

INDIA SPEAKS !



BY

MULRAJ MEHTA



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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

Presenting this book to the democrats of the Allied nations, with confidence that they shall be able to understand the voice of India and the severity of the Indian situation and shall exert themselves to the fulfilment of Indian National Demand, I do not take credit for its compilation. I have only collected at random a portion of the voice of India expressed by important personalities and institutions in the country.

I regret that very much shortness of space allowed me to gather only a very small portion of the important facts and statements, though that made my job harder.

I have laboured many a day and night in the compilation of the book inspite of my bad health, so it is my natural and earnest wish that it should justify its title "India Speaks" in audible terms.

Bombay, Nov. 9 1942.

Mulraj Mehta

“Oh, ye who take freedom from man, with
what words shall ye answer it to God ?”

DOGS BARK

“Dogs bark and caravan passes away” said a great orator in a Hyde Park speech many a year ago. That was said of the Indians and the Indians’ fight for freedom — the Imperialist caravan must carry on its exploitation job while the Indian nationalists barked for the emancipation of their country from the foreign exploitation. Even the man who said it little knew that one day he would be at the head of that caravan. That man was only an M. P. then ; he is premier today. He is Winston Churchill. His position in politics is

changed. It is said the volume and circumference of his head has changed. The number of his felt hat has changed. Unchanged is his enmity towards India and Indian aspirations. "Dogs bark and the caravan passes away", Churchill only repeated this roar of Hoar then; "Dogs bark and caravan passes away", he wants to prove and establish today in respect of India's present struggle to shed off the yoke of British Imperialism.

That caravan with its cravings to loot and plunder the country of its wealth and honour, entered this land two hundred years ago. There was opposition but the country already stood disrupted to pieces on account of its internal disputes. Political tactics of party divisions and military force subsided the opposition. The caravan established its trade. We were taught even to welcome the caravan and applaud its plunderings and atrocities. There is a limit to everything. For a century and a half this brave nation remained cowed down like that. Then broke the cowed down spirit of revolt against the slavery imposed at the points of bayonets. It was taken to be a cry in the wilderness, the barking of dogs. The caravan went on all this time. Shall it pass on and

on ? Wait, the more accurate question is, "Does it pass on today ?" And the frank reply is, it does not. Barking dogs have turned into biting dogs. Biting leaves a round mark. The British Imperialism is today confronted with the round Q. B.B. & C.I. and G.I.P. Railways spent thousands of rupees in postering Q to represent 'Quickly unload the wagons'. Today they spend thousands to remove Q from the train compartments and wagons — this Q that represents "QUIT INDIA". But bites cannot be dusted or wiped off nor can be this determination of Indian nation.

An altogether separate book can be written about the actions, reactions, repression and resistance in this country about the struggle between the Government's might and mass determination. The "government gags," both about the events in India as well as the atrocious measures taken to suppress them, donot allow me to give even the shortest account of the intensity of the movement and the severity of the repression it is resisting on. Public enquiry into them by the Bar associations and other impartial public bodies has been prohibited by the provincial Governments

because such an enquiry "would affect the morale of the forces employed to counter the disturbances" or meaning thereby that if the arrogant atrocities of such forces are subject to any enquiry or criticism, they may withdraw their support. Thus the cycle of repression and resistance, more repression and greater resistance goes on. The gagging prevents expression but not the actual results. The Government's duty of maintaining law and order and its present extra function of war efforts, both are badly interfered and hampered. The people talking on street corners and roadsides, in restaurants, trams, busses and electric trains, children on playgrounds, and women in house balconies, all jeeringly talk of the dying British Imperialism in India. Their contempt of the Britishers, very unfortunate in this respect of course, has gone to the extent of sympathy with the fascist Japs and they talk of Japanese victories and even Japanese invasion on India with confused pleasure.

The Bombay Chronicle

The mass movement in India is growing more strong and solid. The Bombay Chronicle has

written "the spirit of non-cooperation is abroad and is spreading fast and wide to the remotest villages. Oppressive restrictions on freedom of speech, arrests, lathi charges and firing may seem to suppress a movement but will really drive it underground and foster a spirit of resistance, and that is what is happening today. It may be as the News Chronical says that "India's discontent has not yet given place to despair," but the paper continues that "this situation may worsen at any moment." "

Goondalism

The pity is that the demand of Complete Independence was termed 'barking of dogs'; this show of public fury with determined purpose against the foreign rule is called acts of hooligans. Edmund Burke has said, "A very great part of all the mischiefs that vex the world arises from words." Calling anybody dog or hooligan, and the speeches of Churchill, Amrey and Cripps may create more mischief but cannot conceal the reality. The National War Front has gone to the extent of issuing advertisements seeking help from public against *Goondalism*. The advertisement also asks, "Do

you want Goonda-raj ?" We want Samya-raj, Mr. Masani, we are already tired of the Goonda-raj and Samya-raj means like one in U. S. S. R. Onething cannot be given two names—call it hooliganism which should discredit the British beurocracy and its police and other boosted and boasted of forces, or call it a movement with whatever adjectives you like.

Many sensible men in the country have rightly condemned the acts that hamper war efforts or the normal life of the country, but we cannot ignore the urge behind these harmful acts. They may be called acts of *Goondaism* or hooliganism—though in plain language they are called only attempts at sabotage, and in history they might run even as revolutionary acts—call them whatever you may, but they are not carried on by actual *goondas* and hooligans. Those arrested for these acts are not from the lists of moral offenders kept under Goonda Act or under Section 110 I. P. C. at all places; they are persons belonging to peasantry and working class of India—the masses, and from intellectuals and responsible citizens. Critics say that movement in India is ill-directed. But

ill-directed or well-directed by whom? All the leaders have been closed up. So why not be honest and say it is undirected. It represents the fury of the people and mass hatred against the British Government, its policies and its adamancy to stick to its 'duty' of protecting Indians or Indian minorities by keeping the country in bondage.

Never had ever happened such acts in India—people disturbing their own lives and lives of their countrymen, people undermining the defence of their own country, people destructing peoples' property. Whither that nonviolence, Indian culture, that very high sense of toleration? Why this despair and desperation? If Indians have gone desperate, a greater reason why Britishers should be more cool. And if they think coolly they shall be able to appreciate the despair and desperation of the people of India who are determined to achieve full freedom and having been deprived of their leadership, have gone out of bound to show their determination. The frank thing is, so far the leaders spoke, now India speaks. And the Britishers as well as their Allies would do well not to turn deaf ears to the real voice. This

India Speaks

Despair and desperation in the Indian people is Britishers' own creation. They will do well to give back to the Indian masses the leaders that have ever controlled them and give them back their country for that shall help the Britishers, that shall protect the British interests, and that shall speed up the war efforts to the benefit of the Allied Nations.

LEADERS WARN

The background of the movement can be very easily understood by the explanations and warnings that were given out in the clearest language by all great men and political organisations in the country.

Sardar Vallabh-bhai Patel

Sardar Vallabh-bhai Patel said in his speech on the 3rd August, 1942 :—

"The country was dragged into the war without its consent. As a protest against this, seven Congress ministries resigned. The protest was ignored by the Government. Then a demand for the explanation of the war efforts was made. There was again no reply. The Congress was again prepared to help the war efforts if a National Government was formed in India. That was what the Congress offered in Poona and the offer was disregarded. Then Gandhiji was given the authority to start a movement and he launched the Individual Civil Disobedience movement on a restricted scale and not to embarrass the British. Still the British Government did nothing. Nearly a year passed and events changed. Japan was in the war. Congress wanted to prevent any internal trouble in the country and decided to start volunteer brigades and mobilise its forces. (*The Government opposed this move even. Author*).

"There was, however, no abatement in the public discontent. Due to the pressure of the Allies, Sir Stafford Cripps was sent to India. They believed that Sir Stafford Cripps was sympathetic towards India and expected that something would

emerge out of the negotiations on behalf of the British Government. It was believed that he would heal the breach between India and Britain, so the working Committee of the Congress, inspite of Gandhiji's advice, decided to consider the proposals brought by him. After a fortnight of discussion, the Working Committee found that what Gandhiji had told them was true. All the parties in India were dissatisfied with the proposals and India was unanimous in disapproving them.

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"The war was coming nearer India and the fate of Malaya, Singapore and Burma which were lost, led India to consider all possible steps to prevent a simillar fate.

"Gandhiji and the Congress thought that such a situation could be avoided only if the British left this country. Public sympathy and cooperation was necessary to keep the enemy away. If the British left the country, the people could be galvanised and made to fight in the same manner as the Russians and Chinese.

