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**Beyond the Night, I see the Light
Of a Radiant and Redeeming Morn
I see a bright New Age is Born."**

I see the crumbling ruins of Civilization
strewn like a vast dung heap of Futility.

*But I Shall not commit the greivous sin
of losing faith in Man.*

*I would rather look forward
to the opening of a New Chapter
in this History*

*after the cataclysm is over
and the atmosphere is rendered clean
with the Spirit of Service and Sacrifice.*

**Another Day will come when the Vanquished
Man will retrace his Path of Glory, despite all
Barriers, to win back his lost Human Heritage.**

— Rabindranath Tagore

**WE APPEAR TO BE IN A PERIOD OF HISTORY
WHEN THE WORLD IS IN LABOUR & OUT OF HER
TRAVAIL WILL GIVE BIRTH TO A NEW ORDER."**

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

To

Those Youth all the World over
who die

Fighting to bring to birth a
New and Better World.

To

Those Men and Women
all the world over
who live and labour

ceaselessly to see
that the New World to be
is indeed New, is really Better,
Freer, Juster, Nobler.

PREFACE

The Government of Sind, organised at the instance of the Government of India, as in several other Provinces, a Series of Lectures on International Affairs, to acquaint Teachers with Current Affairs and Present Problems. In this teachers' Training Course in International Affairs. I was invited to participate and I seized, the opportunity to deliver a' lecture on "Post-War Reconsttuction"—a topic, which I felt convinced, would interest all and more than all other problems. A Vast Subject-----my Lecture could only be an Introductory Survey—and it pledsed me to see that the gathering of Teachers whom I addressed, were provoked into discussing the different facets of the a&st subject.

In the belief that many more teachers, why all men and women, are interested in the subject: and in the hope that what stimulated those who were present, will not fail to move many more, to think with some earnestness of the many problems, which we must solve, if we are not to mike of Post-War Reconstruction, a bad and a sad business- as we did last time, I have made bold to publish my Lectures, having no illusion that I have said the last word, rather rememh' ring all the time that I have said only a word, simply broached the subject to the attention of everybody. If I succeed in drawing the thought of some, to some of the many problems, I shall have been amply rewarded, even if I do not gain their assent to the principles, which I deem essential for Post-War Reconstruction on sounder lines than ever before. " The organisation of the *People's Societies*, which I have advocated in the Lecture, for the creation of enlightened and effective Public Opinion, I deem a task of the very first importance; for the truth remains: "*Eternal Vigilance is the price of Libety and Propress.*" Active Public Vigilance is the condition of the fulfilment *after War*, of Promises made by Politicians *during War*.

I wish to thank the Government of Sind, particularly the Educational Inspector in Sind, whose appreciation of the Lecture along with its appreciation by the Teachers present, made me think of publishing it. Thankful to the Teachers present, I publish it for all Teachers and for students as well—and where is the person today, who will not to be a Student of Present Problems, when he can neglect them only at his periL

K. N. Vaswmni.

War-Aims are not enough, 'for political oratory is incapable of exact interpretation.'⁷¹ Principles and proposals applying them, working details, must be published in the form of a Great State Paper. This is the wise and the honest way to plan Post-War Reconstruction, if we are to avoid the tragic fiasco, which resulted at Versailles with such dire consequences which we witness in pain today. The demand for definite objectives, the call for a clear statement of aims and a revelation of the plans and proposals, comes from several quarters of the World. The Indian National Congress has called for a clarification of British War Aims.²² Sir Arthur Salter in one of the Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs-"Dual Policy," insists on a British State Paper setting forth in detail the Aims and Proposals. The American Senate is discussing a Resolution demanding the formulation in unmistakable phraseology, of what they call the Post War Peace Charter,²³

It is clear that the people of the World are willing to learn from History; they are determined not to repeat the blunder of the last time. A Vigilant Public through People's Societies They will not put their faith in Politicians or Peace Conferences any more. They know better. They will not accept speeches; for these are not an adequate guarantee of what will be done. Speeches can* be explained, or explained away. The Atlantic Charter is not enough for them; for they know to their cost that the Fourteen Points of Wilson did not avail. The Declaration of Four Freedoms without filling in the details, without concrete, comprehensive proposals will not satisfy them. Hence there is hope for a real Re-examination of the Foundations of our Order, a genuine possibility of their overhaul. This vigilance of the Public may pave the way for a real peace and result in the evolution of a stable order, more just and harmonious and therefore more durable. This interest of the Public in the great and grave task of Post-War-Reconstruction must be kept up, fostered; this vigilance has to be increased in the interests of a Juster Peace and a Post-War-Reconstruction on sounder foundations and truer principles, in the interests of a better and more stable World Order. Public Opinion has to be mobilised and organised, energised and made effective, by the institution of a wide-spread net-work of

21. Arthur Salter " Dual Policy?"

22. Gandhiji "The Harijan."

23. "TheSind Observer" 6th February. 1943.

"The work of destruction is being done so completely that if there is a Rebuilding, it will have to be from the Foundations."

"The Story of Past Civilizations

proves

that when War is carried to a point

at which it becomes a menace

to the whole Social Order, *as it is to-day,*

**We are in the presence of one of those Crisis which
the real turning-points in the History of Mankind."**

Cobbon *"The Crisis of Civilization."* _____

Alas, alas!

Thou hast smitten the World

Thou hast laid it low,

Shattered, overthrown,

Into nothingness hurled

Crushed by a demigod is blow!

Build it again,

Great Child of the Earth

Build it again,

With a finer worth,

In thine own bosom Build it on High'

Take up thy life once more.

Run the race again!

High and clear

Let a lovelier strain

_____ Ring out than ever before!" _____—*Faust*

"There is no doubt

that Mankind is once more

on the move

The very foundations

have been shaken and loosened

and events are again fluid;

The Great Cravan of Humanity

is once more on the March!

I believe that if we can open our eyes

and bring out what is best in us

We can turn the War

into a Blessing for All Mankind

and make it into a turning point

for Freedom, Peace and Human Welfare."

Smuts, in a Speech on 6th July, 1945.

Post-War Reconstruction

Necessity of Post-War Reconstruction

War is Destruction. The annals of War are a witness to the over increasing destruction during war, of human life and property, of institutions and arrangements of society, even of ideas and ideologies, ways of thought and ways of life. Hence the necessity of Reconstruction after war-Post-War Reconstruction as we call it. The greater is the necessity, the greater the task of Post-War Reconstruction. The last war called the Great War, cost the world.¹ in terms of human life, 46 millions of men dead and wounded, the dead exceeding by 6 millions the number of those wounded; and the cost in terms of money was no less than 56 thousand million pounds. And how much did it not cost the world in terms of human misery ! 9 million children were rendered orphans. 5 million women were made widows, 10 million men lost their hearths and homes. One cannot but shudder to think of the destruction which this war which is upon us must cause, is already causing us. If I were to tell of the havoc wrought by it.

