenges that a country or a society is facing.

So, for Lohia this kind of a derivative mode of thinking will not be able to solve the various challenges that Indian democracy was facing. And therefore, for Lohia then the challenges or the biggest problem or challenge for Indian democracy is then the removal of English. And then he provided the leadership to the Angrezi Hatao or Banish English movement. Especially in North India, if you are familiar that in the Hindi heartland, this movement has enormous a strength immediately after the post-independence India, especially during the first and second decades of the post-independent India.

So, Lohia provided the leadership to this Angrezi Hatao movement, which we can (Refer Time: 08:39) kind of basis for the socialist politics that he was involve in and made it one of the most significant agendas of socialist politics and post-independence. So, it (Refer Time: 08:52) to the credit of Lohia that he made the issue of language as the most significant agenda for the socialist politics in post-independent India.

And in place of English, he wanted Hindi or Hindustani to become the lingua franca of the country. So, leading that kind of situation or circumstances, so there was this trend of thinking about a lingua franca, which English provided for a very long time, when there was a debate or there was a growing conciseness or what we called Indian renaissance. So, different provinces speaking their respective languages coming together and forming Indian nationhood or discussing their challenges English provided that kind of a link language to the nationalist leadership. So, in place of that Lohia was arguing for Hindu Hindi or Hindustani to be the lingua franca of the country.

However, on the basis of this suggestion to make Hindi or Hindustani as the lingua franca of the country, many people argue that Lohia was discriminating against many other Indian languages, while he was opposing the domination of English. And we are all aware of the strength or the use or pervasive use of English in every sphere of our life with politics, culture, education, every sphere almost.

So, English is become a kind of all pervasive language, and there is a kind of continuous tussle between the Indian languages and English language. And in many ways English is now being Indianize in so many views. So, the right approach to understand this is not to

treat one language against the other, what to understand the inherent hierarchy domination or subordination that is inbuilt in this kind of linguistic assertion.

So, because Lohia promoted or wanted Hindi to be the lingua franca of the country, it will be wrong for us to argue that he was against the English as a language per se, so that is not the correct way to argue about Lohia's views on language. So, he has nothing against a language per se, but against the privilege, against the power that it provides to a section of Indian population and marginalization and excluded a larger population because of their inability to speak or understand that language.

So, it will be wrong to argue that he was against the English as a language per se or he was privileging Hindi over the other Indian languages, so as we will discuss later. In fact, we find Lohia a great champion or supporter of Indian languages, and he wanted Indian languages to flourish to establish its independence and its capacity to think all complex issues and challenges that a country as a whole was facing.

So, Lohia's approach to the question of language was not to do with the language per se, but how it marginalizes, how it subordinates a larger section of Indian population because of their inability to think speak and understand a language which is foreign in origin and that makes him a kind of opponent of English language in India.

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➤ Lohia recognized that language was not merely a tool of communication but more importantly an aspect of self-identity and expression.

➤ It is important to note that Lohia did not put forward a conventional and uncomplicated mother tongue argument. Instead, he saw the language question as an important social and cultural issue. He argued that the basic question involved is "what is modernity"? Is it such a thing which could come only through English? Modernism is an attitude towards men and matters that today's men have developed with the advance of science and technology, an attitude fundamentally based on reason, knowledge and truth and not on sentiments, superstition and orthodoxy. It is a dynamic and not dogmatic approach to the questions of human involvement. To an Indian, English does not provide this. It besets him with hypocrisy; it turns an Indian into a bundle of complexes, a man with no human personality, an imitating headless monkey.

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So, Lohia also recognise the language was not merely as a tool of communication, but more importantly an aspect of self-identity and expression for different linguistic community. So, it is important to know that Lohia did not put forward a conventional and uncomplicated mother tongue argument. So, there is a kind of consensus around the use about the use of mother tongue as a medium of instruction or a primary languages for a child to learn, before he or she goes on to speak or learn other languages. So, Lohia was given that kind of a straight forward simplistic argument conventional argument about the mother tongue.

Instead, he saw the language question as an important social and cultural issue in India. And he argued that the basic question involved is what is modernity? So, in Lohia, it is also necessary to see the interlinkages that he was trying to construct between the question of caste and class, to the question of gender, to the question of language and how these all create a kind of hierarchy between the ruling class and the larger population. And how to make democracy more empowering to those, who are excluded from them privileged class or the corridors of power and that is something which Lohia trying to argue for through his understanding of modernity and the question some modernity.

So, he the complexities in his argument is about the interconnections between different categories with caste, class, gender or language. So, the basic question involve is what is the what is modernity? Is it such a thing, which would come only through English.? So, many people will argue that modernity in India and the modern thinking or modern institution, modern practices, modern lifestyles comes only through English language.

