

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 caste-system 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).



COLLECTED WORKS OF DR. RAMMANOHAR LOHIA

(Set of 9 Volumes)

Editor

Mastram Kapoor

- Vol. 1 : Marx, Gandhi and Socialism
- Vol. 2 : Guilty Men of India's Partition • Wheel of History • The Caste System
• Lohia and America Meet
- Vol. 3 : Foreign Policy (Pre-Independence Writings • Post-Independence Writings
• Asian Socialism • World Government • India and Pakistan)
- Vol. 4 : India, China and Northern Frontiers
- Vol. 5 : Interval During Politics • Language
- Vol. 6 : Notes and Comments
- Vol. 7 : Will to Power
- Vols. 8-9 : Collected Papers (1933 onwards)

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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.

Contents

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| <i>Preface</i> | 9. Principle of Equal Irrelevance | 17. On Doctrine |
| 1. Economics after Marx | 10. Driving Forces of History | 18. A New Integration |
| 2. Marxism and Socialism | 11. The International Aspect of Communism | 19. Foreign Policy |
| 3. Gandhism and Socialism | 12. Russia's Developments | 20. Statement of Policy |
| 4. Anecdotes of Mahatma Gandhi | 13. Some Fundamentals of a World Mind | 21. A New Chapter |
| 5. A Philosophical Hypothesis | 14. An Asian Policy | 22. Statement of Principles |
| 6. Materiality and Spirituality | 15. The Doctrinal Foundation of Socialism | 23. Two Manifestoes |
| 7. Abstract and Concrete | 16. Neither Anti-Marx Nor Pro-Marx | <i>Index</i> |
| 8. The Meaning of Equality | | |



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 America Meet* is a report of his first visit of USA.

Contents

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| GUILTY MEN OF INDIA'S PARTITION | 10. Meaning of Modern Civilisation | 8. Correspondence with Dr. Ambedkar |
| <i>Introduction</i> | 11. Total Efficiency | 9. Correspondence Regarding Backward Classes Federation |
| WHEEL OF HISTORY | THE CASTE SYSTEM | 10. Vashishthas and Valmiki |
| <i>Preface</i> | 1. The Two Segregations of Caste and Sex | 11. Talks with Mr. Naicker |
| 1. Purpose and History | 2. Class Organizations: Instruments to Abolish Caste | 12. Towards the Destruction of Caste and Classes |
| 2. Cyclical and Pseudo-Cyclical Views | 3. Letter to a Sudra | 13. A Note on India's Ruling Classes |
| 3. Materialist Interpretation of History | 4. Adivasi and the Non-Adivasi | 14. Association for Study and Destruction of Caste |
| 4. Matter and Spirit in History | 5. My Barber | 15. Caste and Shrinkage of Opportunities |
| 5. Class and Caste | 6. Endure Temporary Injustice | 16. Jat Vinash Conference |
| 6. Continental Shifts | 7. Harijan Temple Entry | 17. Roots of the Caste Problem |
| 7. Approximation of Mankind | | 18. Backward Classes and Tax on 6½ Acres |
| 8. Internal Approximation | | |
| 9. Current Dreams | | |

19. Anti-Caste
 20. 99 Per Cent Down-Trodden People
Appendix
 LOHIA AND AMERICA MEET
Introduction

- Foreword to the Second Edition*
 PART I 1951
 1. Report on Dr. Lohia's Visit to US.
 (July 13–August 25, 1951)
 PART II 1964
 2. Press Clippings

- (April 24–June 29, 1964)
 3. One Gets So Lonely
 4. Role in Civil Rights Movement
 5. Lohia and the American Civil Rights
 Movements
Index



Vol. 3 : Foreign Policy
 (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.