"I could a tale unfold, whose lightest word
Would harrow up thy soul; freeze thy young blood;
Make thy two eyes like stars, start from their spheres,
Thy knotted and combined locks to part,
And each particular hair to stand on end,
Like quills upon the fretful porcupine." For is it not a Global War, a war which is

stage of the wide world, from Japan and China
Character of the in the Far East, across Egypt and Iraq in the
Present War. War, to U S. A. in the far West; which is
fought from the northern extremity of Russia in
the cold regions of the Arctic to, the southern-most point of Africa
in the hot country of the Tropics, and which draws no distinction
between belligerents and neutrals? Is it not a Total war-a war
on land and sea and in the air, a war on the civilian as well as the
soldier, a war which spares neither women, children nor oldmen,

1. Jawaharlal Nehru "Glimpses of World History"
2. Shakespare" Hamlet"

which spares neither hospitals, churches, nor schools, in its blind, consuming desire for Total Destruction? Is it not a Mechanical, Scientific War, with all the engines of death that science can devise at the disposal of man, in his mad rage for Destruction? As I have said the greater the destruction, the more wide-spread the destruction, the more fundamental the destruction, the greater is the necessity for Post-War Reconstruction, the wider the task of Post-War Reconstruction, the more fundamental the Post-war Reconstruction.

It has been admitted on all hands that this war is not being fought for shifting of political boundaries or for securing of economic privileges; it is being fought for a way of life,³ a better order. It is an ideological war. Appeals are made to all people of the world to realise and recognise the solemnity of the great and grave issues⁴ at stake in this war. "Freedom is in peril!" cries Nehru. "The Future of the World is at stake" announces Stalin. Hitler and Tojo too, speak of a new and better order. When men fight for a Faith and for a Philosophy, when nations engage in war-fare for a "New Order" of their dreams, they fight like fanatics with fury and zeal, shake and break the fabric of civilization, smash and wreck political and economic institutions and destroy with vigour and violence the foundations of the old order which has bred tension and generated conflict and thus brought about a struggle for its overthrow and replacement by a New and Better Order, more just and harmonious and therefore more enduring and stable.

The present war, admittedly ideological, is consequently more fundamental in its destruction than any previous war in the History of Humanity—it challenges and destroys not political boundaries or economic interests, but the very foundations, the very roots of existing institutions, the ideas or ideologies on which they rest. It calls for and compels a Reconsideration and Revision of our basic ideas of Freedom and Equality⁵; and necessitates Post-War Reconstruction on sounder foundations, on clearer concepts which are more definitely analysed and more comprehensively applied. The present war increases a hundred-fold the already heavy task of Post-War Reconstruction, though it is true that it also makes it fascinating and worth all the effort that mankind can summon to the task.

3. Woodward "The Origins of the War"

4. "Whose Freedom" International Book House Limited Bombay.

5. Jawaharlal Nehru "India and the World:"

Importance of Post-War Reconstruction

Post-War Reconstruction is not only necessary in consequence of the tremendous destruction during war, it is not only difficult in consequence of the fundamental nature of Reconstruction inevitable in the wake of an ideological war, it is also supremely important for on it rests the Future-the peace, prosperity and progress of the world in the years to come. The History of Post-War Reconstruction in the past centuries is full of warnings and lessons for those who would play an intelligent and worthy part in the great and important task of Post-War Reconstruction. If we look back no further than even the 18th Century in Europe we learn that attempts at Post-War-Reconstruction have been none too successful, for they have been none too wise. Settlement after settlement has had to be scrapped, because it was unfair, bred resentment, led to a new war followed by a new settlement, which again either did not settle the quarrels or if it did settle them, gave rise to new ones. The Settlement of Utrecht (1713) which ended the War of Spanish Succession, the Settlement of Vienna (1815) which concluded the Napoleonic Wars, the Settlement at Versailles (1919) which brought to a close the last Great-War, are instances in point. Every time the settlement really settled nothing and what little it settled became unsettled after some years, in consequence of a war which had to be fought for effecting this unsettlement. The unsettlement of these Settlements shows how very delicate and how very important the task of settlement after war. the task of Post-War-Reconstruction is, for if not well done or wisely done, it brings disaster in its wake.

To err is human; but to persist in the path of error when the error must spell another devastating war. is unpardonable folly, is a crime against humanity. The importance of Post-War-Reconstruction cannot therefore be over-stressed.

It is therefore a welcome sign which promises well for the world that there is to-day a growing Public interest in Post-War Reconstruction and an ever-increasing interest in the problems of Post-War Reconstruction, an attempt to discuss these problems in various countries, to evolve principles of Post-War

(4) *Post-War Reconstruction*

Reconstruction, and to develop and think out new institutions which may be found necessary for the new task in the new environment of the Post-War World. Not only are some of the best brains of the World in the different countries of the World, busy with these problems, principles and plans for Post-War Reconstruction⁶ but in several countries there are Societies for intelligent discussion of the same; and there are governments which have appointed special committees during the war, for the Study of Post-War Reconstruction.

The Meaning of Post-War Reconstruction

Post-War Reconstruction can mean nothing less than the evolution of a New Order, a better Order, a more stable order, free from the defects of the old order, free from the injustice of the ending order, free from the chronic conflict of the order now being overthrown. Post-War Reconstruction means "laying the foundations of a new and better world."⁷ It involves "refashioning the world we know."⁸ It means "Reconstruction on broader and firmer foundations^{9*} to avoid recurring disasters, to ensure peace, prosperity and progress, which can be gained by the elimination of injustice, the eradication of inequality and the expulsion of ignorance. Post-War Reconstruction means the building of a new world, reshaping of human life, human institutions, ideas and ideals.

The time for the reshaping of Human Society appears to be opportune. As one of the foremost thinkers of the World puts it; "*Never in the long range of History has the World been in such a state of flux as it is to-day*,"¹⁰ The whole World to-day' is one vast question mark. There is questioning about every thing however permanent and sacred it might have appeared to our fore-fathers. Old established ideas of liberty justice, property, and even the family, are being attacked and the outcome hangs in the balance. Every where there is doubt

6. H. J. Laski, Prof. Zimmern "Problems of Peace."
7. Gawthorne Harday. "The Fourteen Points and the Treaty of Versailles,"
8. Sir Arthur Salter "Dual Policy."
- 9- Lord Halifax in a Speech.
10. Jawaharlal Nehru "Recent Essays and Writings,"

and resentment and the foundations of the State and Society are in process of transformation. Every country and every people is in the melting pot. "We appear to be in a period of History when the World is in labour and out of her travail will give birth to a New Order."

Yes, it is true that to-day We are "*between two worlds; one dead or dying; the other powerless to be born*"¹² While the present war is smashing this sorry scheme of things entire, we do have an opportunity of moulding it nearer to our heart's desire.¹³ Post-War Reconstruction can be, should be, on sounder, broader, firmer foundations, on truer principles. Shall we seize hold of the opportunity or shall we let go the golden opportunity as we did last time to our detriment? Shall we miss the bus again I "God may grant us gifts but the merit of taking and keeping them must be our own. Alas for the boons that slip through unworthy hands!"¹⁴ Let us believe that we will not be unworthy of our great task, this time; let us hope that we will not repeat our mistake. History does repeat itself, has repeated itself before; but it will not repeat itself this time, if we plan in advance, if we determine to set things right; and work to see that in the hour of success, the victors do not betray the cause,¹⁵ for which they fought—the great cause of a better World Order; that having won the war, they do not lose the peace,¹⁶ as they did last time.