Modernism Lohia argues is an attitude towards men and matters that today's men have developed with the advance of science and technology, an attitude fundamentally based on reason, knowledge and truth, and not on sentiments, superstitions and orthodoxy. So, there is a he is make a kind of distinction between what it takes to consider something as modern and something which is not modern, or which is merely orthodox or superstitions.

So, it is a dynamic and not dogmatic approach to the question of human involvement. To an Indian, English does not provide this so, for most of the Indians, who and even in contemporary times, there a very small section of Indian population who can speak or

understand English. But, think of a 1950s and 60s, where they were getting the political rights, but their understanding of such rights, their involvement with such political development was very different. And then to consider English then as a vehicle for multi in India was a kind of hypocrisy for Lohia. So, he argue to an Indian this kind of a reason and knowledge, truth or dynamism needs to be developed in their own languages in they on particular mother tongues.

So, if someone argue that English provides such kind of vehicle such kind of platform for thinking about science and knowledge, then he argue that it besets him with hypocrisy. It turns an Indian into a bundle of complexes, a man with no human personality, an imitating headless monkey, so that is a kind of philosophical argument that Lohia is making here.

So, and there is also then in Lohia's thought and philosophy, the possibility of thinking about modernity in a different way. Then many people, many scholars have been arguing about the role of colonial intervention, their institution buildings or the language or the education system that they provided that should be the basis of that is considered as the provider or a kind of facilitated of modernity in India.

Lohia was arguing in a very different way or distinct to way to understand Indian modernity or to bring about modernity in India by eastern by bringing science, technology, truth, dynamism through Indian languages and not merely through the vehicle of English as many people have been arguing.

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- His plea for 'banishment of English' was mainly aimed at dislodging English from its privileged position as the *lingua franca* of the elite; as the *de facto* official language of the country; and as the medium of instruction in educational institutions.
- He opposed English in independent India not because it was a foreign language but because it was, in the Indian context, a vehicle of inequality and cultural heteronomy. Lohia along with many other nationalists believed that putting English in its place required a powerful Indian language that could substitute it as the national *lingua franca*. And therefore he supported Hindi.
- And precisely because of his support to Hindi as the *lingua franca* in the country, Lohia is also regarded by many scholars as a linguistic 'chauvinist' or merely as a 'Hindi zealots'.

So, his plea for banishment of English was mainly aimed at dislodging English from its privileged position as the *lingua franca* of the elite, not of the masses, as the *de facto* official language of the country; and as the medium of instruction in the educational institution. So, Lohia's opposition to English language is based on these three reasons or three reasons were for him to oppose English as a language of domination in India.

And why English has a privileged position, the first which is that it provided a kind of *lingua franca* of the elite and not of the masses, masses still speak in their mother tongues in their provincial languages. So, Lohia's opposition to English language is based on these three criteria; one was that English acquired its privileged position, because it is the *lingua franca* of the elite. And here the point that we need to stress is the *lingua franca* of the elite and not of the masses, masses still speak their mother tongues, their provincial language and find it difficult to understand or comprehend English as a language.

So, immediately then the English and inability to speak English gives a person in India a kind of privileged position. So, his opposition to English is, because it is the *lingua franca* of the elite and not of the masses, as the *de facto* official language of the country. So, there are besides English, there is Hindi and many other languages, which is the official language. But, *de facto* in practice, it is the English, which is the official language of the country and that is why he was critical or he was opposing the



domination of a foreign language English as the official language of independent India and also as a medium of instruction in educational institutions.

So, English has the kind of unmatched position in academy or in the educational institutions. So, in terms of thought, as we have been arguing that we do not seriously engaged with them with them Indian languages and how these languages tries to engage with some of the modern ideas. And this is something which I have also discuss in my introductory lecture and in my concluding lecture also I will briefly discuss this issue of how to expand them boundary of modern thinking at thought to include different provincial languages within it is domain. So, on these three bases Lohia was very critical of the privilege position of English in India.

And he opposed English in independent India, not because it was a foreign language. So, the other points that we need to stress is his opposition to English is not because it is foreign origin, but because it was in Indian context, a vehicle of inequality and cultural heteronomy. So, his opposition to English is not because it is a foreign language. But in Indian context, English is a vehicle of social inequality or a cultural heteronomy, so which divides between the different cultures, different languages, different community, and that is why he was opposing them English language and it is domination, which is a vehicle of inequality and cultural heteronomy.

So, Lohia along with many other nationalists then believed that putting English in it is place required a powerful Indian language that could substitute it as the national lingua franca. And therefore, he supported Hindi or Hindustani to be the lingua franca of the country. And precisely because of his support to Hindi as the as the lingua franca in the country, Lohia is also regarded by many scholars merely as a linguistic chauvinist or a Hindi zealots, who was trying to privilege Hindi over many other Indian languages in his critique or in his opposition (Refer Time: 23:11) but that is not the case, which we will come to discuss in a minute.