"It was also Gandhiji's belief that as long as an Imperialist power remained it would also act

as a temptation to another Imperialist power to covet this land and in this vertex of imperialist ambitions, war would extend and continue. The only way to stop this, was to end the Imperialist regime."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

Addressing the Tilak Day mass meeting, Jawaharlal Nehru said: "My mind is quite clear that our decision is correct." He said that about "Quit India demand." "I can say this with all the authority and dignity of a member of the Working Committee. My mind is at rest. I can clearly see the path before us. We can tread it fearlessly and bravely.

"It would be like plunging in a storm in the ocean," continued Pandit Nehru. "I will do it with confidence and I invite you to do it. The world is in turmoil. The storm is on us and if we try to escape it, it will follow us and get us.

"If we succeeded that will release tremendous spiritual forces for the cause of freedom and democracy and will greatly increase the resistance

against Japan and Germany. If on the other hand we fail, the Britain would be left to fight against Japan as best as she can.

“Gandhiji’s “Quit India” slogan correctly represents our thoughts and sentiments. Passivity on our part at this moment and hour of peril would be suicidal. It will break down all our will to resistance. It would destroy and emasculate us. Our step is not merely for the love of independence. We want to take it to protect ourselves, to strengthen our will to resistance, to give a fresh orientation to the war, to fight and to help China and Russia: it is an immediate and pressing necessity with us.”

Answering the question “How would you fight against Japan?” Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said, “We will fight in every way possible, with nonviolence and with arms, by making it a People’s War, by raising People’s Army, by increasing production and industrialisation, by making it our primary consuming passion, by fighting like Russia and China and no price would be too big to pay to achieve our success against the aggressor.”

Mahatma Gandhi

High tension repression was expected, of course, from the opponents of the fight for India's freedom. Replying to the threats of repression and explaining the object of the movement and why this moment was chosen for starting it, Mahatma Gandhi wrote in Harijan :

"The chorus of indignation from Great Britain and America with which the Working Committee resolution on the contemplated mass action has been greeted and the veiled or open threats which it has hurled at the Congress will not deter the Congress from its purpose. Hitherto it has thriven on opposition and attempts at suppression. It will not be otherwise this time."

He added: "The suppression, of which perhaps the hysterical outburst in America and Great Britain is a precursor, may cow down the people for the moment but it will never put out the light of revolt once it has been lighted.

"The Daily Herald and the Labour Party have excelled all other critics in exaggeration and

abuse. How nice it would have been if they had taken the trouble to understand the Congress demand.

“The justice of the demand for ending British power has never been questioned, the moment chosen for enforcing it is the target of attack. It is clear as crystal in the Working Committee resolution, why this moment is chosen. Let me paraphrase it. India is not playing any effective part in the war. Some of us feel ashamed that it is so and, what is more, we feel that if we were free from the foreign yoke, we should play a worthy, nay, a decisive part in the world war which has yet to reach its climax. We know, that if India doesnot become free now, the hidden discontent will burst forth into a welcome to the Japanese, should they effect a landing. We feel that such an event will be a clamity of the first magnitude. We can aviod it if India gains her freedom. To distrust this simple, natural and honest declaration is to court disaster.

“But the critics say: To whom are the British rulers to hand the keys on their withdrawal?” It is a good question. Here is what Maulana Abul

Kalam Azad the Congress President has said: The Congress always stands, firstly, for sympathy towards Democratic countries; secondly, never desires to embarrass Britain and War efforts; and thirdly, it stands for opposition to the Japanese aggression. The Congress does not desire to take power for itself but for all. If real power is handed over to the Congress, surely it will approach other parties and will persuade them to join." The Congress President added that he "had no objection to Britain handing over power to the Muslim League or any other party provided it was real independence. That party will have to approach other parties as no single party can function properly without the cooperation of the other parties."

"The only thing needful is to hand over complete control without reservation save that during the war period the Allied troops will operate to stem Japanese or Axis attack. But they will have no power of interference with the affairs of India which will be as free as Great Britain herself.

"Surely, there is nothing here to cavil at for anyone. That party or a combination which takes over the control of India will have to look to the

remaining parties for its retention of power. There is no hope of the parties coming together so long as they have to look not to one another but to an outsider for support and sustenance. Not one of the Viceroy's numerous Indian Councillors is dependent upon anybody but the Viceroy for the position he holds. How can the great or small representative parties operate without mutual support ?

“In a free India even the Congress could not function effeciently for a day without the support of the smallest party. For, in a free India, at least for some time to come, even the strongest party will have no military backing. There will only be a raw police in the first stage unless the existing police will serve the National Government on its terms. But the support, such as it may be, free India will be able to render to the Allied cause, will be of sterling character. Its possibilities will be limitless and there will be no motive left for welcoming Japanese arms.

“On the contrary they will then look to the Allied arms to repel any Japanese or other attack, unless all Indians by then become non-violent.

In any case the Allied arms are there today and tomorrow and till the end of the war whether they are needed for India's protection or not.

"If this presentation of the implications of the Congress demand is not appreciated by the Allies' press or Allies themselves, Indian publicmen should be forgiven if they doubt the sincerity of the fierce opposition which is being organised with ominous unanimity. The latter can only stiffen India's suspicion and resistance."

Comrade P. C. Joshi

On the 3rd of August, 1942, Comrade P. C. Joshi, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, warned the British Government of the deadlock that had bred despair and the consequences that might ensue. In his statement he said: "Every progressive man and woman in Britain must realise that the root of the dead-lock in India, which threatens to burst up as a non-violent struggle by the Congress leadership, is the refusal of the British die-hards to recognise Indian independence and to implement it here and now in a changed practice. They think the peoples' war can be fought minus the people. They do not want

Indian national mobilisation. They are gambling with the fate of our ancient nation, of course, but they are harming the true interests of the United Nations as well."

He said very emphatically that why should it be at all difficult for any British democrat to realise that an alien beurocracy cannot rally the people, that foreign arms cannot hold the front without a total mobilisation of the rear? Our country is at stake. So are the real national interests and the great democratic name of the British people. On an immediate settlement of the Indian issue depends the duration of the war.

He clearly said that the policy of the British imperialists aids the Jap Fascist militarists. The British and Indian people in their own interests have to come together, prevent the coming calamity and together work to seal up the Indian crack in the world front of freedom and democracy.

"No useful purpose is served", he said, "and untold harm is done by the progressive elements in Britain ignorantly criticising or patronisingly advising the national movement in India. It only increases bitterness. Their main job is to face

their own imperialist die-hards and rouse their own people to get their own Government to start negotiations with the Congress leadership, recognise Indian freedom and immediately offer a Provisional National Government to rally every son and daughter of India for the holy war of the defence of the Motherland, for unshakeable unity with the United Nations, for quick victory of freedom-loving humanity and total annihilation of the Fascist aggressors.

Confessing rather with heroic straight-forwardness, he said that the communists of India were working against the current, for in his opinion the very existence of a foreign regime and the daily experience of its policies is a standing provocation to every Indian patriot to follow the desperate course suggested by Gandhiji.

He also appealed to the British democrats not to get confused by Gandhian pacifism, for, in his opinion, that is particular to him only. He said : "The rest of the Congress leadership led by Nehru and Azad is completely anti-Fascist in every sense of the word! It will enthusiastically rally the

Indian people for armed resistance and wholeheartedly unite with the United Nations on the basis of a real National Government right away and for a free India in a free world.

"The voting of the All-India Congress Committee should be looked upon by the British democrats as an indication of how desperate the situation in India is, how frustrated Indian patriots feel. It must inspire them to redouble their efforts. It is never too late to work for freedom, it is never too late to unite people.

Hon'ble Mr. M. R. Jayaker

"On the 5th of August, 42 was published a statement from the Hon'ble Mr. M. R. Jayaker, saying: "The mistake of His Majesty's Government in England and of the Government in Delhi in wrongly gauging the Indian sentiment with regard to the war and not bestirring themselves in time to meet it, has caused the deepest discontent and indignation in the country.

"The movement is born of despair and indignation which the Mahatma has not concealed in his writings and interviews. It is obvious that if

eventually launched, the movement will cause a conflagration in the country. It is not disclosed in what direction the movement will spread, but it is not difficult to imagine what form it is likely to assume, causing complete dislocation and chaos in many branches of administration. Even if eventually suppressed by a superior force, as appears to be the determination of His Majesty's Government, its spread will cause untold suffering and antagonism leading to the open release of forces inimical to the British rule and to the peace and tranquility of the country.