The Planning of Post-War Reconstruction

How is this tragedy of the waste of a golden opportunity to be avoided? How is the better order to be secured? The reply is by planning of Post-War Reconstruction. It is now admitted on all hands that Post-War Reconstruction must be properly planned in advance, thought out at leisure, so that when the time comes, the long delays in preliminary discussion of what should be accepted essentials, should be avoided; for these inordinate delays often let slip the first golden opportunity of understanding and agreement in the atmosphere of initial enthusiasm and idealism;

11. Jawaharlal "India and the World."

12. Mathew Arnold "Poems."

13. Omar Khayam "Poetry."

14. Tagore "The Home and the World."

15. Prof Brogan "American Foreign Policy."

16. Arthur Salter "Dual Policy."

which opportunities or occasions do not recur when after long delays die atmosphere has altered into one of distrust or despair, as it happened last time after the Great War, when Disarmament of different nations was not effected due to long delays in arriving at an agreement,¹⁷ with the result that the pious hope and the definite promise of Disarmament remaining unfulfilled for years after the Peace Conference, the nations in despair and in distrust rejoined the armament race, ultimately plunging the world into a bloody war once again.

The planning of Post-War Reconstruction during the course of the war, in advance of the conclusion of the war, when we shall be confronted with the complexity of the great task, called upon to lay down the principles and to work out the details, devise the necessary institutions and establish the machinery for working the new arrangements, is therefore obviously indispensable in the interest of wise and well thought out Post-War Reconstruction, on which will rest so much the future happiness of humanity, the peace of the world, the prosperity of the people and the progress of mankind. Sir Arthur Salter has put the case for planned Post War Reconstruction brilliantly when he says: *"Little comes out of a Or eat Conference at the end that has not been put into it at the, beginning."** Planning in advance is thus acknowledged to be the first step in Post-War Reconstruction.

And the first step in this planning of Post-War Reconstruction, is to pin down Nations, Parties and Powers Precise statements of to definite principles, and clear policies, to Principles and Plans, which they would stick in the hour of their victory, at the time of Post-War Recoratructioa Vague promises, glittering generalities, which may mean anything, everything or nothing, will not do.¹⁹ We know what happened to the fourteen Points of the President Wilson at the Peace Table.²⁰ We cannot afford to do it again. It costs the world too much in Mood and toil and tears. The promises must be more definite and clear, the statements must be more precise, the announcements of war aims must be more concrete and detailed. Speeches announcing

17. Rolin "The First General Disarmament Conference."

18. Arthur Salter "Dual Policy"

19. Dr. Felixmorley "Saturday Evening Post."

20. Keynes "Economic Consequences of the Peace."

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21. Arthur Salter " Dual Policy."¹

22. Gandhiji "The Harijan."

23. "TheSind Observer"* 6th February. 1943.

(8) *Post- War Reconstruction*

People's Societies, which must meet and discuss, evolve and plan, propose and support, demand and command, Post-War Reconstruction in accordance with declared principles and in conformity with wise plans and along well thought out, just lines. The organisation of these Societies has been energetically advocated by H. G. Wells.²⁴

I must congratulate the Sind Government and the Education Department, for making a beginning in this direction by the organisation of these Lectures, which needs must focus attention on the all important World Issues, stimulate thought and discussion on Principles indispensable for the World's Progress; and by thus educating the Teachers, teach all those who in their thousands fill Sind's Educational Institutions, to think along right lines, to attach themselves to sound principles, to support when need be Right and Just Policies, to the betterment of our Country and the World.

Principles of Post-War Reconstruction:

The Fundamental Features of the New Order

At this stage, I think, I must sketch for you, the general character of the New Order, as also declare the principles which must lie at its basis.

A World Order

I hold with many of the best thinkers of the world, with many wise students of History like Prof. Laski, Sir Arthur Salter, H. G. Wells, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, G. B. Shaw and others, firstly that the New Order must be a World Order, if we are to escape the running bickerings among Nations who hold fast to an out-of-date antediluvian theory of National Sovereignty, which has now definitely outlived its purpose and has hence become a menace and a danger, a potent source of discord and bloody war in the world.

I believe that today we should shout from the house tops "*Nationalism is not enough!*" Away with the cry of "*My country Right or Wrong!*"¹⁷ Our watch-word must be "*Let the Nations die that humanity may live.*"¹⁸ Cosmopolitanism must be our creed. A World State is the need of the hour!" says H. G. Wells.²⁵ A Global Order must be evolved" says wise Wendell

24. H. G. Wells "After Democracy."

25. H. G. Wells "The Common Sense of World Peace."

Willkie. "Supersede National Sovereignty!"²⁶ says Prof. Laski, one of the best students of World Politics. "A World Federation of the Free"²⁷ is the New Order which we must evolve, out of the chaos and confusion, out of the devastation and destruction, of this Global, Total, annihilating war,²⁸ says Nehru. "The Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World"²⁹ ring the words of the English Poet Tennyson, in our ears. Did not the poet dream of a New Peaceful World Order, when he sang;—

"Then the war drum throbbed no longer
and the battle flags were furled,
In the Parliament of man,
The Federation of the World."

He dreamt decades ago this dream. Shall it remain a dream for ever? Have not dreams become realities before? Does not History teach us that the dreams of Yesterday become the Realities of Today or of Tomorrow?

If you laugh in your sleeves at my enthusiasm for and advocacy of a World Federation and seek to dismiss all talk of World Federation as "visionary Utopianism," I would reply in the words of H. G. Wells: "*It is you who are dreaming; you are deeping in a cramped position called Nationalism or Patriotism, which can produce nathing but a series of more riolent and exluausting and altogether fruitless nightmares.*"³⁰ It is ignorance of the evolution of Nationalism that is at the basis of the irrational attachment to Nationalism, which has now developed into a tyrannical obsession, which must be got rid of, if the world is not to be turned' into a lunatic asylum for cases of desperately deranged violent maniacs.³⁰

History shows that man, at one time loyal to the Family, then to the Village or the Tribe, has found it to be possible to transfer his loyalty to a wider unit—that
The Trend of History of a 'City or even a Province, and has proceeded further when his loyalty has been given to the Nation, and even to a still wider unit to a Fede-

26. H. J. Laski "The Theory of International Society."

27. Jawaharlal Nehru.

28. Tennyson "Poems.

29. H. G. Wells "After Democracy.'

30. G. B. Shaw "The Political Mad House of America and Nearer Home."

ration.³⁴ Why must this process not progress further till man's loyalty develops into a loyalty to the World, to the Federation of the World, and man becomes, "A Citizen of the World" and can feel: "*The world is my Country; to do good is my religion' and all Mankind are my Brethren*"³ It is clear that the trend of History, the drift of things, is towards the evolution of loyalty to a wider unit.