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➤ Many scholars have argued that Lohia's search for a language that could take on English led him to believe that a very wide range of languages could be subsumed under Hindi or Hindustani and that the speakers of all these languages could be persuaded to use the Nagari script. / *Punjabi, Gujarati*

➤ He came up with three different proposals to address the sensibilities and concerns of the non-Hindi speakers and to convince them to support his 'Banish English' campaign. *First*, He proposed Hindi as the official language of the central governments with all the central government jobs reserved for non-Hindi speakers, at least for a specific period of time. *Alternatively*, he proposed two groups of states: one would abolish English both from internal as well as external communications; and the other group could retain English to communicate with the central government while abolishing it internally. *Finally*, he suggested a multilingual (sans English) centre.

Now, many scholars have also argued that Lohia's search for a language that could take on English led him to believe that a very wide range of languages could be subsumed under Hindi or Hindustani. And that the speakers of all these languages could be persuaded to use Nagari script in writing their a respective language. So, the languages that Lohia was arguing to be subsumed within the Hindi or Hindustani was say Punjabi or Gujarati and such like others which can be subsumed within the Hindi or a Hindustani language.

And Lohia is a very kind of problematic understanding here. And in contemporary times, it is not right to argue perhaps for the sub subsuming of a rich language like Punjabi or Gujarati. And many people do criticize him because of this kind of argument that he was put in forth. So, he came up with three different proposal to address the sensibilities and concerns of the non-Hindi speakers and to convince them to support his Banish English campaign, or Angrezi Hatao Andolan. So, first he proposed Hindi as the official language of the central government with all the central government jobs reserved for non-Hindi speakers, at least for a specific period of time to enable them to learn Hindi.

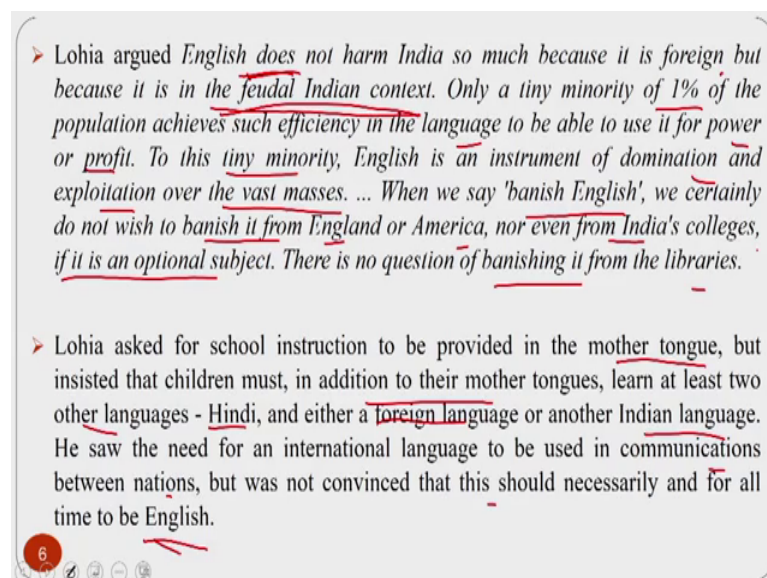
His alternative proposal was there should be two groups of states and one would abolish English both internally and from external communication. And the other group could retain English to communicate with the central government, but internally they will not use or abolished the use of English and promote their provisional language or the native

language. And finally, he suggested a multilingual, which sans which is by excluding English at the central level.

So, now this three proposition first is about the use of Hindi, second which talks about two kind of states, where one kind of states will exclude English from both it is internal and external communication, especially the Hindi speaking state. And non-Hindi speaking states he wanted English to be used in their communication with the external institution, such as centre or some other bodies. But, internally they must promote their on provincial languages and finally, which becomes more acceptable proposition is a kind of multilingual centre, which will promote all the languages.

And in a (Refer Time: 26:23) is if we look at the trajectory of post-independent Indian state, we have now 22 scheduled languages. And there is no one national language or one official language, all these languages can be used for official purposes in different states. But, another point is that English remains the de facto official language of the state and that becomes the challenge. And initially after the independence, there was a kind of heated debate and exchanges on the issue of language and what should be the official language of the countries. So, in such context, Lohia had this three proposition which we have just explained.

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➤ Lohia argued *English does not harm India so much because it is foreign but because it is in the feudal Indian context. Only a tiny minority of 1% of the population achieves such efficiency in the language to be able to use it for power or profit. To this tiny minority, English is an instrument of domination and exploitation over the vast masses. ... When we say 'banish English', we certainly do not wish to banish it from England or America, nor even from India's colleges, if it is an optional subject. There is no question of banishing it from the libraries.*

➤ Lohia asked for school instruction to be provided in the mother tongue, but insisted that children must, in addition to their mother tongues, learn at least two other languages - Hindi, and either a foreign language or another Indian language. He saw the need for an international language to be used in communications between nations, but was not convinced that this should necessarily and for all time to be English.