"This will be the last chance, in Mahatma's own words, which I hope he will not despise if offered, having regard to the suffering, misery and antagonism which his movement will engender. Will the persons and authorities concerned give a trial to this last chance before it is too late?"

INDIA SPEAKS !

Governments, pobably, when they are not peoples' governments, are not accustomed to heed friendly advice even though it would have come from the closest quarters. No gesture was made by the British Government for negotiations with the national leaders of India. The historic and fateful meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held its session at Bombay.

Maulana Abul-Kalam Azad

In the meeting on the 7th of August, 1942, Mualana Abul-Kalam Azad declared:

"The extraordinary danger which India was facing was such that they could not face it, unless

they had in their hands the reins of power. Danger was knocking at India's doors and it was necessary that they should make all preparations to check the enemy as soon as he jumped into our courtyard. That could be done only when they used every power in their possession."

Continuing, the Congress President said that the flood-tide was coming and Congress could not stand still on the shore and look on. They had to take the plunge and battle with the waves.

The congress had made repeated proposals to Britain to give the people of India that freedom which would enable them to fight the aggressor. They had not asked for the keys of power so that they could sit back and make merry.

That was not the way of the world today. The whole world was straining in its leash, was rushing towards freedom. In those circumstances if they felt that conditions in India required a change, if they felt that their salvation lay only in making and bringing about drastic changes, then they should take such steps as would bring about those changes. At the same time, they had to consider the possible cosequences of their steps on the

entire world. They had to weigh the consequences of their action and inaction carefully in a balance.

Therefore, the Working Committee had passed a resolution three weeks ago after fully considering their responsibilities, their duties, the consequences of their action and how best they could achieve their object. Their view was that unless some change was brought about at once, the same fate which took Burma, Malaya and Singapur would overtake this country also. If they wanted to fight for the safety, freedom and honour of India, it was necessary that they should cast off the shackles that were holding them down, to shake off the lethargy and go to work in an entirely new spirit. It was only when they felt that they were fighting for something which they held sacred that the people of this country could fight, pour out their energy and blood and lay down their lives.

As long as three years ago the Congress had made its position clear and had cast its lot in favour of democracy and against Fascism. They had always said that they would wholeheartedly aid the cause of freedom and democracy, if they

were free. For freedom itself they could wait. But the present question was not merely of freedom but of their very existence. If they survived and lived, they could have freedom. But the position now was that they could not live and survive without freedom.

Continuing, the Congress President said that the demand they were putting forward before Britain and the United Nations was to be judged by the one and only test that whether for the sake of the defence of India, for her very survival, freedom was necessary. India had become a vital field of battle. If India were free, she would have kindled a new light throughout the land and the cry for victory would ring from every corner. No army could wage a relentless war unless it had behind it an administration which had the fullest popular support. If anybody could show them that what they were doing would contribute to the defeat of Freedom Powers, they would be prepared to change their course. But if the argument was merely a threat, holding out the prospect of civil war and chaos, he for one would tell them: "It is our right to wage a civil war; it is our responsibility to face chaos".

Proceeding, the Congress President observed that having thus once tested the gold of their demand, they took the bright gold and applied to it yet another test and that test was: "Are we contributing to others' defeat, to others' misfortune?"

If their demand was such that it would not contribute to the strength of Freedom Powers, would not promote the cause of those powers fighting with valour for their freedom, they would never have put it forward. They had considered this question for full nine days. And the Congress President said: "Our demand is twice tested pure gold". "Is the British Government prepared to allow its actions and policies to be subjected to these same tests?" he challenged.

Answering critics of the Congress, he said that there was no right-thinking man who would not accept the tests he had propounded as valid. It was the duty of the critics to understand their position correctly and not merely to give it a bad name.

In this connection, he referred to the statement of Sir Stafford Cripps that if the Congress demand was accepted the whole Government from the Viceroy to the Sepoy would have to leave. This

was a misrepresentation with a vengeance. Their resolution had said in clear terms that as soon as Britain or the Allied Nations declared India's independence, India would enter into a treaty with Britain for the carrying out of the administration and conduct of the war to victory. They had not asked that all the Government officials should go home, bag and baggage and after reaching England return to India for negotiations. Gandhiji had repeatedly made it clear that "Quit India" demand meant only the removal of the British power and not the physical removal of the British officers, administrators and army personnel. All of them including the armies of Britain and the Allies would continue to stay here—only under the agreement with us and not against our will as at present. Not to see this clear point was suicidal blindness.

The Maulana stated: "There was time for mere promises. But the resolution of July 14, 1942, makes one thing clear, namely the condition of India and of the world has reached a stage when it was absolutely necessary that everything should be done at once. What we ask for from Britain and Allied Powers should be done here and now.

We do not rely on mere promises of the future. We have had bitter experiences of the promises having been broken. They also suspect our promise to fight with them against the Axis. Let us come together today and simultaneously decide both the issues—the freedom of India and India's complete participation in the war efforts. Let there be simultaneous declaration of India's independence and the signing of a treaty between India and the United Nations. If you do not trust us in this, we cannot trust you either.

Concluding, Maulana Azad observed that even in this grave hour when every minute counted, they had decided to make one last minute appeal to the United Nations, to demonstrate to them that the object of India and the Allied Powers was the same, that the satisfaction of India's demand would promote the welfare of the Allies. But if the Allies were obdurate and deaf to all appeals, it was their clear duty to do what they could to achieve freedom.

A.-I. C. C. Resolution

Given below is the text of the resolution of All-India Congress Committee :

"The All-India Congress committee has given the most careful consideration to the reference made to it by the Working Committee in their resolution dated July 14, 1942, and to subsequent events, including the development of the war situation, the utterances of responsible spokesmen of the British Government, and the comments and criticisms made in India and abroad. The Committee approves of and endorses that resolution and is of opinion that events subsequent to it have given it further justification, and have made it clear that the immediate ending of British rule in India is an urgent necessity, both for the sake of India and for the success of the cause of the United Nations. The continuation of that rule is degrading and enfeebling India and making her progressively less capable of defending herself, and of contributing to the cause of world freedom.

"The Committee has viewed with dismay, the deterioration of the situation on the Russian and Chinese fronts and conveys to the Russian and Chinese peoples its high appreciation of their heroism in defence of their freedom. This increasing peril makes it incumbent on all those who strive for freedom and who sympathise with the victims

of aggression, to examine the foundations of the policy so far pursued by the Allied Nations, which have led to repeated and disastrous failures. It is not by adhering to such aims and policies and methods that failure can be converted into success, for past experience has shown that failure is inherent in them. These policies have been based not on freedom so much as on the domination of subject and colonial countries, and the continuation of the imperialist tradition and method. The possession of Empire, instead of adding to the strength of the ruling power, has become a burden and a curse. India, the classic land of modern imperialism, has become the crux of the question; for, by the freedom of India will Britain and the United Nations be judged, and the peoples of Asia and Africa be filled with hope and enthusiasm. The ending of British rule in this country is thus vital and immediate issue on which depends the future of the war and the success of freedom and democracy. A free India will assure this success by throwing all her great resources in the struggle for freedom against the aggression of Nazism, Fascism and Imperialism. This will not only affect materially the fortunes of the war but will bring

all subject and oppressed humanity on the side of the United Nations and give these Nations, whose ally India would be, the moral and spiritual leadership of the world. India in bondage will continue to be the symbol of British Imperialism and the taint of that imperialism will affect the fortunes of all the United Nations.

"The peril of to-day, therefore, necessitates the independence of India and the ending of British domination. No future promises or guarantees can affect the present situation or meet that peril. They cannot produce the needed psychological effect on the mind of the masses. Only the glow of freedom now can release that energy and enthusiasm of millions of people which will immediately transform the nature of the war.

"The A.-I. C. C., therefore, repeats with all emphasis the demand for the withdrawal of the British Power from India. On the declaration of India's independence, a Provisional Government will be formed and Free India will become an ally of the United Nations, sharing with them in the trials and tribulations of the joint enterprise of the struggle for freedom. The Provisional Govern-

ment can only be formed by the co-operation of the principal parties and groups in the country. It will thus be a composite Government representative of all important sections of the people of India. Its primary functions must be to defend India and resist aggression with all the armed as well as the non-violent forces at its command, together with its Allied powers, and to promote the well-being and progress of the workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere, to whom essentially all power and authority must belong. The Provisional Government will evolve a scheme for a Constituent Assembly which will prepare a constitution for the Government of India acceptable to all sections of the people. This constitution, according to the Congress view, should be a federal one, with the largest measure of autonomy for the federating units, and with residuary powers vesting in these units. The future relations between India and the Allied Nations will be adjusted by representatives of all these free countries conferring together for their mutual advantage and for their co-operation in the common task of resisting aggression. Freedom will enable India to resist aggression effectively with the people's united will and strength behind it.