Apart from the evidence of past History, eloquent evidence is present before our very eyes, which proves beyond all doubt, that men belonging to different nations can live in peace together, bearing a larger loyalty to a wider unit. The Germans, the French the English, the Jews the Negroes, members of many different nations and races and colours, live together in the United States of America, as one people, with their unflinching loyalty, unshaking devotion, to the United States. Why cannot they live in Peace and Harmony in Europe, as members of a United States of Europe, an European Federation, if they are so trained, so persuaded to live; so educated that they transfer their loyalty to the greater Land, the grander Country of Europe?

It is not only necessary to evolve these larger loyalties, it is also possible to do so, as History and Contemporary life make clear; and what is worthy of note, is that the number of those who believe it to be possible, is fast increasing. We all know about the proposal Churchill made to France for an Anglo-French Union; an expansion of the British Commonwealth into a Union of the English-Speaking Countries is much fancied in many quarters now a days. An Anglo-American Union is being spoken of; even Hitler has his plan for a united Europe and Tojo is speaking in terms of a Co-Prosperity block. Political thinkers and writers, are outlining schemes of different large Unions, one of them being Streit, the author of the famous book "Union Now." The air is thick with proposals and plans of wider and wider unions, which prepare the mind for the coming of the World Order, which some of the sanest and soundest thinkers hold to be the necessary New Order, which alone can expel the threat

31. H. G. Wells "The Commonsense of World Peace.'

32. The Author "Glimpses of Ancient Glory."

of war from a world which needs nothing as much as Peace, for it already has Power, which can bring Plenty and lead to Progress, making human life richer and nobler and happier, as it never has been possible before to make it.

The annihilation of space has made the world a Single Geographical Unit,⁵² so that there can be no local war but a total war, as we know to our cost; the evolution of the World-market has made it a Single Economic Unit, so that a crisis in America involves the whole world into it, and Tariff walls succeed only in making a crisis still more critical; the transformation of warring nations of the world, which are already an anachronism, into a Single Political Unit—a World State, a World Federation—seems to me to be the First important step in Post-War Reconstruction, the basic necessity of the new Order that is to be.

An Equalitarian Order

Secondly I hold firmly the view that the New Order must be an Equalitarian Order. The concept of the Master Race is a myth. As Madam Chiang Kai Shek, one of the most dynamic women in the world, the First Woman in China, who has led her Country in the Fight for Freedom, spiritedly declares: *"In this New World Order that we are going to create, there must be no talk of superior or inferior. We must be equal men and women of all races—pushing forward to a great ideal"*³⁴ And as another great woman one of the best thinkers and greatest writers of our time, the winner of the Nobel Prize, Pearl Buck, an American, puts it; "A War which is fought for World Freedom cannot, must not, end in the re-establishment of tyrannical, White Superiority."³⁵ It is admitted that one of the objectives in the New Order must be the Destruction of the Colour Bar, if we are to avoid the struggle between the white and the coloured races, which in hatred and bloodshed, would make even the ghastrliness of the present World War pale into insignificance. Sir Bertram Stevens, the Australian Representative to the Eastern Group

33. Sir C. R. Reddy "War anTthTWorld Problem."

34. Madam Chiang Kai Shek.

35. Miss Pearl Buck "American Unity and Asia."

speech at Sydney, said: *"The East will never return to its old quiescent subservient state. We must think of the Chinese, Indians, Malayans and the Javanese, as friends of equal status."*³⁵

*"No Nation is good enough to rule another"*³⁶ and after the sad experience of the Mandates System, we may hasten to add; *"nor honest enough to be the trustee of the interests of another"* "A World based on former principles of Empire and imperial behaviour is now impossible"³⁷ rightly remarks Pearl Buck And that is why Jawaharlal Nehru speaks of "The World Federation of the Free." *For if the coloured peoples and colonial populations and the subject nations are called upon to fight and die in the muse of Freedom surely they have a Right to as];: "Whose Freedom?"*³⁸ Certainly the War cannot be fought for Democracy and Liberty west of Suez and for Colonies and Vested Interests east of Suez.⁴⁰ Rightly does "The New Statesman and Nation" of London, conclude: "We may dismiss the Nation that Burma, India, China, will remain after this War, either isolated from the rest of the world, or in some colonial or semi-colonial relationship to the Americans and the British." The conviction must be clear in the mind every conscientious and clear-headed person, that Exploitative Racial Imperialism, whatever its form, whatever its name, must go, must be liquidated, if Post-War Reconstruction is to be, on New, Sound, Solid and stable Foundations; if the New Order is to avoid the known causes of tension and resentment and rivalry, with their inevitable off-spring-war, with all its train of innumerable evils.

Pearl Buck, in beautiful language poses the important question of an Equalitarian Order, thus: **Are Democracy for all! all out for Democracy, for total Justice, for total Peace, based on Human Equality or are the blessings of Democracy to be limited to White Peoples only? The answer must be made**

35. Miss Pearl Buck "American Unity and Asia."

36. Sia B. Stevens in a speech at Sydney, 19th July 1942.

37. Abraham Lincoln.

38. Pearl Buck "Tinder for Tomorrow"

39. E R. Embree "Asia" April 1942.

40. Lin Yu Tang "New York Times" February 1942.

clearly and quickly. To evade the question, to delay the answer, is to reply in the negative."⁴¹ And in equally beautiful language, she suggests the answer, thus: "**Is Democracy Right or Wrong? If it is Right, let us dare make it True.**"⁴¹ And *True Democracy means Democracy for all; and Democracy in all spheres of life*—it means Political Democracy—an equal share in Political Power; it also means Economic Democracy: an equal share in economic power; it means Freedom of opinion and expression; Freedom from Want; Freedom from Fear, it includes Freedom of Worship and all other Freedoms.

The Evolution of the Equalitarian Order, not Restoration of the old Exploitative Racial Imperialism,¹³ must be the Second Important step in Post-war Reconstruction, for the Restoration of the Status Quo last time, has resulted, as we all know to our cost in a disaster of the first magnitude, which we are still doing our best to face.

A Co-operative Order

The third Step in Post-War Reconstruction is the evolution of a Co-operative World Order in contrast with the competitive one, which causes so much conflict and tension. Competition for securing raw materials, Competition for capturing markets for manufactured goods, Competition for controlling areas which serve as sources of raw materials and as markets for manufactured goods, Competition for securing territories for surplus populations—this Competition, History shows, has been the head and source of a hundred wars/ Most modern wars, have been wars for Commerce. The competitive order makes for economic exploitation and drains off the wealth of colonies,⁴⁴ leaving them poor and backward. The United States of America had some taste of this exploitation; and found it so unbearably bitter and galling, that they revolted against England, their mother-country, and rid themselves free of her exploiting fangs. Their Revolt is called the American War of Independence.

41. Pearl Buck "Tinder for Tomorrow."

42. Pearl Buck "American Unity and Asia."

43. Sir C. R. Reddy "War and the World Problem."

44. Sir Salter "Dual Policy."

The Competitive Order, making for war and promoting economic exploitation of one nation by another, stands condemned; and clearly calls for its replacement by the Cooperative World Order, which would avoid the intensifying struggle for Raw Materials, Markets and Colonies, by evolving just and fair arrangements providing for access to Raw Materials, to Markets and to Territories;⁴⁵ and under which Mal-distribution of the World's sources of supply of Raw Materials, multiple Trade-barriers with a view to a monopolistic control of the World's markets unnecessary and unscientific, discriminating Immigration Laws, regulating entry into vast open spaces of the World, preserving productive areas in a state of under-population, while over-population becomes oppressive in other areas, will not be permitted.