Now, Lohia argued that English does not harm India so much, because it is foreign, but because it is in the feudal Indian context right. So, the harm or the capacity to do harm of

English in India is not because it is a foreign language, but because the context or the society which we have in India is highly feudal.

Now, in that society, there is a kind of privileged or those who are marginalised or suppressed and their language a particular form of language was strengthening, such privilege or exclusion or marginalization and that was the problematic think for Lohia, and therefore he opposed English.

So, he writes that only a tiny minority of 1 percent of the population achieve such efficiency in the language to be able to use it for power or profit. To this tiny minority, English is an instrument of domination and exploitation over the vast masses, who cannot speak that language as efficiently as they can. And when we say banish English, we certainly do not wish to banish it from England or America, nor even from India's colleges, it is if it is an optional subject. There is no question of banishing it from the library.

So, it will be wrong for us to argue that he was against learning of English language or against the use of English language per say. But he is opposition to English was because it strengthen, those who are privilege, those who are exploiting or marginalizing. The vast masses of Indian population, who cannot speak that language and that is the basis of his Angreji Hatao Andolan or Banish English movement.

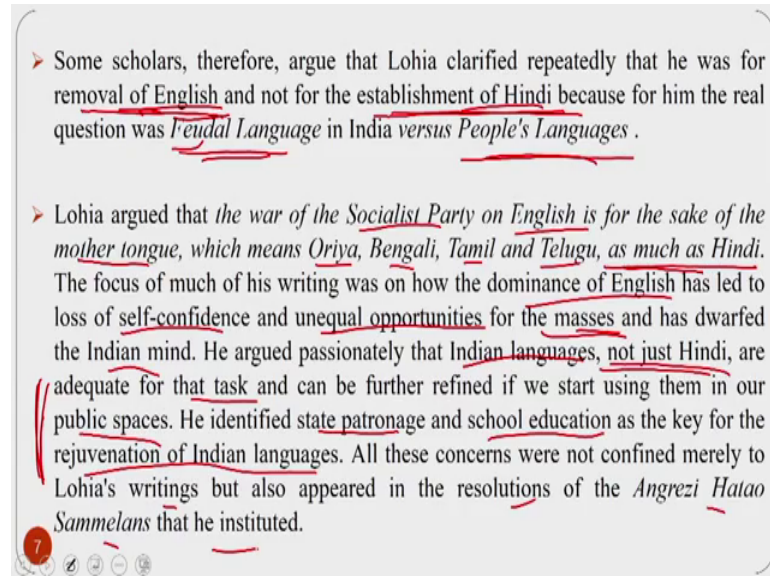
So, Lohia asked for school instruction to be provided in the mother tongue as it there have been universal consensus on this, but insisted that children must in addition to their mother tongues, learn at least two other language. And in that two other language, one should be Hindi and the other should be either a foreign language or any other Indian languages.

So, he had this kind of three language formula, where the primary language should be the mother tongue, but besides that all the children should be taught at least two languages, where one should be Hindi and the second should be either a foreign language or any other Indian languages.

So, he saw the need for an international language to be used in communication between nations, but was not convinced that this language for communication in the international arena should always be English; it can be any other language French or Chinese or

maybe even Russian. So, he was against privileging, English as the only language for international communication as well.

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So, some scholars therefore, argue that Lohia clarified repeatedly that he was for removal of English and not for the establishment of Hindi, because for him, the real question was feudal language in India versus the people's language. So, in his approach to the language problem, what we find is Lohia was uncompromising very clear about his opposition to the removal to English or it is removal from the privileged position in Indian society and Indian polity. But, whether that should lead to establishment of Hindi, here we see a kind of ambiguity in Lohia as approach, where we find him more accommodative more flexible.

So, Lohia argued that the war of the socialist party on English is for the sake of the mother tongue, which means Oriya, Bengali, Tamil and Telugu, as much as Hindi, so it is not about privileging Hindi over any other Indian language. He wanted Indian languages to be strengthened to have more a say or contribution in our official and public political discourse in place of English. And there that Indian language need not to be Hindi, and here is the catch because, during that time, there was a kind of belief that they has to be one lingua of lingua franca, which should replace them English.

But, now we increasingly believe that the multilingual country like India, can well communicate or exchange the ideas or there thought by a speaking by using more and

more there on provincial language. And Lohia increasingly tried to accommodate such kind of multilingual seen rather than replacing one mono language to the other mono language be it Hindi or any other Indian language.

