COLLECTED WORKS OF DR. RAMMANOHAR LOHIA (BIRTH CENTENARY PUBLICATION)

Editor Mastram Kapoor

Rammanohar Lohia

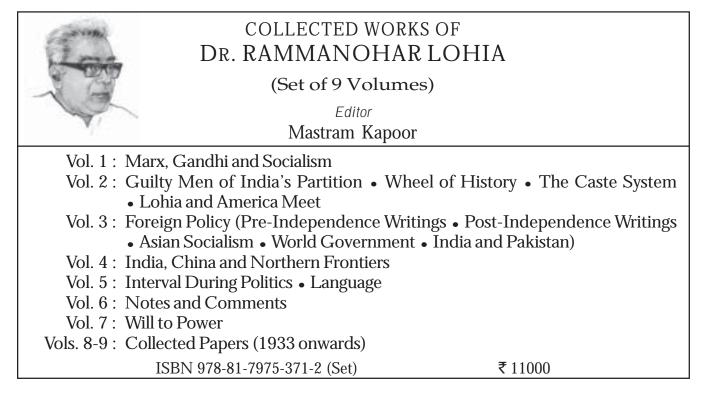
(Mar. 23, 1910 - Oct. 12, 1967)

Born at Akbarpur (UP), in middle-income Marwari family of Hiralal Lohia. Primary education in Akbarpur, Marwari High School, Bombay; higher education in Benaras Hindu University, Calcutta University; PhD from Humbolt University, Berlin. Founder member of CSP established in 1934; Secretary, Foreign Deptt of AICC during 1937-39. Opposition to war-efforts and imprisonment. Led underground 'Quit India' movment in 1942. Confinement and torture in Lahore Fort. After release initiated freedom movements in Goa and Nepal. Strong voice in opposition politics under SP, PSP, and SSP. Forceful critic of Jawahar Lal Nehru's policies and builder of strong opposition. Founder of alternative politics based on socialist ideology, with programmes of spade, vote and jail and seven revolutions. Court arrested several times under civil disobedience movement in independent India. His original and creative mind attracted writers and artists and inspired young generations. He instilled the spirit of self-respect among the classes, victims of the castesystem and enabled them to assert their will to power which transformed the political scene in India. In international politics he associated with World Government Movement, civil-rights movements for African-American, Asian Socialism, Third Bloc movement etc.

IMPORTANT WORKS : Marx, Gandhi and Socialism, Foreign Policy, Interval During Politics, The Caste-System, Wheel of History, Guilty Men of India's Partition and several booklets containing his speeches.

Mastram Kapoor

Born: December 22, 1926, at Sakri (HP); Education: MA, PhD. Wrote, edited and translated about 100 books, including novels, short stories, essays, political and social analysis. Long association with socialist movement and its leaders. He has also edited *Rammanohar Lohia Rachanavali* (9 Vols. in Hindi).



Vol. 1: Marx, Gandhi and Socialism

This volume includes Dr. Lohia's main philosophical essays on subjects like Marx, Gandhi, socialism, spirituality, abstract and concrete, equal irrelevance, equality, international aspects of communism, fundamentals of world mind etc. as well as his famous speeches delivered at socialist conventions of Pachmarhi in 1952 and Hyderabad in December, 1955 together with some other writings of theoretical analysis of socialism in India.

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Vol. 2: Guilty Men of India's Partition • Wheel of History • The Caste System • Lohia and America Meet

In this volume four books are included—(1) Guilty Men of India's Partition; (2) Wheel of History; (3) The Caste System; and (4) Lohia and America Meet. They deal with four subjects which has teased and tormented the minds of all sensitive people during the last century and are likely to do so in the present one. Guilty Men of India's Partition was written as anguished reaction to Maulana Azad's famous book India Wins Freedom. Wheel of History is the taped version of Dr. Lohia's lectures delivered at Hyderabad. The Caste System is a collection of his letters and articles written on different occasions. The fourth book Lohia and Americal Meet is a report of his first visit of USA.

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Vol. 3 : Foreign Policy

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(Pre-Independence Writings • Post-Independence Writings • Asian Socialism • World Government • India and Pakistan)

In this volume we have tried to cover all his writings on foreign policy and international politics. This includes his famous book Foreign Policy which was published in 1963, and some other articles written thereafter. This volume has been divided in five sections. In the first section, his booklets written for the Congress Party before Independence and in the second section articles written after the Independence are included. Articles on Asian socialism, world government and India and Pakistan are reproduced in separate sections.

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Vol. 4: India, China and Northern Frontiers

This volume is the reproduction of the book India, China and Northern Frontiers, first published in 1963 and reprinted in 2002, includes Dr. Lohia's speeches and writings on the subject of India's northern frontiers and on Kashmir, Urvasiam, Nepal and Tibet particularly, written after 1949. This also includes relevant notes, statement by others, resolutions of Socialist Party, Praja Socialist Party, Samajvadi Yuvjan Sabha and some other letters from others, documents and maps.