"The freedom of India must be the symbol of and prelude to this freedom of all other Asiatic nations under foreign domination. Burma, Malaya Indo-China, the Dutch Indies, Iran and Iraq must also attain their complete freedom. It must be clearly understood that such of these countries as are under Japanese control now, must not subsequently be placed under the rule or control of any other colonial Power.

"While the A. I. C. C. must primarily be concerned with the independence and defence of India in this hour of danger, the committee is of opinion that the future peace, security and ordered progress of the world demand a World Federation of free nations, and on no other basis can the problems of the modern world be solved. Such a World Federation would ensure the freedom of its constituent nations, the prevention of aggression and exploitation by one nation over another, the protection of national minorities, the advancement of all backward areas and peoples, and the pooling of the world's resources for the common good of all. On the establishment of such a World Federation, disarmament would be practicable in all

countries; national armies, navies and air force would no longer be necessary, and a World Federal Defence Force would keep the world peace and prevent aggression.

"An independent India would gladly join such a World Federation and co-operate on an equal basis with other countries in the solution of international problems.

"Such a Federation should be open to all nations who agree with its fundamental principles. In view of the war, however, the Federation must inevitably, to begin with, be confined to the United Nations. Such a step taken now will have a most powerful effect on the war, on the peoples of the Axis countries, and on the peace to come.

"The committee regretfully realises, however, that despite the tragic and overwhelming lessons of the war and the perils that overhang the world, the Governments of few countries are yet prepared to take this inevitable step towards World Federation. The reactions of the British Government and the misguided criticisms of the foreign

press also make it clear that even the obvious demand for India's independence is resisted, though this has been made essentially to meet the present peril and to enable India to defend herself and help China and Russia in their hour of need. The committee is anxious not to embarrass in any way the defence of China or Russia whose freedom is precious and must be preserved, or to jeopardise the defensive capacity of the United Nations. But the peril grows both to India and these nations, and inaction and submission to a foreign administration at this stage is not only degrading India and reducing her capacity to defend herself and resist aggression, but is no answer to that growing peril and is no service to the peoples of the United Nations. The earnest appeal of the Working Committee to Great Britain and the United Nations has so far met with no response and the criticisms made in many foreign quarters have shown an ignorance of India's and the world's need and some times even hostility to India's freedom, which is significant of a mentality of domination and racial superiority which cannot be tolerated by a proud people conscious of their strength and of the justice of their cause.

"The A.-I. C. C. would yet again at this last moment, in the interest of the world freedom, renew this appeal to Britain and the United Nations. But the Committee feels that it is no longer justified in holding the nation back from endeavouring to assert its will against an imperialist and authoritarian government which dominates over it and prevents it from functioning in its own interest and in the interest of humanity. The Committee resolves therefore, to sanction for the vindication of India's inalienable right to freedom and independence, the starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale, so that the country might utilise all the non-violent strength it has gathered during the last twenty-two years of peaceful struggle. Such a struggle must inevitably be under the leadership of Gandhiji and the Committee requests him to take the lead and guide the nation in the steps to be taken.

"The Committee appeals to the people of India to face the dangers and hardships that will fall to their lot with courage and endurance, and to hold together under the leadership of Gandhiji, and carry out his instructions as disciplined soldiers

of Indian freedom. They must remember that non-violence is the basis of this movement. A time may come when it may not be possible to issue instructions or for instructions to reach our people and when no Congress Committees can function. When this happens, every man and woman, who is participating in this movement must function for himself or herself within the four corners of the general instructions issued. Every Indian who desires freedom and strives for it must be his own guide urging him on along the hard road where there is no resting place and which leads ultimately to the independence and deliverance of India.

"Lastly whilst the A.-I. C. C. has stated its own view of the future governance under free India, the A.-I.C.C. wishes to make it quite clear to all concerned that by embarking on mass struggle it has no intention of gaining power for the Congress. The power, when it comes, will belong to the whole people of India."

The resolution was passed with practical unanimity. The nation was glad and optimistic. Her

leaders were rational and determined and at the same time very cool and logical. Whatever the radical section of the people might have thought, the Congress was sticking to its traditional psychology of compromise and friendship with Britain. The Viceroy had to be approached and all efforts made for successful negotiations to bring out a formula to serve the National Determination and National Defence. But, lo ! when people got up on the morning of Sunday, the 9th of August, 1942, they were shocked to find that the Christian God was observing holiday but not His representatives, the followers of His Son, who had recorded the blackest Sunday in the history of democracy by kidnapping to unknown places 'somewhere in India' more than 800 national leaders and their colleagues assembled at Bombay who always had been friends of the British and even party to the British Government in holding back the urge for National Democratic Revolution in India for the last thirty years.

The "Bombay Chronicle"

The Bombay Chronicle in its leading article on the 10th of August, 1942, wrote: "Government

have fired the first shot in the fight with the Congress. But it is not an achievement that they can be proud of or that can do them good". Condemning the use of tear gas, lathi charges and other unnecessary exhibition of force, the article says: "If Government think that the repression would crush the Congress, they are grievously mistaken. Past history has belied any such expectation. The Congress has always thriven and will continue to thrive on repression".

It further says, "It is idle to dismiss the Congress demand as coming from only one party. All responsible parties have asked for the immediate establishment of a truly National Government. But the Government resolution does not advance a single argument against this common demand. The Government of India venture to say: 'The Congress party is not India's mouthpiece, yet, in the interests of securing their own dominance and in pursuit of their totalitarian policy, its leaders have consistently impeded the efforts made to bring India to full nationhood. But for the resistance of the Congress party to all constructive endeavours, India might even now be enjoying self-government'. India and the world know better

who have striven to cut the nation into bits; who have worked disinterestedly for the whole country and who have made dominance their foremost interest. But it is perhaps futile to reason with a Government who have spurned the method of argument and negotiation and have resorted to repression to ensure their dominance. The pity of it is they can find Indians to make themselves responsible for and party to the repression in one way or other. That is one of the saddest results of our long subjection. And that is also one good reason why India insists on real and complete independence."

Comrade P. C. Joshi

Comrade P. C. Joshi said: "The imperialists have struck the first blow. The Congress kept the door for negotiations open. The beaurocratic Government has answered it with the arrest of the entire national leadership and worse." He said: "It is the Government that has precipitated the crisis."

Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy

Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy, President of the National Liberal Federation of India, in a

statement said: "The country has been forced into an unfortunate political struggle at a moment when the war situation is getting daily more and more serious."

"The Government have precipitated the crisis in trying to anticipate action by the Congress. Mahatma Gandhi was reported to have decided to interview the Viceroy before starting the movement. In the circumstances, the Government could have awaited the result of this interview which might have given the entire situation a peaceful turn. The arrest of so many leaders and the declaration of Congress organisations illegal will have an averse psychological effect on Indian people, affecting the country's war effort".

Progressive Coalition Party

The Progressive Coalition Party in the Bengal Legislature adopted a resolution regretting the action of the Government of India in affecting the arrests of Congress leaders.

All India Trade Union Congress

A meeting of the General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress passed a resolution

expressing the opinion that the policy and action of the Government in arresting a large number of the Congress leaders and declaring most of the Congress organisations illegal was "unwise and ill-conceived".

The meeting further opined that the Government should have taken an attitude of conciliation and settlement and should have averted the crisis by taking sincere and adequate steps for immediate transfer of real power to the people of India, which is the demand of the Congress and other political parties.

The council urged the Government to retrace the steps by releasing the Congressmen, removing the ban on the Congress organisations and restoring the freedom of speech and the Press and of association.

The council also called upon the Government to open negotiations with the Congress and other political parties to secure the establishment of the National Government early, both at the centre and provinces, thus enabling India to organise complete and effective defence of the country.

All-India Kisan Sabha

An appeal to the Government to release Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders has been made by Mr. Indulal Yagnik, President of the All-India Kisan Sabha. Mr. Yagnik says that the Kisan Sabha like all other patriotic organisations is entirely at one with the basic Congress demand for the transfer of power to the Indian people, because "this is the one and the only solution that will render the defence of India impregnable and halt Japanese aggression".