So, the focus of much of his writing was on how the dominance of English has led to loss of self-confidence and unequal opportunities for the masses and has dwarfed the Indian mind. So, there is a kind of damage to the immergence or the development of Indian political thought also because of such domination. So, he argued passionately that Indian languages not just Hindi, are adequate for that task for modern society or polity and can be further refined, if we start using them in our public spaces.

So, he identified a state patronage and school education as the key for the rejuvenation of Indian language. And therefore, how Indian language can be promote and understand then, when there is a state patronage to it, when there is a kind of a school education in Indian languages. And all these concerns were not confined merely in Lohia's writings, but also appeared in the resolution that was passed by the Angrezi Hatao Sammelans that he instituted.

So, Lohia through his writings through his political activities was increasingly, championing the cause of Indian languages, which is not to be understood only as Hindi or Hindustani. And there many a scholars have wrongly reduced Lohia's approach merely as a kind of supporter of Hindi or a linguistic chauvinist. But actually, Lohia was trying to argue or support the cause of all the Indian languages and as a Hindi as he was doing for Hindi.

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➤ While Lohia was uncompromising in his opposition to English, he was always open to correction and accommodation regarding his views on Indian languages especially about the role of Hindi. Precisely because it was a second order question, there was ambivalence and subtle shifts in Lohia's thinking on this question.

➤ It is interesting to argue that Lohia began with the proposition that Hindustani should be the language of the union but moved to a two-department thesis involving a bifurcation of Hindi and non-Hindi sections in the government. And finally came to advocate a multi-lingual centre involving all the then 14 official languages. *Let Hindi go to hell* was what Lohia used to often repeat in his remarks later.

One can summarize the core arguments of Lohia on language through these two quotations:

*It is now impossible to banish the public use of English without the desire of the people. The policy of removal of English gradually, which has been adopted by the Government of India, is proving more dangerous than the policy of retaining English forever. The chief problem is the removal of English and not the establishment of Hindi. This clarification is necessary, for the non-Hindi speaking states like Mysore, Bengal, Tamilnadu should have the option not to use Hindi at all. They may use their own language but they also must remove English.*

So, while Lohia was so, what we find in Lohia is while he was uncompromising in his opposition to English, he was always open to correction and accommodation regarding his views on Indian languages. So, there we see a shift in his position about Indian languages, especially about the role of Hindi. So, precisely because it was a second order equation that what should be the replace so, English should be removed, but what we should replace English with here we find Lohia more accommodatory, more flexible, and this is a kind of second order question, so there was ambivalence and subtle shifts in Lohia's thinking about this question.

And it is interesting to you argue that Lohia began with the proposition that Hindustani should be the language of the union, but moved to a two-department thesis involving a bifurcation of Hindi and non-Hindi sections in the government. And finally, came to advocate a multi-lingual centre involving all the then 14 official languages of the republic.

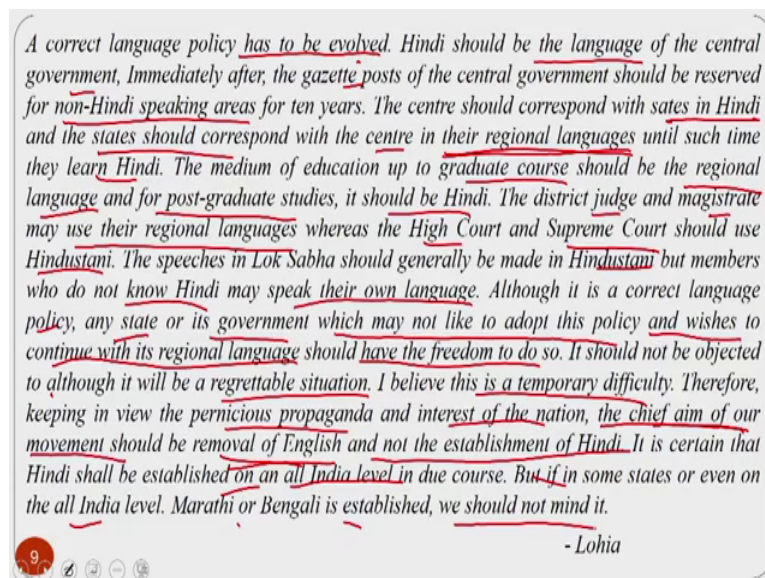
So, later on he used to often (Refer Time: 36:11) Hindi go to hell in his remarks. So, we see a kind of clear shifts from making Hindi as a lingua franca of the country to a kind of two-department thesis and then finally supporting the multi-lingual centre. So, therefore, we can say that Lohia was in support of all the Indian language for the promotion of all the Indian languages and not just Hindi.