The evolution of this Co-operative World Order, is, I assert with all the emphasis at my command, an absolute necessity. Apart from it, all attempts at Post-War-Reconstruction must fail, as did our last attempt, which failed because A Warning from though one of the Points of President Wilson Versailles! recognised the need of arrangements in regard to economic matters among nations, "Little was done to implement this point in the Treaty of Versailles"⁴⁶ with what results, we need no one to tell us. "Indeed the tendency in the Post-War World including America was in decided conflict with the principle laid down by President Wilson" writes Gathorn Hardy in his Commentary on the Fourteen Points and the Versailles Treaty. The cruel disregard of this Point has plunged the world into chaos and confusion as we can see; and it should be a mad world which would run this grave risk again; and if it does so, it will do so at its peril and perhaps perish in consequence.

Those at the helm of affairs appear to be resolved not to run the mad risk; and therefore the Atlantic Charter, to which Enforce the Atlantic Churchill and Roosevelt were signatories, Charter! even when it consists of Points only, devotes as many as 3, to the clear enunciation of

45. Sir Salter "Dual Policy."

46. Sir Salter "Dual Policy."

47. Gathorne Hardy "Fourteen points and the Treaty of Versailles."

this Principle of Cooperative World Order and to the suggestion of lines along which it has to be worked out. Point 5 in the Charter lays down the principle of "Fullest Collaboration between all nations in the economic field." Point 4 promises "access on equal terms, to Trade and to Raw materials of the World." Point 6 assures "Freedom from Want." The only danger is and a real danger it is, that in the hour of victory the victors may betray the principles for which they fought. This would be nothing new, though it would be very sad, very bad, altogether mad. Prof. Brogan, writing of the last Great War, expresses himself thus: "*The Results of the War showed that the cause had been betrayed; the World had not been made safe for Democracy.*"⁴⁸ So we know what has happened before; hence we fear treachery at the end and the consequent tragedy. But because we know, we must not, shall not, let it happen. We are fore-warned, therefore must be ready in advance, to prevent any such treacherous folly. Realising the necessity of the Co-operative World-Order, we must resolve to resist all attempts at sabotage; and organise opinion in support of it, so very effectively, that effect has to be given, to the declared principle of a Co-operative-World-Order.

A Socialist Order

There is an important corollary, which follows unavoidably from this accepted Co-operative World Order of ours and to which due attention must be paid, due recognition must be given and due acceptance must be extended. Since we admit the claim for equality of opportunity as between Peoples and Nations, since we are willing to fight for it as an aim and objective and are willing to die in the attempt to achieve and win it; *can we ever deny the justice of the same claim for equality of opportunity as between our fellow citizens, between man and man and between man and woman?* Since we admit the injustice of "the existence side by side, of rich powers and poor powers,"⁴⁹ 'the haves' and 'the have nots' and seek to end it; can we shut our eyes to the injustice of the existence side by side, of rich men and poor men, of those wallowing in Wealth and those confronted with Want, and refuse to resolve to see the end of it? Since we admit that Competition betwixt Nations

48. Prof. Brogan " American Foreign Policy."

49. Prof. Zimmerin "The Prospects of Civilization,"

fosters Wars^j and pauses exploitation making some rich at the expense of the others, and advocate the replacement of Competition by Co-operation as the guiding principle in the relations between various peoples and nations; can we fail to see that cut-throat Competition between even a single people of the same country or nation, leads to war-Class war and causes exploitation of one man by another, and therefore calls for its rejection even as a guiding principle in the relations between men? For it cannot be, that the exploitation of a nation by a nation is a cruel crime, while the exploitation of man by a man is a virtue or is not deserving of censure!

The truth is that a Socialist World Order is implied in the principle of a truly Cooperative World Order and follows from it as an irresistible corollary, as an inescapable conclusion, as an unavoidable necessity, even as it is embedded in the ideal of an Equalitarian World Order, which by the establishment of Economic Democracy, by the provision of equal economic opportunity for all, would be complying with the requirements of a Socialist Order.

If "Freedom from Want," "Freedom from Fear" "Social Security" are to be a reality for all the peoples of the World and not only for the Americans and the British, Social Security for All this is hardly possible except if we have a World Order. America's hoarded wealth and vast riches, may enable her Government, guided by good impulses and driven by the demand for the declared "Freedom from Want," to fulfil its promise to the American people. Englishmen may entertain the hope of "Social Security" in consequence of the ambitious Scheme, planned and promised in the bold Beveridge Report, though it will all depend on whether England has enough resources at her disposal, at the end of the War, to meet the demand for vast expenditure, involved in the proposals contained in the Report. Some have doubted the possibility of England being able to do so, unless she continues to draw upon her Colonies, which is not to be contemplated if the Colonial Problem is solved as it should be solved, as I think it will be solved, whether imperialist Powers want it or not. The continuation of Colonies, in any form, will be decidedly in conflict with our already explained principle of Equalitarian World Order, no less than with the principle of Co-operative World Order.

If then England or any other country is to ensure "*Freedom from Want*" to her people it cannot be done through exploiting *the want of freedom* of any other country or any other people. It can only be done, it will have to be done, through the evolution of a Socialist World Order, which will ensure "*Freedom from Want*" to all peoples of the World.

At the end of the Last War, the World had to choose between Capitalism and Socialism; it had to decide between two alternatives: between the Capitalism! Restoration of Capitalism and the Supersession of Capitalism.⁵¹ The World chose the accustomed path of Capitalism; it sought a reconstruction of Capitalism, infusing a large element of Planning in place of •Competition into its Productive System and a large element of Equality through Inheritance Tax, Progressive Tax and Social Insurance, into its System of Distribution. The United States of America led the World in this attempt at Reconstruction; Germany and Italy made the same attempt in their own way, with what results we know only too well—the American crisis of 1929, the Wall Street Crash as it is called; the terrible slump in prices which followed; the New Deal in America; and the rise and rule-of Fascism in Italy and the birth and growth of Nazism in Germany—these are matters of recent History; their consequences are palpable before our eyes—stare us hard in the face—we do not like their Madusa-like death-dealing stare. We do not want the *Sad History* to repeat itself. "*A return to a free economy of unrestricted competition and private enterprise, it is useless to preach,*" writes Sir, Arthur Salter.⁵²

Russia alone among the Nations of the World, took to the New Path, the path of Socialism; and the great Russian experiment in a New Way of life, in a Socialist Order, has, we know, been a great and a grand success, grudgingly admitted at first, but vociferously cheered now, when once again, Russia alone among other nations of the World, has stood up heroically,

50. N.P. "Twentieth Century" January 1941

51. G.D.H. Cole "An Intelligent Man's Guida through World Chaos."

52. Sir Salter "Dual Policv."

broken and bleeding yet unbowed, to the terrific blows and bloody onslaught of the vigourously attacking enemy.