Contents

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| <p>PRE-INDEPENDENCE WRITINGS</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Struggle for Civil Liberties 2. Foreign Policy of Indian National Congress and British Labour Party 3. Indians in Foreign Lands 4. India on China <p>POST-INDEPENDENCE WRITINGS</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Resolution on International Situation 2. International Situation 3. Postscript to Korea 4. Third Camp and the Soviet Bloc 5. Socialist Approach to Foreign Policy 6. Hong Kong Press Looks at Lohia 7. Peace through Freedom and Equality 8. Yugoslavia Today 9. Britain must Quit Suez Zone 10. All Excitement and No Accomplishment that is Nehru's Policy 11. Foreign Policy: Party vs. Government 12. A Five-Point Foreign Policy for India 13. Resolution on Africa's Struggle for Freedom 14. Give-up Inferior Membership of the British Commonwealth 15. Greetings to the People of Africa 16. Foreign Policy 17. Mahatma Gandhi and Atom Bomb— | <p>Two Novel Phenomena of 20th Century</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 18. Imperialism: Capitalist and Communist 19. Foreign Policy Not Independent 20. Foreword to Speech at Hyderabad on December 13, 1956 21. Speech at Hyderabad on December 13, 1956 22. Revolution Arrested 23. World's Jackal and Fox Mentality: Eisenhower, Khrushchev must Meet 24. British Elections and the Future of Socialism <p style="text-align: center;">ASIAN SOCIALISM</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Third Camp in World Affairs 2. Postscript to Korea 3. On Razmara's Death 4. India and Japan 5. India and Lebanon 6. Arab World and Iran 7. Problems of Asian Socialism 8. Resolution on Asian Socialist Conference 9. Foreign Policy Issues 10. Asia and World Order 11. Indian Socialism and International Socialist Youth | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 12. Asian Governments Sign 'No War, Mutual Aid Pact' 13. Revision of United Nations Charter 14. Some Reflections on Internationalism <p style="text-align: center;">WORLD GOVERNMENT</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Foundation of World Government 2. U.N. Unfit to be Tribune of World Conscience 3. World Government, Only Hope 421 4. Equality of all Nations Essential for World Peace 5. Socialist World Action in the Struggle for Peace <p style="text-align: center;">INDIA AND PAKISTAN</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. India and Pakistan 2. Struggle Against Communalism within and Across the Border 3. A Peace Based on Facts 4. Resolution: Two-Nation Theory—Root of Indo-Pakistan Conflict 5. India must be Firm with Pakistan and Just to its Forty Million Minorities 6. The Proposed U.S.-Pakistan Pact 7. India and Pakistan <p><i>Index</i></p> |
|--|--|---|

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.

Contents

<p><i>Foreword</i></p> <p><i>Introduction to the Second Edition</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">HIMALAYA</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Threat to Our Northern Borders 2. A Himalayan Policy 3. Notes on Himalayan People 4. Himalayan India: Some Non-Party and Non-Controversial Suggestions 5. Mansar 6. Indian and Chinese Tents 7. Himalayas, The Empty Symbol and Seven Revolutions 8. The Himalaya Bachao Sammelan <p style="text-align: center;">KASHMIR</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 9. Kashmir 10. An Interview on Kashmir 11. Dangerous Strategy 12. Future of Kashmir 13. Letters from Kashmir 14. Composition of Cabinet 15. Maulana Masoodi's Dismissal 16. The Proposed U.S.-Pakistan Pact 17. Resolution on Kashmir <p style="text-align: center;">URVASIAM</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 18. Situation in Naga Hills 19. Urvasiam: Prohibited Area 20. Barbarous Policies in Urvasiam 21. Right to Unrestricted Travel Flouted by India Government 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 22. The Naga Problem 23. Urvasiam: Some Experiences 24. Entering Urvasiam—An Epilogue 25. A Few Letters 26. Certain Uncontroversial Suggestions <p style="text-align: center;">NEPAL</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 27. India and Nepal 28. Let Us Not Forget Nepal 29. Democracy Versus Tyranny 30. The Task Before Nepal Congress 31. Cleverness or Courage in Nepal? <p style="text-align: center;">TIBET</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 32. Chinese Invasion of Tibet 33. An Act Against Asia and the World 34. China's Second Assault on Tibet 35. Tibetan Refugees 36. Talks with Dalai Lama 37. Who Championed Tibet's Freedom? <p style="text-align: center;">POLICY</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 38. U.N. Vote on China—The Aggressor 39. Concerning Our Attitude Towards Red China 40. Resolutions Passed at the Meeting of the National Executive of PSP held at Patna on January 15-17, 1954 41. Chou-Nehru Meet 42. India, China, Tibet, Congressism and Communism 43. India-China Conflict 44. Chinese Premier's Visit 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 45. India, China and Coloured Peoples Solidarity 46. Can Delhi Only Breed Mohammed Shahs 47. China's Admission into the U.N. 48. China and Portugal 49. India-Pakistan Confederation 50. Russia, America and China 51. Chinese Invasion and Our Aims 52. Violence and Non-Violence 53. Jamboodweep, China, Foreign Policy and Gandhism 54. Afro-Asian Leaders' Compromise Efforts 55. Sino-Indian War: Seven Ideas 56. Efficacy of Non-Violence in War 57. No Compromise 58. American Aid 59. Three Wills in International Relationship 60. To Afro-Asian Leaders 61. Three Asias 62. A Press Conference 63. Military Assistance 64. Some Aspects of India's China Policy <p style="text-align: center;">DOCUMENTS</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 65. Chronology of Chinese Aggression 66. Unilateral Ceasefire by China 67. Colombo Proposals <p style="text-align: center;">MAPS</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>Index</i></p>
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Vol. 5 : Interval During Politics • Language

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.