So, now to summarise the core arguments of Lohia's on language one can do it through this two quotation from Lohia and first is about English and then the second is about the language policy of the state and which language needs to be promoted. So, about English he writes, it is now impossible to banish the public use of English without the desire of the people. The policy of removal of English gradually, which has been adopted by the government of India is proving more dangerous than the policy of retaining English forever.

So, the chief problem is the removal of English and not the establishment of Hindi, so that is again very clear in his writings. So, this clarification is necessary, for the non-Hindi speaking states like Mysore, Bengal, Tamilnadu should have the option not to use Hindi at all. They may use their own languages, but they also must remove English.

So, the greater attention and the more focus of Lohia is to remove English that is the bigger challenge than the establishment of Hindi. So, he wanted to promote and not to use English Hindi at all by the non-Hindi speaking Indian states, but it is necessary to remove English from its power position of a privilege and domination.

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The second quote is about the language policy. So, a correct language policy has to be evolved. Hindi should be the language of the central government, immediately after the gazette post of the central government should be reserved for the non-Hindi speaking areas for 10 years. The centre should correspondent with states in Hindi, and the state



should correspond with the centre in the regional languages until such time they learn Hindi.

The medium of education up to graduate course should be the regional language and the for post-graduate studies, it should be Hindi. The district judge and magistrate may use their regional languages, whereas the Hindi the High Court and the Supreme Court should use Hindustani.

The speeches in Lok Sabha should generally be made in Hindustani, but members who do not know Hindi, may speak their own language. Although it is a correct language policy, any state or its government, which may not like to adopt this policy and wishes to continue with its regional language should have the freedom to do so. Now, this is a very comprehensive approach to the whole issue of language and language policy of the state.

So, it should not be objected to although it will be a regrettable situation, I believe this is a temporary difficulty. Therefore, keeping in view the pernicious propaganda and interest of the nation, the chief aim of our movement Angreji Hatao Andolan should be removal of English and not the establishment of Hindi.

It is certain that Hindi shall be established on an all India level in due course, established as an established on all India level in due course. But, if in some states or even on the all India level Marathi or Bengali is established, we should not mind it, so that is a kind of openness or accommodation approach to other Indian languages in his views on language.

But, one uncompromising stand that he has is about the removal of English and that is to not to do with the language per se. But, the kind of privilege position, the kind of domination, it enables to it is a speaker. In a society, which is highly feudal society like India.

So, there the issue of language is connected to the issue of social equality and to the larger question of democratization. And therefore, he was against the kind of privilege status that English language provides to a few section of Indian society at the cost of the larger masses, which are who are excluded from the corridors of power.

So, in this quote, again we have seen the kind of preposition he was making about Hindi, at the same time the objective was not to establish Hindi as the national language. Of course, it is desirable, but the main objective of the whole movement he was trying to provide leadership to is to remove English from its position of domination.

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Thus one can summarize his views on Indian language in following points:

- **One**, Lohia allows state governments the freedom to correspond in their own languages until they learn Hindi.
- **Two**, in return for this, non-Hindi states are to be provided with reservations: *The mid-lands must immediately operate through the Hindi department in Delhi. If Gujarat and Maharashtra and any other states opt to join the Hindustani department, they should be gratefully welcomed with whatever reservations in the services and the like they desire.*
- **Thirdly**, Lohia thought that promotion of Hindi must be temporarily suspended, but this is only a tactical retreat to achieve strategic victory. The effort to persuade the 'coast-lands' to accept Hindi must be given up, for it only leads to further irritation and contestations. According to Lohia, once these coast-lands abandon English at the provincial level, including the high court, the university, the secretariat and all such public institutions, it would be only a matter of time when they apply for admission into the Hindi department in Delhi.
- Lohia's position on Indian languages illustrates something more general about his approach to politics. For Lohia, politics was a means for the empowerment of the masses which can be done only when it is conducted in the language of the people and not the elite. However, these aspects of his politics and thought have remained somewhat under-theorised even today.

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So, thus one can summarise his views on Indian language in following points. One, Lohia allows state governments the freedom to correspondent in their own regional language until they learn Hindi. Two, in return for this, non-Hindi states are to be provided with reservation. So, the mid-lands, so Lohia also makes the distinction between the mid-lands and the coast-lands.

So, in midlands, he wanted he thought that Hindi can be easily promoted as the official language; but in the coast-land, one needs to be causes about promoting Hindi. So, he writes that the mid-lands must immediately operate through the Hindi department in Delhi. If Gujarat and Maharashtra and any states opt to join the Hindustani department, they should be gratefully welcome with whatever reservation in the services and the like they desire, so that is the second point we can draw from Lohia's position on language.

And thirdly, Lohia thought the promotion or propagation of Hindi must be temporarily suspended, but this is only a tactical retreat to achieve a strategic victory. The effort to persuade the coast-lands to accept Hindi must be given up for it only leads to further irritation and contestations among the non-Hindi speakers.