Association of Indian Industries

The Committee of the Association of Indian Industries sent the following telegram to the Governor General-in-council, the Supply Member, the Commerce Member and the Governor of Bombay.

"The Committee of the Association of Indian Industries views with grave concern the serious situation developing in the country. The repressive measures adopted by the Government are leading to dislocation of industrial productions. The Committee, therefore, earnestly urge upon

the Government to ease all repressive measures forthwith and seek the nation's whole-hearted co-operation by granting them their legitimate and just demands".

Indian Merchants' Chamber

The telegram sent by the Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber to the Viceroy says: "The Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber have been following the present developments in the political situation with the deepest regret and sorrow. The President of the Chamber in his recent speech at the Second Quarterly General Meeting appealed to both Government and leaders of the political parties to come to some workable terms failing which, he said, there would be disaster. This is unfortunately what has happened. The Committee beg to point out that the resolution as it was passed by the Congress, while it provided for mass civil disobedience, appealed to Britain and the United Nations and Mahatma Gandhi also appealed to Britain and the United Nations and the Viceroy. The Committee beg to emphasise that the appeal made by Mahatma Gandhi to

His Excellency could well have been responded to. Gandhiji himself assured that his contemplated letter to His Excellency was not an ultimatum but an earnest pleading for avoiding a conflict. If Government had waited for this letter and not precipitated the crisis by wholesale arrests, an honourable course was open for both parties. Any conflict at present is ruinous to the interests of the country and trade, commerce and industries are dislocated. The Committee believe that the main issue is to make the utmost effort to win the war and that the Indian people have the right to defend their own country in face of the aggression at their doors. This can only be done by them if they feel that they have the real power to do so”.

A resolution calling upon the British Government to release without delay Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders and to open negotiations with the Congress as also the other parties in India, for evolving a satisfactory arrangement for the transfer of power from British to Indian hands and for the establishment of a real representative National Government at the centre, was also passed unanimously at a special general meeting of the

Indian Merchants' Chamber. Mr. J. C. Setalvad presided.

Joint Conference of prominent Indian Industrial and Commercial concerns.

The following resolution was adopted at the Joint Conference of prominent Indian Industrial and Commercial concerns held in Calcutta under the presidentship of Sir Badridas Goenka :

"We, the representatives of Indian Industrial and Commercial concerns in Calcutta, assembled in a meeting under the chairmanship of Sir Badridas Goenka, held on Thursday the 27th August, 1942 consider it our bounden duty to draw the serious attention of His Excellency the Viceroy to the situation now prevailing in the country which we view with concern and anxiety. We desire to place our views before His Excellency in the earnest hope that a satisfactory solution of the present turmoil may be arrived at the earliest opportunity and that measures might be immediately devised by the Government and the accredited leaders of the Indian public opinion to avert any further deterioration in the situation.

"We are all businessmen and we need, therefore, hardly point out that our interest lies in peace, harmony, goodwill and order throughout the country. We believe also in the vital necessity of establishing a National Government deriving its strength and power from the people and which would constitute a solid foundation for the defence of India. We believe that an amicable and an honourable settlement, between India and Britain, is eminently desirable not only in the mutual interest of the two countries, but also the wider cause for which the United Nations stand. We consider that the differences which have unfortunately arisen are not such as to be incapable of adjustment or settlement. The British Government through the Cripps' declaration, by which they even now stand, are committed to a recognition of the independence of India after the war and to the formulation of a Constitution by Indians themselves.

"On the other hand the Congress, the Muslim League and other important political bodies have not only proclaimed their sympathy in the fight against the Axis Powers and against aggression but their complete readiness to shoulder, along

with the principal elements of the Indian nation, the burden of national defence and of the efficient prosecution of the war.

"They have, however, felt and urge that the Indian people can play a worthy part in this world war only if they are made to feel that it is their war, and that the moral and material resources of the country could only be mobilised effectively by their own Government inspiring zeal and enthusiasm. We believe that there is profound truth in this demand for a National Government in order to enthuse the people for total war effort. The contrast between the determined fight waged in Russia and China on the one hand and the moral collapse in Burma, Malaya and other places on the other, carries with it a lesson for the British Empire, which should not be overlooked.

"A body wedded to the principle of independence could alone fight against foreign menace; and in India too, who have fought for the political freedom of India would naturally be best qualified to fight against the Axis invasion.

"We feel, therefore, that there is common ground between the Government and those who demand an immediate transfer of power and we sincerely deplore the unfortunate misunderstanding of the fundamentals of the national demand which has precipitated the present conflict and led to bitterness, resentment and estrangement.

"We submit that the only method of improving the present situation is to change the atmosphere in the country. The people should be made to feel that it is their own Government, their own country for which they have to fight and sacrifice and die, and that their prestige, honour, independence and very life are at stake. All this would be possible by an immediate recognition of the national demand for the transfer of the real power from British to Indian hands. We appreciate, however, that the higher strategy of war should be under common direction and that transitional arrangements must be made for the united defence of India.

"Representing as we do a variety of business interests and concerned as we are with the present pursuit of our normal avocations of life, we cannot overlook the adverse reactions and repercussions of

the present situation on trade, commerce and industry. Interruptions of communications and transport dislocation have already affected business and war industries. The psychological reactions of the present unrest on commercial and industrial activity cannot too strongly be emphasised.

“While we unreservedly condemn all acts of violence, we emphatically submit that the need of the hour is not strong action or repressive measures which can at best drive the discontent underground and can never solve any deeprooted unrest.

“What is required is a broad and sympathetic understanding and tactful handling of a grave situation. We sincerely feel that the existing conditions tend to impede war effort and strongly submit that an immediate reconciliation is absolutely essential when the enemy is at the very gate of India awaiting to take advantage of our weakness.

“Our primary concern is the advancement of the economic interests of the country and not politics. But we are nationalists believing in the need of economic and political freedom for India and are naturally moved and affected by the recent

happenings. The events of the last two weeks have pained us beyond measure because we sincerely feel that these unfortunate developments could have been avoided through far-sighted statesmanship and a willingness to apply immediately to India those ideals for which the United Nations are fighting. We represent commercial and industrial interests but these interests themselves depend on the welfare and advancement of the mass of people. We have nothing to gain and everything to lose by unrest, disturbance and dislocation.

"We, therefore, say it with all the greater emphasis and with a full realisation of our responsibilities that the Government should immediately take all possible measures to reverse their present policy and open negotiations with principal parties so as to end the present impasse and to enable the realisation of Indian aspirations for a free India as a self-respecting and self-reliant member of the United Nations."

**Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce
and Industry**

Mr. G. L. Mehta, President of the Federation
of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry

sent a telegram to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy, saying:

"Indian commercial organisations deeply deplore the serious situation now prevailing in the country consequent on the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders. Request you to convey His Excellency their feeling of grave concern at trade dislocation, industrial disturbances and adverse economic repercussions which would result if the situation is allowed to drift and effective steps are not immediately taken to arrive at an amicable settlement.

"Indian commercial interests are definitely of opinion that the continuance of the present state of affairs is not only prejudicial to amicable Indo-British relations but would constitute serious impediment to war efforts. It is as much in the mutual interests of Britain and India as of vigorous prosecution of war efforts of the United Nations that any further deterioration in the situation should be immediately prevented by the Government's recognition of India's legitimate demand for a national government at the centre in order

to enable India to play her vital part in the war as an independent and self-respecting member of the United Nations."

Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta

The view that a representative government "as demanded by the country" alone could enthuse the people for harnessing all their efforts for the defence of the country and the vigorous prosecution of the war, was emphasised by Mr. R. L. Nopany presiding over the second quarterly meeting of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta.

Mr. Nopany observed that if Britain really intended that India should achieve an independent status immediately, then there was hardly any point of substantial difference between the Congress and the Government as the former had only demanded an immediate transfer of effective power to the people of the country.

Referring to the Congress demand, he hoped that the Government would recognise the realities and take immediate steps to open negotiations with the leaders of the people with a view to establish a

representative National Government with effective power at the centre. In this connection he characterised the action of the Government in arresting Congress leaders as "rather precipitate" and said:-

"It has led to the deplorable state of affairs specially as Mahatma Gandhi was reported to have clearly expressed his intention of negotiating with His Excellency the Viceroy with a view to arriving at a solution of the political deadlock. While we certainly do not approve of the acts of violence on the part of the people, every thinking Indian does feel that there is deep-rooted and wide-spread discontent among the people of the country against the present form of the Government."