Contents

<p>INTERVAL DURING POLITICS</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Round the World 2. Ram and Krishna and Siva 3. Call to Truth, Work, Resistance and Character-Building 4. An Episode in Yoga 5. Rivers of India 6. On Schemes of Research at Indian Universities 7. Dilli also Called Delhi 8. Indian Alphabets 9. More about Alphabet, Language, Instruction and Some Oddities 10. The Unity of the People of India 11. Cricket, British Journalism and Fair Play 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 12. Pilgrim Centres in India and Airman 13. Beauty and Skin Colour 14. A Few Book Reviews 15. Meaning in Stone 16. Olympic Games 17. Hinduism 18. Rammanohar Lohia's Report 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> in India 6. Prices and Language 7. Hinduism, Pilgrim Centres, Caste and Language 8. The Madras Happenings 9. British Queen's Visit 10. Banishment of English from Ceylon 11. To Akalis and Punjabi Suba 12. Coastal Areas and the Heartland 13. Feudal Language versus People's Languages 14. Speak in Mother Tongue <p><i>Appendix</i> <i>Index</i></p>
--	---	---

LANGUAGE

Introduction

1. English : Hindi
2. Linguistic Redistribution
3. Removal of English, Not the Establishment of Hindi
4. Banish English
5. English and the People's Languages



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 fifties 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.

Contents

<p>PART I</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Hypocrisies and Double-Talk 2. A Few Seminal Dates 3. Preferential Rights for Women 4. People's Action in France and India 5. Evolve a New Pattern 6. International Policy of Parties in the World 7. Freedom Fighters and Freedom Preservers 8. Unity of Mankind 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 9. Caste 10. Inanity of World Socialism 11. Two Strikes 12. Water Famines and Heat Waves 13. The Blood-Bath of Kharswan 14. A Prismatic Analysis 15. Principles of Parliamentary Behaviour 16. The Banaras University 17. President Nasser's Political Philosophy 18. Sputnik 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 19. An Irrationality 20. Puritanism and Profligacy 21. The Maratha 22. People, Space and Struggles 23. The Andhras 24. The Summit Conference 25. India, China and Our Borders 26. The Current Civil Disobedience Movements 27. The Issue of Skin Colour 28. Miscarriage of Justice
---	--	---

29. Political Problem of Congo
30. An Appeal to the Youth of Bengal
31. Our Disease
32. Cosmopolitanism
33. United Nations Organisation
34. Satyagraha
35. The Revolt of Youth
36. The British Queen's Visit
37. The Bomb and World Parliament
38. Orissa Elections
39. The High-Caste Judge and Murder

PART II

1. Test of a Foreign Policy
2. Radical Economic Measures
3. Kashi University
4. Citizenship
5. Tashkent Declaration and...
6. Consolidation of Opposition Parties
7. Kerala and Food
8. The Moon
9. Revolution Arrested
10. Discrimination and Equality

11. A Pre-Election Year
12. Devaluation
13. Nationhood
14. A Mystery
15. History Writing
16. Language
17. After Nineteen Years of Freedom
18. The Bund
19. British Legacy
20. Group Identities
21. Personal and Impersonal
22. Allegations
23. Non-Alignment
24. Student's March: Shame, Fear but also Some Confidence
25. Policy and Problems
26. Regional Imbalance
27. Rains
28. A Sense of Doom
29. Relief Committee and Squatting
30. Revolt in Hindi Areas
31. UPSC Examination
32. Lack of Policy

33. Civil Liberties and the Criminal Procedure Code
 34. The General Elections 1967 and After
 35. China
 36. Before Presidential Election
 37. Delhi Police
 38. After Presidential Election
 39. American Margo Cry for India
 40. Gandhi and the Bomb
 41. Elite and Expenditure
 42. Mac Bird
 43. August Revolution: Twentyfifth Anniversary
 44. The Dynastic Principle
 45. Trappings: Life and Spirit
 46. Svetalana and Lok Sabha
 47. The Queen's Men
 48. Creatures of the Clique
 49. China: Insanity of Doctrine
 50. To Be Somebody
 51. Urgency of Change
- Appendices*
Index



Vol. 7 : Will to Power

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.