The conclusion is clear that the Order of the Future must be a Socialist Order. Our Post-War Order must be a Socialist World Order; for the attempt at Reconstruction of Capitalism has failed badly and brought disaster upon the World; and the Experiment in Socialism, in the Socialist Way of life by Russia, has proved a smashing success; and what is more, is now admitted on all hands to have proved a smashing success and therefore points the Way for the World. The evolution of a Co-operative Socialist World Order is the Third Important step in Post-War-Reconstruction, if we will learn the lesson of the recent Past and avoid the blunder of the recent Past and the disaster consequent on it.

A Non-violent Order

The last but not the least important step in Post-War Reconstruction is the evolution of what I would call a Non-violent World Order, though in the familiar phraseology of every day discussion on Post-War Reconstruction, it is called "Disarmament." Point 4 of President Wilson provided for Disarmament as the foundation of the New Order that was to be inaugurated at the end of the last War and stated: "National armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with Domestic Safety"⁵³ Why this point was not implemented after the War; how this provision failed to be carried out; why the World Disarmament Conference failed; I have already elsewhere referred to and will probably have to refer to again before long. What we have suffered, in consequence of not carrying* out this sound principle, is only too clear to every body today.

The Atlantic Charter reaffirms its faith in this Principle. Point 8, the last Point in the Charter runs thus: "*We believe that all nations of the World, for realistic* When Churchill as well as *spiritual reasons must come to the* echoes Gandhi! *abandonment of the use of Farce...No Future* Peace can be maintained, if land, sea or *air armaments continue to be employed by Nations. . . . the* Disarmament of...Nations is essential..."⁵⁴

53. "The Treaty of Versailles" Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs.

54. The Atlantic Charter. "The Modern Review" Sept. 1941.

When Roosevelt and Churchill become signatories to a declaration of this kind and solemnly declare in favour of "*the abandonment of the use of Force*" and "*far Spiritual reasons*" does it not seem foolish to condemn the greatest living man, the Second Greatest Indian since Buddha, as an impractical idealist, as a vain visionary, because he is never tired of declaring that his mission in life and his message to the Modern World, is no other but "*Ahimsa.*" Those of you, who smiled when I stated that evolution of a non-violent World Order must be the last important step in Post-War-Reconstruction, thinking me a mere dreamer, echoing the impossible cult of Gandhiji, let them laugh at the realists—Roosevelt and Churchill—if they dare. The truth is that *it is those, who still think in terms of Force as the Final Argument for the resolving of differences among different Peoples of the World, who are the dreamers, still in their sleep, for they will not wake to the Reality, that use of Force in the face of the present day circumstances, must prate fatal to mankind.*

"Who overcomes by Force
Overcomes but half his Foe."⁵⁵

The rise to power and the growth into a menace, of vanquished Germany, which was laid low by the might of the Allied Powers at the end of the last War, proves the truth of this wise utterance of Shakespeare, if any evidence in support of such an absolute truth was ever necessary at all. The truth is that as the ancient sages including Buddha and Jesus proclaimed, and as the modern Buddha and Jesus combined, the sage of Sabarmati, the Great Gandhi, is never tired of repeating

"Hatred never ceases by Hatred,
Hatred ceases only by Love —
This is its nature."⁵⁶

The evolution of a non-violent World Order, 'the abandonment of the use of Force, the Disarmament of all Nations, is admittedly an essential step in Post-War-Reconstruction, an indispensable condition of its success.

55. Shakespeare.

56. The Upanishads.

in its turn, ensure Peace for all. The Disarmament of *some* of the Nations will not do. It was tried last time but it did not avail.

The growth of armaments, the sense of insecurity and fear caused by them, it is these that make War inevitable—this is the truest reading of History So wrote a great and knowing statesman like Lord Grey.⁵⁷ He added: "**The moral is obvious; it is that great armaments inevitably lead to War.**" If therefore we want a stable Order, which will not be threatened and shaken by War again and again, the evolution of a Non-Violent World Order must be recognised as the inevitable, essential Step in Post-War Reconstruction.

A Non-Violent World Order does not mean that there will be absolute absence of armaments in the World. It only means that there will be armaments only under the control of the Federal World Government,⁵⁸ even as today in the United States of America, the Army is under the control of the Federal Government and the State Governments are without any Army. The happy result of this will be, that in addition to conditions, which give no cause for Conflict, which provide no means for sustaining a Conflict, there will be an immediate suppression of the Conflict, by the Forces of the **World Government; and their success will not be in doubt**, because the offender will be a disarmed party. The very certainty of immediate resistance to aggression and of the successful suppression of the War-Maker, will discourage and in fact altogether end all War. For the uncertainty of immediate resistance to the aggressor, making it possible for him to have his way for a time, and the possibility of success for the aggressor, letting him hope he will have his way for a long time, are not the least important factors which make aggression worth while for a powerful aggressor. The present War aptly illustrates this point.⁵⁹ Germany met with little resistance to begin with; this goaded her on, further and further in her career of expansion and aggression. Italy and Japan too expected and received little resistance at the

57. Lord Grey quoted by Rolin "Problems of Peace."

58. H. G. Wells "After Democracy."

59. Woodward "The Origins of the War."

If Post-War-Reconstruction is not to end in a fiasco as it did last time, if we want our new Order to be a stable Order, which will have a fair chance of survival and even of progress, without the inherent tendency in it of producing friction and tension, resentment and resistance, it is not only necessary that our order should be a World Order, a Federal Order, an Equalitarian Order, a Democratic Order, a Co-operative Order, a Socialist Order, thereby removing all causes for conflict, all occasions for tension, all temptation and all desire for war, it is also absolutely essential that it should be a Non-Violent Order, *providing no means for making War, avoiding all readiness for war*; thus making war not only unlikely and undesired, but also making it altogether impossible, so that even if out of sheer perversity, some power seeks quarrels and starts a War, it shall not be in a position to sustain it.

It is because of the disregard of the principle of Disarmament at the time of the last Post War-Reconstruction and during the years following it, that the World is today in the midst of a hell of a total and global and a most cruel War. It is up to us all ordinary men and women of the World, to see that there is no such disregard of this Principle over again; that those who hold Power do not again betray the Principle of a Non-violent World Order and plunge the World into a worse chaos in the years to come. The Eight Point in the Atlantic Charter definitely and clearly declares for the Disarming of Nations, but as usual, only of *some* Nations, while it retains armaments for others, providing only for their reduction, thus violating in its last lines, the Principle stated in its first lines, when it comes to the application of the Principle.