Native Share and Stock Brokers' Association

The President of the Native Share and Stock Brokers' Association sent the following telegram to His Excellency the Governor-General-in-Council, the Hon'ble the Supply and Commerce Members:—

"The Association views with serious concern the recent developments in the political situation

of the country, consequent upon the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and other wellknown leaders. It regards the action taken by the Government as precipitate and ill-judged, particularly in view of the declared intention of Mahatma Gandhi to approach the Viceroy. The Association is convinced that the country cannot mobilise its full strength and render full help and assistance in the achievement of victory and international standard of justice, decency and good faith, nor can it fulfil its own destiny, if through repression and restraint, it is plunged into an atmosphere of political chaos and discontent. The Association, therefore, appeals to the Government to reconsider its policy, and revise it in such a manner as to win over the sympathy and co-operation of the people, and for this purpose to open negotiations with Mahatma Gandhi."

The Karachi Cotton Association

The Karachi Cotton Association adopted a resolution urging that in the present circumstances and in the absence of a central policy, broad-based and directed by a National Government, composed of accredited representatives of the

people, various councils and committees Government or semi-Government cannot serve any useful purpose.

The Association, therefore, decided, that the Associations' representatives on such councils and committees for the time being be withdrawn.

Seth Walchand Hirachand

Mr. Walchand Hirachand, President of the Indian National Steamship Owner's Association, sent a telegram on behalf of the Association to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar and all members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, most earnestly appealing to the Viceroy and the Government of India that they should open negotiations without any delay with Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and his colleagues, after releasing them for such a solution of the present deadlock as will satisfy the legitimate demands of India for her freedom and will create such conditions and atmosphere in India as would enable her to put

forth the most effective and united effort to defeat the plan of the aggressor countries.

Shri Mahajan Association

The President, Shri Mahajan Association, Ltd., Bombay, sent a telegram to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy, in the course of which he said :—

“The Board of Directors, Shri Mahajan Association are of the opinion that Government not failed to respond but precipitated the crisis by wholesale and simultaneous arrests of Mahatma Gandhi and all other Congress leaders.”

They also appealed for reconsideration of Government's policy and revision in such a manner as to win over the sympathy and co-operation of the people and for that purpose to open negotiations with Mahatma Gandhi forthwith.

Metal Exchange Association

The Committee of the Metal Exchange Association sent the following telegram to the Viceroy:

“Committee the Metal Exchange Association regret arrests of Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders which has caused great dissatisfaction among the public and views the situation very gravely. The Committee earnestly desires that Government should negotiate with Mahatma Gandhi otherwise there will be ruinous disorder in the country and trade, commerce and industry will be dislocated and war effort will be gravely affected. Committee therefore urge that negotiations should begin with Mahatma Gandhi”.

Various other small and big commercial organisations from all over the country expressed similiar sentiments, inclusion of which is not possible in this small book.

Maharaja Holkar of Indore

Even the Indian Princes have favoured the establishment of National Government and expressed their willingness to co-operate with it. His Highness the Maharaja Holkar of Indore in a statement to the press has said: “The isolationism of Indian states is now a thing of the past, and I earnestly hope that they will associate themselves

more directly with national aspirations as their salvation lies in agreeing to enter without reservation the future Union of India in wholehearted co-operation with a new National Government when it is set up."

Let me give you opinions of a few independent important personalities and then I shall take you through the views even of communalists.

Sjt. Rajgopalachari

Sjt. Rajgopalachari has said: "The war in India cannot be won and disaster avoided, unless the people of India are really got round 'en masse' and made to feel what they certainly do not feel now—that they are in a war which is their own defence.

"All suspicions and legalities should be scrapped and full power transferred."

He said that British statesmen have knowledge of the present feeling in India and the peril inherent in the situation. They have imagination and experience enough to see whom the people trust

and whom they do not. The Government should be formed such as would be immediately acclaimed and accepted by the people of India as Government of the people. They can do this only if they resolve not to be ashamed to do the right thing.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru says : "There is not now, in my judgement, much time for a conference to be called to discuss the situation. The time, however, is over-ripe for discussions and swift decisions in the political field. Thus and thus alone can the psychology of the people be changed and the forces of Law and Order strengthened. This is the time of constructive statesmanship with some imagination and courage"

Krishak Proja Party of Bengal, Karachi Municipal Corporation, almost all municipal and district boards and Bar Associations and public bodies of the country have condemned the repressive policy of the Government and urged the release of the national leaders and establishment of the national government.

The Metropolitan of India

“Britain through a century and more has been building up a great nation from the diverse elements of India’s vast population. The time has come to place the coping stone upon this noble edifice and surely it should be laid in the cement of mutual goodwill and fellowship”, thus observes the Metropolitan of India, Dr. Foss Westcott in a statement on the present Indo-British relations, suggesting that the assistance of the trusted Allies who have co-operated in the present struggle for world freedom should be sought to avert a disaster.

Mr. Baldev Sahay

Mr. Baldev Sahay, who is understood to have resigned the post of Advocate General of Bihar, in the course of a statement on the present political ‘impasse’, says: Since the 9th of August when several prominent Congress leaders were arrested there have been serious disturbances of multifarious kinds throughout the length and breadth of the country. The Government, in order to get over the crisis, have launched upon a policy of repression and we find them in a trial of strength with

those, whom they deem responsible for what has been happening of late in the country.

"In short the Congress wants an immediate declaration of independence and provisional national government consisting of representatives of all principal parties with the power and status of a cabinet conceding in the interest of India and the world its maximum support in the war and giving a guarantee in making no separate peace with any Axis Power, while leaving the technical control and direction of the war and matters of strategy in the hands of Britain and her Allies.

"Thus there is nothing in the Congress demand which is antagonistic or prejudicial to the declared interest of any political party in India or the war aims and efforts of the United Nations.

"The Muslim League, too, is ready to co-operate with any party in forming a Government, provided, firstly, that it is given a real share of power in the Government, and secondly

that the question of Pakistan after the war should not be prejudiced by the new constitution.

"It is really very surprising and mortifying" points Mr. Sahay "that with so much of unanimity in the view points of the principal political parties, and the Government themselves, the door was banged against parleys and negotiations and acts done which precipitated this ruinous deadlock.

"Demands of statesmanship urgently require". concludes Mr. Sahay "that Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Azad and Pt. Nehru should be released and negotiations started in a sincere and liberal spirit. This is the imperative need of the hour."

Dr. H. N. Kunzru

Dr. H. N. Kunzru in the course of a statement says that the root cause of present discontent must be removed by granting freedom to India. Further he states that the breach between India and Britain can yet be healed. He says :

"The Cripps' proposals should cease to be Britain's last word on the subject of transfer of power if they desire Indian friendship.

"Government should learn a lesson from its failure in the Far East and realise that the establishment of a real national government which will place India on a footing of moral equality with England is the only way in which an understanding may yet be brought about between the people and the Government".

Prof. Tan Yan Shan

"For everybody's sake and for many reasons you must first declare India independent and free immediately, then form an Indian National Government as soon as possible. This is the aspiration not only of the Indian people but also of the people of the United Nations. Even your own British people, most of them I dare say, have the same desire, too"; thus observes Prof. Tan Yan Shan, Director, Viswa-Bharati Cheena Bhavana in the course of an appeal to "Our great ally, the British authorities".

**Indians representing all sections and communities
(in London)**

Indians representing all sections and communities passed at a public meeting at Holborn Hall, London, the following resolution :-

“Firmly believing that the creation of a free democratic order of all peoples of the world is impossible without independent India, we, Indians assembled at this Public meeting in London, reaffirm our demand for immediate independence”.

India League

The India League also adopted a resolution urging Government to open negotiations with the Indian national leaders on the basis not only of recognition of Indian National Freedom but also of “a National Government NOW”.

Hindu Mahasabha

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha in a lengthy resolution demands an immediate declaration of India's independence. It says:-

“The peril confronting India demands the mobilisation of India's tremendous man power and

gigantic natural resources which can never be secured without a National Government. The experiences of Burma and Malaya and the working of the present constitution in this country during the last few years demand the radical transformation of the present system of Government which has failed either to mobilise public opinion or to utilise the resources of the country effectively in the cause of democracy and liberty.

“If this has got to be won and if the present menace has to be destroyed, it is clear that India’s national will must support the defending army and this can never be secured by the mere employment of the non-Indian troops or by the continuance of the present Government which commands neither the confidence nor the willing allegiance of the Indian people.