Contents

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| <p>I. WILL TO POWER</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Farmer in India 2. Programme to End Poverty 3. Right Word : Right Action 4. Thirteen-Point Programme of the Hind Kisan Panchayat 5. The Will to Power 6. A Prophecy 7. The Liberal International 8. Dangerous Strategy 9. Attitude to Government Party 10. Against Coalition 11. I am an Anti-Coalitionist | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 12. To the Betul Convention 13. His Shortest Speech 14. Another Betul Speech 15. Hero of Ghazipur 16. Electoral Adjustment 17. United Front between Communists and Conservatives 18. Lucknow Revolt 19. Planned Will to Power 20. Lohia's Letters <p>II. CLASH OF IDEAS AND SPLIT</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Conflicting Attitudes to Merger 2. Merger with Ganatantra Parishad? | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Nehru-Socialists Relations 4. Nehru on J.P.'s Part in Shaping India's Destiny 5. Nehru-J.P. Talks 6. J.P.'s Withdrawal from Politics 7. T-C Police Firing Controversy 8. J.P. versus Lohia: The Party Split 9. State Leaders and Lohia 10. Prelude to the Split 11. Annexures to the Memorandum 12. Narendra Deva's Inner Conflict 13. Bipin Pal Das on PSP Controversy <p><i>Index</i></p> |
|---|---|--|

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.

Contents (Vol. 8: 1933-1938)

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| 1. Hitlerism in Germany | 33. Letter to Mr. Sinha | 65. Letter to Editor, "Hindu" |
| 2. Ourselves | 34. Letter to the Secretary, Maharashtra P.C.C. | 66. Letter to Y.R. Rege |
| 3. All India Congress Socialist Party | 35. Letter to "The Sunday Times" | 67. Letter to E.S. Patwardhan |
| 4. Comments | 36. Letter to Syt. Dev Raj | 68. Letter to Three Persons |
| 5. Comments, Foreign Affairs | 37. Letter to S.K. Yadav | 69. Letter to Govindlal D. Shah |
| 6. Is It Recovery? | 38. Letter to Sj. Ambika Kant Sinha | 70. Letter to Secretary, Bengal P.C.C. |
| 7. Capitalism Misses the Bus | 39. Letter to Pt. Benarsidas Chaturvedi | 71. Letter to Three P.C.Cs. |
| 8. The Indian Citizen: His Suppressed Personality | 40. Letter to Three Newspapers | 72. Letter to Mr. Bridgeman |
| 9. Foreign Department: Note by Rammanohar Lohia | 41. Letter to the Editor, Daily Herald | 73. Letter to Roger Baldwin |
| 10. The Report of the Foreign Affairs Department of the AICC Office Submitted by Dr. Rammanohar Lohia, the Secretary | 42. Letter to S. Satyamurti | 74. Letter to Nandal Bose |
| 11. Telegram from Calcutta to Allahabad | 43. Letter to the Editor, The Searchlight | 75. Letter to Parasnath Sinha |
| 12. Letter to Reginald Bridgeman | 44. Letter to the Editor, The Indian Express | 76. Letter to M. Emile Kahu |
| 13. Letter to M.R. Masani | 45. Letter to Sj. Satyendra Nath Muzumdar | 77. Letter to Syed Abdulla Brelvi |
| 14. Letter to Acharya Narendra Deo | 46. Letter to the Editor, The Tribune | 78. Letter to Bihar P.C.C. |
| 15. Letter to Cedric Dover | 47. Letter to S.A. Brelvi | 79. The Suppression of Civil Liberties in India |
| 16. Letter to Robert O. Jordan | 48. Letter to Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru | 80. Letter to M.J. Kanetkar |
| 17. Letter to the Editors | 49. Letter to M. Maurice Thorez | 81. Letter to Morarji R. Desai |
| 18. Letter to Ronald Kidd | 50. Letter to Editors | 82. Letter to Robert M. Entwistle |
| 19. Socialist Self Criticism | 51. Letter to Editor, The Indian Express | 83. Letter to A. Fenner Brockway |
| 20. Letter to Mohanlal Saksena | 52. A Critic of Jawaharlal (Sir Jehangir C. Coyaji's Views Examined) | 84. Letter to Post Master, Allahabad |
| 21. Letter to S. Satyamurti | 53. Letter to Cedric Dover | 85. Letter to De La Jeunesse |
| 22. Letter to Pt. G.B. Pant | 54. Letter to Roger N. Baldwin | 86. Letter to Roger N. Baldwin |
| 23. Letter to Mrinal Kanti Bose | 55. Letter to Madame Lotti Birch | 87. Letter to Prem Narain Agawala |
| 24. Book Reviews | 56. Letter to Secretary, Labour and Socialist International | 88. Letter to S.A. Waiz |
| 25. Letter to ILO | 57. Letter to A. Fenner Brockway | 89. Letter to B. Cunha |
| 26. Letter to Mohan V. Raj | 58. Letter to Dr. C.S. Johnson | 90. Letter to B. Sengupta |
| 27. Letter to the Postmaster | 59. Letter to George Padmore | 91. Letter to Secretary, B.P.C.C. |
| 28. Letter to P.B. Patel | 60. Letter to Dr. W.E. Burghardt Du Bois | 92. Letter to Surendra Nath Dwivedi |
| 29. Letter to the Secretary, Bombay P.C.C. | 61. Letter to G. Arunachalam | 93. Letter to Surendra Mohan Moitra |
| 30. Letter to the Manager, Palli-Bani | 62. Letter to Com. Sibnath Banerjea | 94. Letter to 20 Negro Addresses |
| 31. Letter to the Manager, "Sainik" | 63. Letter to Mrs. Tayabji | 95. I Hear Anna Marie Hessemer |
| 32. Letter to Organizations | 64. Letter to Indian Journalists' Association | 96. Letter to Makhnal Sen |
| | | 97. Letter to Post Master, Allahabad |
| | | 98. Letter to Editor, Tribune, Advance, Bombay Chronicle |
| | | 99. Letter to Punjab P.C.C. |