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Vol. 5: Interval During Politics • Language

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In this volume, Lohia's writings of non-political nature are included. This has two sections. In the first, his famous book Interval During Politics, and in the second his book Language, containing his articles on language problem which are partially political and partially non-political are reproduced. Articles in the first section,

relate to art, literature, mythology, various aspects of culture, spiritualism, experiments in yoga, research in universities, history-writings, Olympic games and some book reviews. The range of these subjects dealt with in this volume would suggest that Dr. Lohia belonged to a rare category of politicians whose concern were not limited to politics but extended to many disciplines which impact the human life.

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Vol. 6: Notes and Comments

This Volume contains writings of Rammanohar Lohia, published in Mankind (a monthly journal founded by him) under the heading 'Notes and Comments' during the period August 1956 to March 1962 and again from February 1966 to October 1967. As the title suggests, the articles of this volume are notes and comments on the current happenings in the world and they almost touch all problems that were affecting our nation and human society in the fiftees and sixties of the twentieth century. Readers can also find very illuminating articles on some important developments during that period, such as the Tashkent declaration and death of Lal Bahadur Shastri, Students March of 1966, scandal of UPSC examinations, Presidential election of 1967, revolt in Delhi Police and its suppression, Svetlana episode, strategy of non-Congressism etc.

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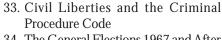
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Vol. 7 : Will to Power

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In this volume Lohia's writings of early years of post-independence India are included. This is the period which was called era of tide and tension (Ufan Aur Tod-Tanav Yug) of the Socialist Movement. When the socialists broke away from the Congress Party in 1948, they were full of enthusiasm, confidence and energy. But after the dismal performance in the first general election, a gloom spread over the party due to which one section inclined towards cooperation with Congress Party and the other for building a strong opposition. This tension ultimately resulted in clash of ideas and split in the Party which is an important chapter of the history of the socialist movement in India.

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Vols. 8-9: Collected Papers (1933 - 1963)

In this volume Dr. Lohia's articles and some important letters written during the pre-independence days are included. The work of compiling these papers was started by Dr. Hari Dev Sharma, one time Lohia's secretary and Deputy Director, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi and after his sudden death was taken over by Samajwadi Sahitya Sansthan. These articles were published in various magazines and newspapers such as The Hindu, Congress Socialist, Bombay Chronicle, Modern Review, National Herald, Searchlight, Hindustan Times etc. The article 'Hitlerism in Germany' was written for The Hindu when in journey from Germany to India he had lost his baggage and had no money to travel to Calcutta. The collection is not exhaustive since the work is still going on. Other papers as and when they are traced, will be published separately.

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DR. RAMMANOHAR LOHIA HIS LIFE AND PHILOSOPHY

Indumati Kelkar

History is progenitor and exponent of future events. If the perception of the past, of certain individuals and groups is similar, their analyses of the extant order and apprehension of the reasons of pleasure and sorrow are also similar. They have similar dreams about the order of future society. It is but natural that their ways and means of pulling down the structure of the stagnant worn out social order have mutual resemblance. The persons and groups cherishing similar ideas and dreams, especially the backward classes and women, will amply benefit by a critical in-depth study of Dr. Lohia's thoughts and deeds.

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RAMMANOHAR LOHIA AN INTRODUCTION

Mastram Kapoor

Purpose of this book is to introduce Dr. Lohia to the new generation who might not have read about him but who may be in search of a dream to be pursued and achieved. Those who are struggling against the odds created by the inequalities of caste, colour, gender, birth and socio-economic status, will find new light and new energy, to fight these odds even when the circumstances do not favour them. His philosophy of action without hope (निराशा के कर्तव्य) will lead them to the highest and sublimest form of active life. In addition to all this, this book will introduce the readers to the current problems of India and the world.