“The dangerous international situation which threatens India and the imminent danger of foreign invasion and the urge for national emancipation stimulated by the professed aims of the United Nations demand the immediate declaration of India’s independence and the formation of a Natio-

nal Government to whom power must be transferred, subject to necessary adjustments during the war for fighting the menace and for the National Defence of India."

After enumerating the demands of the Mahasabha and explaining their proposed process of the prosecution of war, the resolution warns Britain that if the British Government still persists in its policy of callous indifference to India's national aspirations and does not respond to this demand for the recognition of India's freedom and the formation of a National Government, the Hindu Mahasabha will have no other alternative but to revise its present programme and to devise ways and means whereby Britain and her Allies will realise that India as a self-respecting Nation can no longer be suppressed.

Concluding the resolution says: "The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha condemns the policy of repression which has been launched by the Government of India and deplors the complete lack of statesmanship by the Government. This Committee demands the immediate release of all national leaders who are now detained".

Raja Maheshwar Dayal Seth

The latest from the Hindu Mahasabha is the statement of Raja Maheshwar Dayal Seth, honorary general secretary of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, dated Lucknow October 31, '42; "It is time that Messrs. Churchill, Amery and Lord Linlithgow cultivate a new angle of vision to appreciate the realities of the Indian situation and at once settle the Indian problem [which is an acid test of the sincerity of the Allied cause and a war measure of first-class magnitude.] Let them wake up before it is too late, says the Raja.

He adds : "In spite of the unhelpful attitude of the members of the Government of India and the difficulties created in our way by the refusal of the Viceroy to permit us to see the leader of the most important political party, the special committee of the Hindu Mahasabha has succeeded in proving a surprising unity behind the demand for the establishment of a National Government which I dare say is the demand of each and every political party and section without a single exception. Let the British Government announce its

intention to accept this demand on its own condition and all political parties agree to join in the formation of such a national and composite Government, and I have no doubt whatsoever that they will all join in doing so."

Regarding Pakistan issue he says:

"As far as the Congress is concerned, a man of the position of Mr. Rajgopalachari has already given the assurance. Mr. Jinnah wants a guarantee that the Pakistan issue must not be prejudiced in any way by the Muslim League joining this interim Government for the duration of the war. It is possible to devise many ways to give complete satisfaction on this ground. If agreement is not possible in any other way, I, for one, should be prepared to accept impartial arbitration on the issue of Pakistan. What more can any one desire?"

"The transfer of power" he concludes, "must be effected here and now. Sir Stafford Cripps failed to realise this essential truth and so his scheme was rejected by all parties in India. India is no longer in a mood to be duped or fed on mere promises and guarantees of a freedom to come. It

is action and the present alone that count and can create mass feeling and mass co-operation in a total defence of India against Axis aggression in an atmosphere of peace and goodwill, chasing away the thickening clouds of suspicion and mistrust”.

Akali (Sikh) Conference

The view that the Congress demand for an immediate declaration of the status of India as an independent sovereign state and the formation of a provisional National Government should be accepted, is expressed in a resolution adopted at the All-India Akali (sikh) Conference under the presidentship of Master Tarasingh.

The Conference maintained that the present political situation in the country was the result of a sense of frustration of Indian aspirations consequent upon the policy of His Majesty's Government towards the Indian constitutional problem and urged upon the Government to take the initiative and adopt measures to end the deadlock.

Miss Marjorie Sykes

Miss Marjorie Sykes, Professor of English, Women's Christian College, Madras, warns Gover-

nment that "the silence of British community in India on the arrest of Congress leaders and the arrangements for the control of the press may give the impression that the measures adopted by the Government of India meet with unanimous approval among us" but that "this is not the case." She points out that the present crisis might have been avoided "by a more patient and sympathetic approach to the central demand of the All-India Congress Committee". Even in the present circumstances she feels that "the only way out of the morass of bitterness and suspicion is to take the noble risk of trusting India with real and immediate responsibility".

Indian leaders representing various parties and Communities

An appeal has been made to the British Premier by Indian leaders representing various parties and communities. The Signatories are:- Allah Bakshi, President Azad Muslim Conference (and then Khan Bahadur and Chief Minister of Sind too); Dr. Shyam Prasad Mukerji, Minister of Bengal; K. K. Habibullah, Nawab of Dacca, Minister of Bengal; Sardar Baldevsingh, Minister of

Punjab; Master Tara Singh, leader of the Sikh community; Sir Radha Krishnan; Giani Kartar Singh M. L. A. (Punjab); Mohd. Zaheer-ud-Din, President All-India Momin Conference; N. C. Chatterji, Working President, Bengal Hindu Mahasabha; Mehar Chand Khanna, President Frontier Hindu Mahasabha; Raja Maheshwar Dayal, President U. P. Hindu Mahasabha; Dr S. S. Ansari General Secretary Azad Muslim Board; A. K. Fazlul Haq, Premier of Bengal; Sir Gokal Chand Narang.

“The present war, which has involved all the nations of the world, is proclaimed to be struggle between democracy and freedom on the one side and tyranny and race superiority on the other”, says the appeal.

“From the beginning of this titanic struggle, India has been demanding that Great Britain, where she has the power, should implement the professions of equality and freedom so that her moral prestige might rise and her cause be endowed with justice. For some reason or other she has been evading this obvious duty and postpon-

ing the accomplishment of the great ideals for which she professes to fight.

"The failure of her policy in Egypt and Ireland, in Burma and Malaya, indicate that if she is to be succesful in India she must enlist the popular will and enthusiasm. The Indian people must be made to feel that they are defending their honour and freedom, their hearths and homes against the foreign aggressors. The examples of China and Russia are there to indicate that only a people's war can be waged successfully under modern conditions. The most influential political party in a mood of utter despair, finding no adequate response to this legitimate demand, wished to change their policy of non-embarassment to achieve freedom. But before they could promulgate the same, they were incarcerated and a policy of repression ensued.

"We feel that the atmosphere of violence and counter-violence is hardly the atmosphere for a satisfactory reconciliation between India and Great Britain. If Great Britain is going to grant self-government to India after the war, what is it that prevents its accomplishment today ?

"A National Government pledged to the support of the war against the aggressors, consisting of representatives of major political interests, with complete autonomy in the internal administration during the period of the war and unfettered freedom thereafter, will satisfy the demand for independence put forth by all the political parties in the country.

"Such a declaration of immediate transfer of real power to Indian hands, postponing all controversial issues until after the war, will produce the right atmosphere for dissolving differences and harmonising the divergent tendencies which are now over-emphasised. By solving the Indian problem, Britain will help the Allied Nations, improve her own case and be a powerful instrument for the overthrow of the aggressive powers, which are menacing civilization today. There does not seem to be any justification for shirking the issue any longer. Here and now His Majesty's Government must proclaim that India is independent. We have not the least doubt that a free India will not negotiate any separate treaties with the enemy powers but will whole-heartedly fight the aggressors along with the Allied Nations.

"Events in India are rapidly moving towards a dangerous climax and there never was a period in the last 100 years when the feeling against Britain was so bitter as it is today.

"Before it is too late, we urge the British Prime Minister who has if he chooses, courage, vision and statesmanship to settle this problem now and for all time in the interests of Britain and India".

Parsee Community

A manifesto issued to the press under the signatures of over 800 Parsis including Prop. P. A. Wadia, Mr. D. H. Bahadurji, ex-Advocate General, Dr. M. D. D. Gilder, ex-Minister, Dr. P.C. Barucha ex-Sheriff, Mr. K. F. Nariman, Kavi A. F. Khabardar, Mr. K. R. P. Shroff, Dr. (Mrs.) Gilder, A. F. S. Talyarkhan, Mr. S. H. Jhabwala, editors of the Bombay Samachar, Kaiser-e-Hind Rast Rabhar, Mumbai Vartman, Sanj Vartman, Blitz, several Professors., members of the medical profession, solicitors and advocates, on the statement made by Major C. R. Atlee in the House of Commons in the course of which he said. "There are

a number of extremely effective minorities which must be considered. There are the Sikhs, the Parsis, the Princes and the population of the Indian States", reads :

"We wholeheartedly support the demands of all Political Parties, Commercial and industrial bodies, that India must achieve here and now, her freedom which is overdue, particularly at this hour, so that with the glow of freedom burning within her, she may effectively resist any foreign aggression. To this end we feel that it is very necessary that the accredited leaders of the country should be released immediately and negotiations started with them on the basis of declaring India a free country."