100. Letter to Cedric Dover
101. Letter to 19 Important Nationalist Newspapers
102. Letter to Hindustan Newspaper Ltd.
103. Letter to E. Banasinski
104. Letter to Post-Master General, Simla
105. Letter to S.B. Shokai
106. Letter to Robert O. Jordan
107. Letter to Ramanand Chatterji
108. Letter P.N. Sinha
109. Letter to Editor, Nispraha
110. Letter to Mahadev Desai
111. Letter to Chingleput, D.C.C.
112. Press Statement
113. Letter to Editors of Newspapers
114. Letter to Hindustan Newspapers Ltd.
115. Letter to Krishna Kumar, B.H.U.
116. Letter to James Klugmann
117. Letter to P. Kodanda Ramiah
118. Circular No. 2, Foreign Department
119. Letter to Reginald Bridgeman
120. Letter to Max Yergan
121. Letter to Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya
122. Letter to General Director, International Fixed Calendar League
123. Letter to Ronald Kidd
124. Letter to George Padmore
125. Letter to Editor, The New Indian States Journal
126. Letter to Ramananda Chatterjee
127. Letter to Editor, The Modern Review
128. Letter to Raj Narain Mehrotra
129. Letter to J.A. Laguma
130. Letter to Dr. Satyapal
131. Letter to Editor, The Tribune, Advance and Bombay Chronicle
132. Letter to Charles S. Johnson
133. Letter to M.M. Gandhi
134. Letter to Prem Narayan Bhargava
135. Letter to Ronald Kidd and Others
136. Letter to Editor, The Hindustan Times
137. Letter to P.B. Rangnekar
138. Letter to C.S. Venu
139. Circular: All India Congress Committee Swaraj Bhawan, Allahabad
140. Letter to T. Braganca Cunha
141. Letter to F.W. Galton
142. Press Statement
143. Letter to Editors, Tribune, Bombay Sentinal, Indian Express
144. Letter to Achyut S. Patwardhan
145. Letter to James Klugmann
146. Workers' Education
147. Letter to Secretary, Bengal Students' League
148. 'Syndicated Columns'
149. Letter to K. Srinivasan
150. Letter to Nani Sen Gupta
151. Letter to James Klugmann
152. Letter to Francis Jourdain
153. Letter to M.A. Thomas
154. Letter to T. Braganca-Cunha
155. Letter to Narayan Prasad Agrawal
156. Letter to The United Press
157. Letter to M. Emile Kahu
158. Letter to R.O. Jordon
159. Letter to Lokanath Misra
160. Statement Issued by the Foreign Department of the A.I.C.C.
161. A Message of Sir Stafford Cripps
162. Letter to 48 Addresses
163. Letter to Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru
164. Press Statement Issued by the Foreign Department of A.I.C.C
165. Letter to Ashok Mehta
166. Letter to Office Secretary, Assembly C.P
167. Letter to K. Srinivasan
168. Letter to International Fixed Calendar League
169. Letter to General Secretary, The No More War Movement
170. Letter to Cedric Dover
171. Letter to R. Choudhury
172. Letter to J.S. Middleton
173. Facts of Parmanand Case
174. Letter to Dottoro Hermann Selzer
175. International Landmarks
176. Report of the Foreign Department of the A.I.C.C.
177. Letter to John Grant, Bookseller
178. Letter to Dr. B.S. Sharma
179. Letter to S.S. Mirajkar
180. Letter to Satya Brota Sen
181. Letter to Dhanvant Ojha
182. Letter to Dr. Narendra Nath Roy
183. Letter to Dr. A.S. Baxi
184. Letter to Editor, The Hindustan Times
185. Letter to Z. Mehta
186. Letter to Devadatta Sharma
187. Letter to Secretary, Shri Mahavir Jain Library
188. Letter to B.P.L. Bedi
189. Letter to Comrade Ahmad Din
190. Letter to Chandrashanker
191. Letter to Paras Nath Sinha
192. Letter to V.V. Sastrulu
193. Letter to Editor, The Industry
194. Letter to Dr. K.B. Menon
195. Letter to K. Srinivasan
196. Press Statement Issued by Foreign Deptt., A.I.C.C., Allahabad
197. Letter to Mme. Nora Morell
198. Letter to Amrit Bazar Patrika
199. Letter to K.K. Sinha
200. Letter to K. Srinivasan
201. Letter to Jethalal J. Gandhi
202. Letter to Dr. K.B. Menon
203. Letter to Mr. Shiromany
204. Letter to Dr. Braja Beharee
205. Letter to Mr. Srinivasan
206. Letter to Fulchand K. Shah
207. Letter to C.J. Joseph
208. Letter to Yusuf J. Meherally
209. Letter to S.K. Shastri
210. Letter to W.P. Deautreill
211. Letter to M.R. Masani
212. Letter to Secretary, World Student Association for Peace, Freedom and Culture
213. Letter to M.J.C. Hodgart
214. Letter to Jitendra Nath Ghose
215. Letter to Tushar Kanti Chatterji
216. Letter to M. Marius Moutet
217. Letter to Monsieur le Gouverneur
218. Letter to A. Fenner Brockway
219. Letter to Gerald Bailey
220. Letter to Francis Jourdain
221. Letter to Reginald Reynolds
222. Press Statement Issued by the Foreign Department of the A.I.C.C.
223. Letter to Roger Baldwin
224. Letter to Allan Flanders
225. Letter to E. Moore
226. Letter to E.M. Andres
227. Letter to Jitendranath Ghose
228. Letter to Charubabu
229. Letter to E.M. Andres
230. Letter to Different Countries
231. In Spain: The Two Streams Commingle
232. Communique Issued by the Foreign Department of A.I.C.C.
233. Letter to Jitendra Nath Ghose
234. Letter to Miss Barbara Hartland
235. Letter to Subhas Chandra Bose
236. Letter to Allan Dlanders
237. Popular Front and French Colonial Policy