So, according to Lohia, once the coast-lands abandon English at the provincial level, including the high court, the university and the secretariat and all such public institution, it would be only a matter of time when they apply for admission into the Hindi department. So, that is the gradual strategy for the promotion of Hindi among the non-Hindi speaking regions that Lohia is arguing about.

So, to avoid the irritation and contestation, he wanted the government or the Indian state to suspend the promotion of Hindi in such a region. But then, wanted those regions to promote their on provincial language and gradually they learned Hindi and Hindi turned out to be the lingua franca of the country.

So, Lohia's position on Indian language illustrate something more general about his approach to politics. For Lohia, politics was a means for the empowerment of the masses, which can be done only, when it is conducted in the language of the people and not of the elite as English or any other foreign language. So, however these aspects of his politics and thought have remained somewhat under theorized event to this.

So, when one speaks or think or argue about Lohia's views on politics, the settle or invisible aspects of his critic to English language is somewhat ignored or undermined or unauthorised, which we need to focus more. So, here in his opposition to English and support for Hindi is seen merely as a kind of linguistics chauvinist, which is far from truth. For Lohia, the politics is about the empowerment of the masses that empowerment of the masses cannot happen unless the politics is carried out in the language that masses understand and that is something which we need to focus, when we think about and the issue of language.

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**Conclusion**

- Lohia's views on language question was deeply intertwined with the kind of socialist politics he was trying to pursue in India. As he was trying to evolve an indigenous model of socialism, the question of language became much more for Lohia than as a marker of cultural identity. He connected the question of language with the question of democratization and social equality in India.
- However, there have been shifts in Lohia's positions on the language issue in India. Scholars, like Yogendra Yadav, have argued that Lohia was wrong in emphasizing on the need for a powerful link language to replace English as a *lingua franca* in India. Perhaps the right direction was to look for a multi-lingual solution. Yadav goes on to express that '(p)erhaps, an Indianized English can be an ally of the Indian languages in their struggle against English'.

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Now, to conclude this lecture on Lohia's views on language, we find his views on language deeply intertwined with the kind of socialist politics. So, the intersection of caste, class, gender and language is there in Lohia's thought and the kind of socialist politics that he was championing or trying to pursue in India.

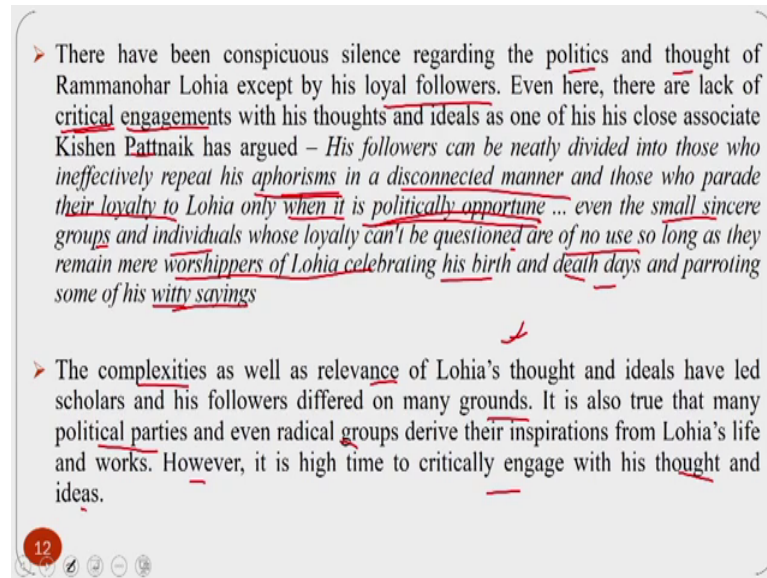
As he was trying to evolve an indigenous model or distinct model of socialism in India; the question of language becomes much more for Lohia than merely as a marker of cultural identity or such thing. So, he connected the question of language with the question of democratization and social equality in India. So, the question of language and language problem is much more than a question of identity or cultural expression.

So, however, there have been shifts in Lohia's position on language issue in India, where we have seen from Hindi, Hindustani to support for the two-department thesis and then a kind of multi-lingual centre that we have seen in Lohia. Scholars, like Yogendra Yadav, have argued that Lohia was wrong in emphasising on the need for a only one singular mono language as a powerful link language to replace English as a *lingua franca* in India.

So, perhaps the these all scholars argue, the right direction would have been to look for a multi-lingual solutions, which was there in any case in Lohia's preposition as a multi-lingual centre. So, Yogendra Yadav goes on to express that perhaps the Indianized English can be an ally of the Indian languages in their struggle against the English. English as a language, which gives a kind of privilege position in comparison to

someone speaking or doing or thinking or writing in any of the Indian languages so, a kind of Indianized English can be an ally of Indian languages to fight the English as the language of domination or the language of privilege class in India.