It is up to enlightened men and women all the World over—and I am luckily addressing enlightened men and women, and what is more, those who are engaged in the great task of enlightening the others—to insist on a declaration providing for the fullest application to all Nations without exception, of the Principle proclaimed in the first lines of the Eighth point of the Charter, in the clearest possible terms, without any equivocation, leaving no loopholes for escape out of this solemn obligation afterwards, and thus to ensure Disarmament of all Nations, which alone, will

start of their aggression; and hence went ahead with their plans, emboldened by a lack of obstruction in their path, encouraged by an absence of resistance to their march into other Peoples' Territories. And even today, the doom of Germany and Italy and Japan is by no means sealed. The issue of their victory or defeat hangs in the balance. What I mean to emphasise, is that while the Allied Nations many win against the Axis Powers there is no undoubted certainty of their victory, which alone, if rendered definitely secure, could and would serve as a deterrent to aggression by anybody; and which, I have already pointed out, could and would be possible to ensure, if we evolve a Non-Violent World Order by Disarming of *all* Nations.

A Non-Violent World Order, under which there are no means for making or sustaining a War, whereas there is a certainty, not only of immediate resistance to the aggressor but also of his swift and successful suppression? is clearly the greatest need of the World, worn out by Wars and weary of them. The evolution of a Non-Violent World Order, is an essential step in Post-War-Reconstruction, if we are to build an *eruhtrig* Order in place of an *mistable* one, which has been the course of the World, for a long time now.

Conclusion

It is my conviction and I believe the conviction of an ever growing and fast increasing number of People all the World over, that the Problems of our Age, this great Era in the History of the World, are to be solved not by Blood and Iron, not by Bloody Wars, Wars of Mutual Extermination, but only by collective Co-operation, by Inter-National Collaboration of all the Nations, all the Peoples of the World. Hence my enthusiastic and anxious advocacy of a Co-operative Federal World Order.

The last Great War, which was at the time called "the War to end War"⁶⁰ and which was fought to make the World safe for Democracy, has, as we know, neither ended War, nor made the World safe for Democracy. Instead it has caused a greater and grimmer

60. H. G. Wells "After Democracy."

War and made the World as unsafe for Democracy as it ever could be. The conclusion is clear that **there can be no end to War by a War; the way of War is not the way of Peace.** "*Justice is a child of Peace and not of Conflict; and a Just Settlement trill not, sate by accident be wrested front an A rated Struggle,* writes Sir Arthur Salter.¹ This is so clear that the politicians cannot blink at it, but must see it. "The Doctrine of Force bars the way to settlement"⁶² said Lord Halifax in a recent speech, Violence breeds and cannot but breed counter-violence. This is the Law eternal.*" Hence my plea for the evolution of a Non-Violent World Order.

The conviction that a *negotiated*, settlement will be a hundred times better than a *Dictated* Settlement, imposed by the intoxicated Victors on the dumb vanquished, is laying hold of the minds of an ever-increasing number of men. "No Vindictive Versailles this time" is the common desire, though unthinking politicians are not absent, who still shout: "Very much worse than Versailles this time"¹

The exclusion from the Peace Conference of any one, Victor or Vanquished or Neutral, is now deemed definitely undesirable, to be ruled out as not in the interests of the World - the Peace of the World. This is a change from, and an improvement upon, what was done laat time, when apart from the vanquished—Germany, Austria and Turkey—Russia too was excluded from the Peace Conference, with what results we are well aware of. Collective, Post-War, International Collaboration, is now deemed altogether essential¹ for Peace, for Security, for Stability, for it would avoid injustice, and ensure fair-dealing and would thus secure Peace, the disturbance of which would then be more effectively resisted by the United Strenght of All. This Collaboration of All was not arranged last time, when Russia was ruled out of it, when U.S.A. ruled herself of it; and when it the Vanquished were not given a proper part in it; with the result that "The League of Nations commanded no clear

61. Sir Arthur Salter "The Dual Policy."

62. Lord Halifax in a speech on 29th June.

63. Guatam Bnddha.

preponderance of Collective Strength,"⁶⁴ such as would have served as a deterrent to aggression; and Japan, Italy and Germany were able to prosper unresisted in their career of aggression. It is sought not to repeat this blunder again, nor to repeat that other blunder, which led to a considerable slumping of the stocks of the League of Nations and thus withdrew from it the sympathy and support and the good wishes of both—some Nations and many men—I refer to the error and evil of the domination of the League by a few great Powers—chiefly the Anglo-French Combination.

It is in the light of these signs of the Time, it is in view of the existence of this Spirit among an increasing number of men, that I unhesitatingly avow my faith in, and vigorously voice my support for, a World Order, an Equalitarian Order—a World Order which impartially stretches its arms to *all* Nations and Peoples and lovingly links them within *its* embrace; an Equalitarian Order, which recognises no Superior or Inferior among the Nations of **the World** and gives to each an *equal* place and an *equal opportunity*, extending even to individuals composing the Nation, *equal* political rights, as under a Democracy, and *equal* economic opportunities as under a Socialist system; thus expelling all cause for conflict, all grounds for War; thus making Peace possible, Prosperity available and Progress inevitable; so that we can sing joyously with Shelley:

" The World's Great Age beings anew,
the Golden years return"⁶⁵

Yes, truly the World's Great Age, indeed the Golden Years in the History of Man on this Globe, will begin with the evolution of a New, Non-Violent, Equalitarian-Democratic, and Socialistic-Co-operative, Federal, World Order, *if Mankind will makee of its task of Post-War Hermitage, a good a great and a grand jolt!*

An Appeal to Everyone!

We have a World to win,
a new Heaven and a new Earth to make.

64. Sir Arthur "The Dual Policy."

65. Shelley Poems.

AN APPEAL TO EVERYONE

We have the Opportunity.

Have we the Will Have we the Vision?

Have we the wisdom

The destiny of Nations is in our hands.

The Fate of Humanity hangs in the balance.
Posterity will judge us. Coming generations will suffer
through us or be happy because of us.

When so much rests on us—the Fate of Nations, the Happiness
of Generations.

Shall we falter and fumble,

Shall we grouse and grumble,

because everything around seems to crumbled

Or" shall we rise with a Resolution,

To build anew and to build better, on a broader basis, on
firmer foundations, on truer principles,

A New Order, a Non-Violent Order,

An Equalitarian Order -a Democratic Order,

a Socialist Order—

A Federal Order, a World Order,

An Order of the free, an Order of the Happy ?

Rose up ami Moree,

Fat the rati of Postf-War Reconstruction

is the World's Cull to you,

and if the Spirit within you, is not stirred,

in response to the call from the World,

then there /s cause for anxiety indeed,

not because Duty is neglected, the great 'Task is neglected

but because you are dying—you are dead.

Are you dead!

If you are living, arise,

put your shoulder to the wheel

and work hard for the New World Order,

World Education of the Free.

T The Cmtstmtttfe programme

The constructive programme is the construction of Poorna Swaraj by truthful and non-violent means. It is the way of new life. It steps in naturally as destructive forces have had their sway and almost done their task. Its complete fulfilment is the attainment of Freedom. It consists of:

1. Communal Unity—The present communal disunity is due to mutual distrust and suspicion. It means an unbreakable heart unity. Every one has to feel his identity with the millions of Hindustanis and cultivate personal friendship with persons representing faiths other than his own.

2. Removal Of Untouchability—It is a most ugly manifestation of *himsa*. The problem can be successfully tackled by removal of the sin of untouchability in one's own life, propaganda for its removal among the so-called higher castes and service of the Harijans themselves.