238. Letter to La Bibliotheque De la Commission	268. Letter to Subhas C. Bose	303. Socialism and Democracy
239. Letter to Superintendent of Documents, Washington	269. Letter to Editor, "Calcutta Review"	304. Lohia's Letter to the President of the Congress, Swaraj Bhawan, Allahabad
240. Letter to Superintendent of Documents, Washington	270. Letter to Henry Allen Moe	305. Lohia's Letter to the President of the Congress, Swaraj Bhawan, Allahabad
241. Notes on Congress Organisation	271. India and the World	306. Lohia's Letter to the President of the Congress
242. Letter to C.B.I. Dladla	272. Letter to Umashankar 'Mast'	307. Our Controversies
243. Letter to W.T. Donald	273. Letter to M. Emile Kahn	308. Letter to Comrade
244. Press Statement	274. Letter to Kali Charan Ghose	309. Colonial Policy of Socialist and Communists
245. Press Statement	275. Letter to Prof. John Dowey	310. Facts and Fallacies of Indian History
246. Letter to Max Yergan	276. Letter to H.O. Davies	311. Echo of Marching Feet
247. Letter to Shewart Harrison	277. Letter to W. Esuman-Uwira Sekyi	312. Right and Left
248. Letter to Allan Flanders	278. Letter to AI Alliance Internationale Des Etudiants	313. Unity in Congress Ranks
249. Letter to Jairamdas Doulatram	279. Press Statement	314. Congress Unity: Letter to the Editor <i>Bombay Chronicle</i>
250. A Note	280. Letter to Uma Shankar 'Mast'	315. Vishnu Datt Nagar's Letter to <i>Bombay Chronicle</i>
251. Indian Freedom Front	281. Letter to Maude Meagher	316. Lohia's Letter to Jaya Prakash
252. Jawaharlal on the Frontier	282. Letter to Christopher Ackroyd	317. Lohia's Letter to Jaya Prakash
253. India Looks at America	283. Letter to the President	318. Four-Point Basic Unity
254. Notes on Education and Culture	284. Letter to Dinkar Mehta	319. War Resister
255. Allahabad Army and Old Monuments	285. The Dilemma of an Anti-Imperialist	320. Not an Open Question
256. Letter to Balram Singh Srivastava	286. International Balance-sheet	321. Letter to Congress President
257. Letter to Madame Gertrud Baer	287. Letter to Prof. Chowdhuri	322. A Plan for War Resistance
258. Letter to Two Comrades	288. The Conquest of Violence—I	323. Congress Should Split—Loose and Dangerous Talk
259. The Rise of the Indian National Movement	289. Letter to Mr. Hayatullah	324. Problem for Congressmen
260. To the Editor The Constituent Assembly	290. Letter to S.G. Shende	325. Reaction to Departure from Accepted Policy of C.S.P.
261. What the Socialist Wants	291. Letter to Ellen Starr Brinton, Curator	326. Dr. Lohia Charged with Sedition
262. Letter to Consul General for China	292. Letter to Prem Singh Gil	327. The Nation and Communalism
263. Letter to Prabhaskar Pattani	293. Letter to S. Balachandran	328. To Hell with Arms!
264. Press Statement Issued by Foreign Department, A.I.C.C.	294. Letter to Godha Ram Channon	329. Hindu-Muslim Unity
265. A Note	295. Letter to P. Jeevanandam	<i>Appendices</i>
266. The Collapse of International Morality	296. Letter to B.S. Sharma	<i>Index</i>
267. Letter to Socialist Forum, London	297. Jawaharlal Must Answer	
	298. The Russian Trials	
	299. The Conquest of Violence	
	300. India in Fisher's History of Europe	
	301. Letter to Ashwini Kumar Gupta	
	302. Autocracy, Democracy and Imperialism	