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- There have been conspicuous silence regarding the politics and thought of Rammanohar Lohia except by his loyal followers. Even here, there are lack of critical engagements with his thoughts and ideals as one of his his close associate Kishen Pattnaik has argued – *His followers can be neatly divided into those who ineffectively repeat his aphorisms in a disconnected manner and those who parade their loyalty to Lohia only when it is politically opportune ... even the small sincere groups and individuals whose loyalty can't be questioned are of no use so long as they remain mere worshippers of Lohia celebrating his birth and death days and parroting some of his witty sayings*
- The complexities as well as relevance of Lohia's thought and ideals have led scholars and his followers differed on many grounds. It is also true that many political parties and even radical groups derive their inspirations from Lohia's life and works. However, it is high time to critically engage with his thought and ideas.

So, in academia or among these scholars, there have been a kind of conspicuous silence regarding the politics and thought of Ram Manohar Lohia except by his loyal followers. Now, even among the loyal followers, what we find is that there are lack of critical engagement with his thoughts and ideals as one of his close associate Kishen Pattnaik has argued that his followers can be neatly divided into those who in effectively repeat his aphorisms in a disconnected manner and those who parade their loyalty to Lohia only when it is political opportune.

So, in our public political discourse, we may find his loyal supporters and we can divide them into these two groups, one who can repeat his aphorisms in a kind of disconnected manner and those who will parade their loyalty to Lohia only when it is politically opportune for them. Even the a small sincere groups and individual, whose loyalty cannot be questioned are of no use so long as they remain mere worshippers of Lohia's celebrating his birth and death days and parroting some of his witty sayings.

So, without critically engaging with his thoughts, even the loyal supporters of Lohia remain in trap in worshipping his birth days and death days and remarking some of

repeating some of his witty remarks about Indian politics society, the challenges before the Indian society and so and on.

So, there is a kind of silence or conspicuous silence about engaging with Lohia and his thought or his politics critically. So, the absence of such critical engagement do not allow us to understand the settle or a kind of emancipatory prospects or a politics that Lohia was arguing for in his active political life.

So, the complexity as well as the relevance of Lohia's thought an ideals have led scholars and his followers differed on many grounds and some of the readings that we have provided. And I will tell you again, will help you to understand such disagreements or a difference of opinion about many of Lohia's positions and views on caste, class, socialism or Indian languages.

It is also true that many political parties many stream political parties and even radical groups derive their inspiration from the life and works of Lohia. However, it is high time to critically engage with his thoughts and ideas that is something which will enable us to retrieve some of the liberatory or emancipatory potentials or ideas that is there in Lohia's thought.

So, it is now high time besides the uncritical or ineffective engagement with Lohia as many of his loyal followers or supporters are doing or a kind of conspicuous silence on the part of a scholars do not to engage with the culturally sensitive or rooted political activist and thinker like Lohia and subject him to critically scrutiny.

Now, the time is to critically engage with Lohia and subject his ideas to the to critically scrutiny. And retrieve some of the potential liberatory or emancipatory ideals that was there in terms of thinking about, how to democratise the society and how to fight the privilege and the hierarchy or inequality in society by fighting simultaneously on many fronts, not by reducing it to one kind of fight against the other.

So, he was talking about a kind of popular front against the kind of hierarchies that is inbuilt in Indian society and how to democratise that society, how to bridge the gap between those who are privileged and those who are excluded from the corridors and the positions of our death. Remains something very substantial something very relevant in

Lohia's thought which can help us to make our society, our polity, our democracy, more inclusive, more empowering.

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5. 'Lohia and Language [with Rejoinder]' by Sudhanva Deshpande and Yogendra Yadav, *Economic & Political Weekly*, November 28-December 4, 2009.
6. 'Context, Discourse and Vision of Lohia's Socialism' by Rajaram Tolpadi, *Economic & Political Weekly*, October 2, 2010.

So, that is all on Lohia's the themes that we have discussed today, you can refer to some of these text by Rammanohar Lohia on language, and then some of the readings from the EPW. So, Yogendra Yadav was Lohia parochial and Monolinguals again, from Yogendra Yadav, what is living and what is dead in Rammanohar Lohia. And also, on remembering Lohia, these are the text you can refer to.

And by Sudhanva Deshpande and Yogendra Yadav, Lohia and language with rejoinder you can refer to understand, specifically the core arguments of Lohia about the language. And then context, discourse and vision of Lohia socialism by Rajaram Tolpadi these are some of the text, which you can refer to on Lohia, so that is all on Lohia.

Thanks for listening, thank you all.