3. Prohibition—The addicts to the drink not only become physically ruined but also become moral degenerates. Self-purification is the only lasting and healthy deliverance.

4. Khadi—It means a wholesale Swadeshi mentality. It is the symbol of unity of Indian humanity and of its economic freedom and equality. It is the Livery of India's freedom.

5. Other Village Industries—They come in as hand-maids to Khadi. Village economy cannot be complete without them.

6. Village Sanitation—One of the primary necessities of a village. A sense of national or social sanitation is not a virtue among us. Cleanliness is next to Godliness.

7. Basic Education—It aims at utilizing to the best advantage the natural creative instinct of a child and thus to transform him into model villager.

8. Adult Education—True Political and other useful and essential general education by word of mouth for enlightenment and awakening.

(28)

9. Uplift Of Women—No society can make real progress if one half of its members are suppressed. We must banish the idea of inferiority of women and give them their rightful place of absolute equality.

10 Education in Health and Hygiene—Healthy mind in a healthy body. Ignorance of the laws of health are responsible for majority of diseases. Simple food, clean living and regular exercise are morally uplifting as well.

11. Propaganda Of Rashtrabhsha—A vast country like ours needs common language for interprovincial intercourse. We must be able to read and write in both the Devanagari and Urdu scripts.

12. Cultivation Of Love Of One's Own Language—Every individual has to make his own direct contribution to the Independence movement. The masses must understand every step with all its implications! This is impossible unless every step is explained in their own languages.

13. Working For Economic Equality—There are gross inequalities between individuals as also between sections of society. It is the master key to non-violent independence. It means the levelling down of the few rich and levelling up of the poor millions.

14. Work For Adivasis—They are the flesh of our flesh deliberately kept separate. They have been neglected by us and work of education and general uplift amongst them is necessary.

15. Work Among Kisans Labour And Students—All vital elements of society.

WHAT THEY SAY

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Henceforth our publications will also be in Gujarati. People, living in the cities are in duty bound to repay their enormous

debt to the villages. So, we feel they must send these vernacular versions to the villages preferably, if they so like, to the village from which they hail at their own expense. In order that this can be done systematically and no overlapping occurs and the distribution is representative,, it would be desirable that all such villages where these books may be sent, should be within our knowledge.

So those who are desirous of helping us in this scheme should send their names and addresses, names of persons or institution in the village, where they desire to send the literature and names of villages and talukas. To save a repetition of charges every time a new book is published we suggest that they should register their names by sending us Rs. 5/-, so that the respective villages will be placed on our mailing list. One person may send these books to more than one village. They will be duly furnished with the detailed account of the amount on its

This one of the ways by which persons living in the cities can help their brethren in the villages. It is everybody's job, to be done immediately. We are sure all will help us in this national venture of our to ferve village India. We particularly appeal to the students to give their due share in the price of constructive work. Here is an opportunity of national service which is within everyone s means- as regards time, energy and money.

As we at present able to bring the scheme in operation in Gujarat only we wish and pray that others interested in such a work will do the same in their part of the country.

HAMARA HINDUSTAN PUBLICATIONS

Our publications are managed by students interested in the Constructive Programme. The publications are done in English, Hindustani and some vernacular languages at low prices without any consideration of profit:

In these publications we endeavour to put before the student world in particular and wider public in general ideas and ideals, their exposition and elucidation, that would help to solve the intricate problems arising out of our position as a subject nation fighting for its freedom and also striving to evolve and establish a new world order based on the foundations of Non-Violence and Truth

The following is the list of series conducted by us and books already published,

New Age Architects Series:

- | | | |
|--|-----|---|
| 1. Youth's Burden (4th Ed.) | As. | 2 |
| 2. Character, Patriotism and Indian Swaraj. | „ | 6 |
| 3. The Voice of the Autumn Leaf | „ | 4 |

Unity Series:

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| * 1. Jinnahsaheb 'Please,' (2nd Ed.) | „ | 8 |
| 2. He Follows Christ. (2nd Ed.) | „ | 8 |
| 3. Unity, by Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Azad & Others .. | „ | 8 |

Brochures:

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| * 1. Babu's Boswell, (2nd I m p r e s...) .. | „ | 1 |
| * 2. Two Eyes of India | „ | 2 |
| 3. Bavajiki Tapsiddhi, (H i n d u . . .) .. | „ | 8 |
| 4. Babu (a photo). | „ | 4 |
| 5. All About the National Flag. | „ | 4 |
| 6. Gems From Congress Presidential Address. | „ | 6 |

Specials.

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|---|-----|-----------|
| 1. Imperialism Unmasked by Louis Fisher (3rd Ed.) | | |
| 2. Nehru Flings a Challenge (Banned) | | |
| 3. The Ordeal begins | A | |
| 4- They Speak for India | it | |
| 5 The Fifty Facts About India (Banned) | | |
| 6 Economics of Non-Violence (2nd Ed.) | As. | 8 & Ka. 1 |
| 7. Twenty Questions About Russia. | As. | t |
| 8. Post-War Reconstruction | | 12 |

*Out of Print

Postage Extra.

HINDOSTAN HAMARA

Sare jahan se achcha Hindustan Hamara,
Hum bulbulain bain uski woh gulistan hamara.
Gurbut main ho agar ham, rahata Hal dil watan main
Sairtio warhi harnainbhi, *dil* ho jahan hamara.
Parbat woh sab se uncha hamsaya asmanka,
Woh santari hamara, woh pasban hamara.
Godi main khelti hain uski hazaron nadiyan,
Guishan hai jinke dam se, rishke jeenan. hamara
Aye abe rude Ganga, woh din hai yad tujko,
Utra tere kinare jab karvan hamara.
Mazab Nahi Sikhata Apas Me Bair Rakhana,
Hindi Hai Ham Watan Hai Hindostan Hamara.
Unano Misro Rooma sub mit gai jahanse,
Ab tak magar hai baqui namo nishan hamara.
Kuch baat hai ke hasti mitti nahin hamari,
Sadiyon raha hai dushnian daore zaman hamara.
Iqbal koi maherara apna nahin jahan me,
Maalum kiya kisi ko dardenehan hamara.

In all wide Universe, Our Ind the fairest far,
Her nightingales we are, and she the rose garden ours,
Although in climes divers, our hearts are yet with her.
Know we are indeed but there—whither tend these hearts of ours.
The peak that loftiest lowers, and doth in heavens dwell—
That is our sentinel, 'tis tireless watchman ours.
In her lap a thousand rivers, they play so light and lovely.
E'ven realms of Paradise envy, the breath of this garden of ours,
O-Ganga's rolling course, rememberett thou the day,
When came on thy shores to atay, full caravan of ours!
No creed to teach endeavours, each other to hate or strike:
We're Indians all like—dear imi'ia aweet home ours.
Greece, Egypt, Rome—great powers; in story but survive,
But the Mame and fame still thrive, of dear Ind of ours.
Tis secret none discovers, why we are as we were,
In tides that nothing spare though countless, foes be ours.
Iqba! in this world scarce a confident we have seen.
Who knoweth even the keen and silent pain of ours.

I Q B A L .