Contents (Vol. 9: 1939-1963)

330. Education and Literacy	342. Question to Americans in India	353. Lohia and Keskar Elected to A.I.C.C.
331. Girls in Conference	343. We Must Not Go Soft Again	354. Letter from Lohia to Jawaharlal Nehru
332. An Independence Day Manifesto	344. From Absconder Lohia to Usurper Hallet	355. Letter from Lohia to Jawaharlal Nehru
333. I Lost the A.I.C.C.	345. The August Revolution	356. Presidential Address (extempore), by Dr. Rammanohar Lohia
334. Conception of India's Freedom: India's Stand	346. Rebels Must Advance	357. Dr. Lohia Wishes to Create a 'Union State' in West Bengal
335. The Briton is Rude	347. Lohia's Statement to His Lawyer	358. Lohia's Letter to the President 194
336. Opposition to Gandhiji	348. Concern for Lohia	359. Fifteen-Point Note on Congress and the Socialist Party
337. Non-Violence—The Only Salvation	349. Rammanohar Lohia ... Congress Delegate at 14!	360. A Note on the I.N.T.U.C.
338. A Memory of Overseas Chinese	350. Lohia's Letter to Prof. H.J. Laski	361. Lohia Outlines the Goal of Socialists
339. The Mystery of Sir Stafford Cripps	351. An Open Letter to Lord Linlithgow from Dr. Rammanohar Lohia	
340. 'Congress Stand on War'	352. Dr. Lohia's Call to Gomantak	
341. Letter to the President of the Congress		

362. Socialists Decide Not to Oppose High Command Resolution before A.I.C.C.
363. Socialist Party (India)
364. Lohia's Letter to Acharya J.B. Kripalani
365. Acharya Narendra Deva's Defeat [Dr. Lohia says 'Odds Against Us']
366. Lohia's Reaction to Proposals to Nizam
367. Lohia Criticises Proposals to Hyderabad
368. Use of Police Measures Against Opposition
369. Government are Suffering from Crisis-Phobia
370. Failure to Stop Black-Marketing
371. 'Socialists Never Tried for Posts'
372. Lohia Draws Picture of Socialist Regime
373. Lohia to Government: What Have You Done Towards Socialism?
374. लोहिया का पत्र जयप्रकाश के नाम
375. Lohia's Letter to Jaya Prakash
376. लोहिया का पत्र विनोबा के नाम
377. लोहिया का पत्र जयप्रकाश के नाम
378. जयप्रकाश का पत्र लोहिया के नाम
379. लोहिया का पत्र जयप्रकाश के नाम
380. लोहिया का पत्र जयप्रकाश के नाम
381. लोहिया का पत्र जयप्रकाश के नाम
382. Struggle for Goa
383. Lohia's Statement on Goa [Issued Probably After His Release in 1946]
384. लोहिया का पत्र जयप्रकाश के नाम
385. जयप्रकाश का पत्र लोहिया के नाम
386. जयप्रकाश का पत्र लोहिया के नाम
387. Lohia's Letter to Ravela Somayya
388. लोहिया का पत्र जयप्रकाश के नाम
389. जयप्रकाश का पत्र लोहिया के नाम
390. लोहिया का पत्र जयप्रकाश के नाम
391. लोहिया का पत्र कमलाशंकर पंड्या के नाम
392. On Hidden Imperialisms
393. Khoj Parishad
394. लोहिया का पत्र अर्जुनसिंह भदौरिया के नाम
395. लोहिया का पत्र अर्जुनसिंह भदौरिया के नाम
396. Politics of Succession