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इंदुमती केलकर	मस्तराम कपूर
लोहियाजी की जीवनी भारत के समाजवादी आंदोलन का इतिहास ही है।	डॉ. लोहिया का पूरा जीवन भारत में समता और संपन्नता की समाजवादी
इतिहास भावी घटनाओं का जन्मदाता तथा प्रवर्तक होता है। अगर कुछ	व्यवस्था और विश्व में समाजवादी और गांधीवादी मूल्यों के आधार पर नई
व्यक्तियों और समूहों की अतीत संबंधी कल्पना एक जैसी होती है तो	मानव-व्यवस्था के निर्माण को समर्पित रहा है। अपने समय में डॉ. लोहिया
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समझ भी समान होती है। समाज के भविष्य के संबंध में उनके सपनों में भी	कारण। लेकिन अब भारत और विश्व पर जो संकट आया है उससे बाहर
समानता होती है। यह स्वाभाविक है कि समाज के जड़ ढांचे को तोड़ने के	निकलने का रास्ता लोहिया के विचार और कार्यक्रम ही दिखा सकते हैं। इस
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राममनोहर लोहिया ः अकबरपुर जिला फैजाबाद (उ.प्र.) में 23 मार्च, 1910 को मध्यवित्त मारवाड़ी परिवार में जन्म। प्रारंभिक शिक्षा अकबरपुर की पाठशाला और मारवाड़ी स्कूल, बंबई में। बाद में बनारस हिंदू यूनिवर्सिटी, कलकत्ता विश्वविद्यालय में। बर्लिन के हम्बोल्ट विश्वविद्यालय से पी-एच.डी। 1934 से कांग्रेस सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के संस्थापक सदस्य के रूप में स्वाधीनता आंदोलन में प्रवेश। विश्वयुद्ध में दोनों खेमों से अलग रहने की नीति के प्रबल समर्थक। 1942 के 'भारत छोड़ो' आंदोलन का भूमिगत रहकर संचालन। गिरफ्तारी के बाद लाहौर जेल में भीषण यंत्रणा। देश के बंटवारे से आहत। गांधीजी के निर्देश से दंगाग्रस्त क्षेत्रों में कार्य। आजादी के बाद सोशलिस्ट पार्टी, प्रजा सोशलिस्ट पार्टी और फिर सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के मंचों से, विपक्ष के प्रखर नेता के रूप में सक्रियता। नेहरू सरकार की नीतियों से तीव्र मतभेद के कारण सरकार के रोष तथा बुद्धिजीवियों की उपेक्षा के भागी। सादा जीवन, सूजनशील मस्तिष्क और अथक परिश्रम के कारण विपक्ष की राजनीति, लोकतंत्र और समाजवाद की मजबूत नींव तैयार करने से युवा पीढ़ियों के उत्तरोत्तर आकर्षण का केंद्र । गोवा मुक्ति आंदोलन और नेपाल के लोकतांत्रिक आंदोलन के प्रणेता । सदियों से नींद में पड़े समाज के विशाल तबकों में राजनैतिक चेतना जगाने और सामाजिक-राजनैतिक क्रांति का सूत्रपात करने में समर्थ। जातिप्रथा का विनाश, स्त्री-पुरुष समानता, हर तरह की गैरबराबरी और गुलामी की समाप्ति, सत्याग्रह व सिविल नाफरमानी के अहिंसक साधनों और समूची मानव-जाति की एकता के प्रति दृढ़ विश्वास । *कांग्रेस सोशलिस्ट, जन, मैनकाइंड* आदि पत्रों का संपादन । *मार्क्स गांधी और समाजवाद,* जातिप्रथा, इतिहास-चक्र, विदेश-नीति, भारत, चीन और उत्तरी सीमाएं, राजनीति में फ़ुर्सत के क्षण आदि प्रसिद्ध रचनाओं और समाजवादी सम्मेलनों तथा प्रशिक्षण शिविरों में दिए गए भाषणों के रूप में विपल साहित्य। 1963 से 1967 तक लोक सभा के सदस्य। 12 अक्तूबर 1967 को निधन।

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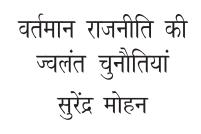
आई.एस.बी.एन. 978-81-7975-205-0 (सेट)

कुल पृष्ठ संख्या (सभी 9 खंड) : 4780 ₹ 6300 (सभी 9 खंड)



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(खंड-2)

₹ 350

भारत जैसे विशाल बहुभाषी, बहुधर्मी और बहु-(खंड-3) सांस्कृतिक देश में जहां आर्थिक क्षेत्रीय असंतुलन भी (खंड-4) एक बड़ी समस्या है, क्षेत्रीय स्थितियों के उलझाव पैदा (खंड-5) होते रहते हैं। राष्ट्रीय एकता के परदे में जो केंद्रीकरण विगत तीन-चार दशकों में भारत की राजनिति पर छाया, (खंड-6) उसके कारण वे उलझाव पहले से ज्यादा जटिल हो गए (खंड-7) हैं। जम्मू-कशमीर, उत्तर-पूर्वी क्षेत्र और उसमें विशेषकर नागाओं की समस्या और मध्यवर्ती आदिवासी क्षेत्र जो (खंड-8) पश्चिम में गुजरात के डांग जिले से पूर्व में उड़ीसा के (खंड-9) वोरापुर जिले तक विस्तरित है, ऐसे ही क्षेत्र हैं। इन क्षेत्रीय विभिन्नताओं का आदर करके न कि सेना और पुलिस के दमन द्वारा, और पूर्व मंत्रीभाव से ही उन्हें सुलझाना है।

> प्रस्तुत पुस्तक में इन तीनों तरह की चुनौतियों पर विस्तृत टिप्पणियां की गई हैं और यह प्रयास भी किया गया है कि उनकी जड़ों को समझा जाए। जहां कहीं उन के समाधान से जनता या कुछ वैचारिक समूह जुटे हैं उनका उल्लेख भी किया गया है।