Appendices

COURT CASES AND JUDGMENT

1. Rammanohar Lohia vs. The Supdt., Central Prison, Fatehgarh and Anr.
2. Ram Manohar Lohia and Others vs. V.S. Sundaram
3. Dr. Rammanohar Lohia vs. State of Bihar and Others
4. Ram Manohar Lohia and Others vs. State of U.P. and Others

Index

**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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Mastram Kapoor

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जीवन और दर्शन
इंदुमती केलकर**

लोहियाजी की जीवनी भारत के समाजवादी आंदोलन का इतिहास ही है। इतिहास भावी घटनाओं का जन्मदाता तथा प्रवर्तक होता है। अगर कुछ व्यक्तियों और समूहों की अतीत संबंधी कल्पना एक जैसी होती है तो उनका अतीत की व्यवस्था का विश्लेषण और सुख-दुःख के कारण की समझ भी समान होती है। समाज के भविष्य के संबंध में उनके सपनों में भी समानता होती है। यह स्वाभाविक है कि समाज के जड़ ढांचे को तोड़ने के उनके तरीकों में भी समानता हो। समान सपने देखने वाले व्यक्ति और समूह, विशेषकर पिछड़े वर्ग और स्त्रियां डॉ. लोहिया के विचारों तथा कार्यों के समीक्षात्मक और गहन अध्ययन से लाभान्वित होंगे।

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मस्तराम कपूर**

डॉ. लोहिया का पूरा जीवन भारत में समता और संपन्नता की समाजवादी व्यवस्था और विश्व में समाजवादी और गांधीवादी मूल्यों के आधार पर नई मानव-व्यवस्था के निर्माण को समर्पित रहा है। अपने समय में डॉ. लोहिया उपेक्षित रहे; शासक वर्गों तथा अंग्रेजीदां मध्यवर्गों की असहिष्णुता के कारण। लेकिन अब भारत और विश्व पर जो संकट आया है उससे बाहर निकलने का रास्ता लोहिया के विचार और कार्यक्रम ही दिखा सकते हैं। इस पुस्तक का उद्देश्य उनके विचारों तथा कार्यक्रमों की एक झलक प्रस्तुत करना है ताकि लोगों में उनके प्रति जिज्ञासा पैदा हो और वे एक नई क्रांतिकारी राजनीति के लिए आलस त्याग कर आगे आएँ।

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राममनोहर लोहिया रचनावली

संपादक
मस्तराम कपूर

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, सृजनशील 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 फुर्सत के क्षण* आदि प्रसिद्ध रचनाओं और समाजवादी सम्मेलनों तथा प्रशिक्षण शिविरों में दिए गए भाषणों के रूप में विपुल साहित्य। 1963 से 1967 तक लोक सभा के सदस्य। 12 अक्टूबर 1967 को निधन।

1. मार्क्स, गांधी और समाजवाद (खंड-1)
2. इतिहास-चक्र, जाति-प्रथा, भारत-विभाजन के अपराधी तथा लोहिया-अमरीका मुलाकात (खंड-2)
3. सत्ता-प्राप्ति की इच्छा-शक्ति (खंड-3)
4. क्रांति के लिए संगठन-1 (खंड-4)
5. क्रांति के लिए संगठन-2 (खंड-5)
6. विदेश-नीति (खंड-6)
7. भारत, चीन और उत्तरी सीमाएं (खंड-7)
8. राजनीति में फुर्सत के क्षण तथा भाषा-समस्या (खंड-8)
9. विचार और टिप्पणियां (खंड-9)

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भारत जैसे विशाल बहुभाषी, बहुधर्मी और बहु-सांस्कृतिक देश में जहां आर्थिक क्षेत्रीय असंतुलन भी एक बड़ी समस्या है, क्षेत्रीय स्थितियों के उलझाव पैदा होते रहते हैं। राष्ट्रीय एकता के परदे में जो केंद्रीकरण विगत तीन-चार दशकों में भारत की राजनीति पर छाया, उसके कारण वे उलझाव पहले से ज्यादा जटिल हो गए हैं। जम्मू-कश्मीर, उत्तर-पूर्वी क्षेत्र और उसमें विशेषकर नागाओं की समस्या और मध्यवर्ती आदिवासी क्षेत्र जो पश्चिम में गुजरात के डांग जिले से पूर्व में उड़ीसा के वीरापुर जिले तक विस्तृत 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।