"May we say" the manifeste concludes, that following the lead given by our great leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Pheroz shah Metha and Sir Dinshaw Wachha, we Parsis have always asserted that we are Indians first and have asked for neither separate representation in the Legislative or Municipal bodies, nor any special treatment in the services.

"This was our stand even at the Round Table Conference. Gandhiji made special reference to this and said that the Parsis were the only minority that have never asked for separate representation. May we now emphasise that in these days it is absolutely essential that we should stand by this self-same principle and policy apart on moral grounds we clearly see that our future is indisso-
lably linked with that of our sister communities."

Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European's Association

Mr. Frank Anthony, President-in-Chief of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European's Association declares:

"We are opposed to the vivisection of this great motherland of ours. We want, with all true lovers of India, to see India a happy and united nation under a really Nationalist Government where the different minorities are fully recognised and catered for."

Confessing the mistakes by his community he says:

"Is it that the leaders of other Indian communities and of Indian political thought are seeking

deliberately to discriminate against the Anglo-Indians because of our past mistakes? That we have made mistakes I admit fully. But as I have always maintained we are conscious of having made the mistakes and we are profoundly sorry for them."

Mr. Anthony added, "Real Indian nationalism will find Anglo-Indians amongst its most ardent supporters".

Sir Sultan Ahmad

Muslim opinion in the matter is equally clear and strong. Sir Sultan Ahmad, Law Member to the Government of India, in the course of a statement says: "The Congress resolution in so far as it draws from the inspiration that India must have her own people's Government has indeed a mighty sanction. To that extent it represents the right of India, the goodwill of Britain and the conscience of the world".

Professor Sir Hassan Suhrawardy

A plea to decide the future of India now has been made by the Indian Adviser to the Secretary of State for India, Professor Sir Hassan Suhrawardy.

Giving his personal views to the East India Association and the Royal Central Association Society, in London on 4th November, 1942, he said: "Solution of the Indian problem is a vital factor in securing the world effort to vanquish the forces of evil. The ideal, however, is not only to win the war but to lay the foundations for winning the peace. Such efforts cannot be left until the end of the war. Principles of the future political system of India have to be decided immediately so that the necessary steps can be taken to make India ready to fit into the new order with a strong China and Russia in the map of Asia."

He also added : "A great propaganda cry has been engineered on the allegation that the Muslim community and their leader, Mr. Jinnah, were attempting to divide united India".

Mr. A. Shah

Mr. A. Shah, a member of the committee of Indian Congressmen in Britain, denies that there is a Hindu-Muslim problem in India. He, presiding at "an immediate Indian independence" meeting in

London on 27th October 1942 at which a resolution was unanimously passed appealing to the United Nations to see that "the sovereign status of India be immediately recognised and real power transferred to Indian people," and asking that a treaty of alliance be signed between them and the provisional Government of India, said:—"The whole of the Indian people are behind the Indian Congress. India will continue to fight for her independence without fear or favour. Muslims have always supported the Congress demand for Independence."

Sir Abdul Halim Ghaznavi

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Abdul Halim Ghaznavi said that he did not agree with Mr. Churchill that the Congress is a non-entity. Mr. Churchill, he said, recognised the claims of Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah whenever it suited him and discredited them whenever he deemed fit.

Further he said that the demand for the National Government was the national demand. It is in conformity with the ideals for which the United Nations stand and fight their war.

Proceeding Sir Abdul Halim said that there was deplorable distrust of Britain's intentions, and to ensure the whole-hearted co-operation of India's four hundred millions it was most essential that Britain should forthwith transfer real power into the hands of Indian people and make this the people's war.

Sir Ziauddin

Sir Ziauddin has declared that the Congress and the Muslim League did not differ on the main issue of independence and National Government.

Sheikh Abdul Majid

Sheikh Abdul Majid, a prominent member of the Muslim League and an ex-Minister of Sind, in the course of a statement demands the release of Congress leaders "in the interest of abiding settlement which is more essential to the successful prosecution of the war". He further says that in material points the League's stand is identical with that of the Congress and there is no moral justification hereafter for the continuance of British control over the central administration.

Jamiatul-Ulema Hind

The leaders of Jamiatul-Ulema Hind, Mufti Kifayatullah, President, Maulana Ahmad Sayeed, Vice-President, Maulana Hafiz-ur-Rehman, General Secretary and Maulana Abdul Halim Siddiqi have issued a joint statement, saying: "The complete independence of India is the unanimous demand of all Indians. Indians are aware of the attitude adopted by the British imperialists in this case. Even at this critical stage British Government is as adamant as it was in 1939."

The statement further says, "As far as the objective of the complete independence of India is concerned, all the political parties including the Congress, Muslim League, Jamiatul-Ulema and Ahrar are united."

Prof. Humayun Kabir

Prof. Humayun Kabir, M. L. C. (Bengal), says: "Whatever differences there might be about the methods and means, there is no doubt that the Congress voices the demand of all Indians, when it presses for an immediate recognition of Indian independence."

Kurnool District Muslim League

The psychology of the Muslim masses can be judged from the resolution of Kurnool District Muslim League that asks Mr. Jinnah to seek an interview with Mahatma Gandhi to discuss terms for a communal agreement.

And what does Mr. Jinnah himself say? Mr. Jinnah who is used as trump card by those Britishers who are against the Indian national demand; Mr. Jinnah who is presented to the Allies' world as the stumbling block in the granting of Indian independence by the Britishers who are "anxious" to liberate India if only Gandhi (Congress) and Jinnah (Muslim League) could close up their differences. But are there any differences between Jinnah and Gandhi over the "Quit India" demand?

Mr. Jinnah

Mr. Jinnah, addressing the Council of the All-India Muslim League at Delhi on 9th November, 1942, referred to attempts to misinterpret the League attitude and to characterise the League as

"allies of British Imperialism obstructing the path of freedom in India". "These efforts are disgraceful", he declared. "The British Government" he said, "which has been in this sub-continent for 150 years or 160 years is not a government with the sanction of the people behind it. It is a government imposed on the Mogul system. The sanction behind it are British machineguns and bayonets, not the sanction of the people. Now, there has been aroused a great political consciousness among the people and we want our freedom and independence. We want to be masters of our own affairs in our own land and would like to say good-bye and farewell to the British administration over this sub-continent."

SPEAK BRITAIN

Well Britain, you have heard India speak. Speak thou too, while there be time for you to redress yourself the wrongs done by you to the sacred land and great people of India. On account of the world affairs and determination of India's own people, India's freedom is a dead certainty. Why not wisely play your part to save yourself of the shame of keeping India in bondage now and loosing it in nearest future? Lose hold on India you must—by your own generosity or defeat. Choice is yours.

There are no obstacles in immediate transfer of power to Indians. Do not try to set up the bogey of Pakistan or other obstacles created by your evil genius. The matter of Pakistan today stands fully adjusted between the Congress, League and the Mahasabha. Do not be ashamed to do a right thing at the right moment. If in your own interest you could deem practicable your suggestion to set up a joint Anglo-French Government in France when France was in actual flames of war, neither is impracticable the transfer of power from you to Indian hands. Your excuse and our argument is surprisingly common; you say complete transfer of power is not possible ON ACCOUNT OF THE WAR; we say we could wait for our mere independence but HERE and NOW we must have the fullest power ON ACCOUNT OF THE WAR to enable us to mobilise our national forces to defend ourselves and help the Allied Nations which otherwise is impossible. And about your bogey of India, when free, going on the side of Axis, it has been offered to you that let there be simultaneous declaration of India's independence and the signing of a treaty between India and the United Nations regarding India's complete

participation in the war efforts. And time is long past of course for you to say that India is divided over the question of her self-government. Today the UNIVERSAL DEMAND—universal in its literary sense, is RELEASE INDIAN LEADERS FROM THE PRISONS — RELEASE INDIA FROM THE BONDAGE OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM, HERE AND NOW.

Never in the history of the world, a nation had been so united for demand of freedom as the Indian nation is today. Never in the history of India, people and organisations of all shades and opinions, had so determinedly united on any issue whatsoever, as they are today for the achievement of complete independence.

Indian National Congress, Communist Party of India, All-India Trade Union Congress, All-India Kisan Sabha, National Liberal Federation of India, Commercial and other institutions, Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, Parsees, Anglo-Indians, Europeans in India and Indians in Europe, Indian Princes, Indian Press—all are united for the national demand. Equally well-known are the stro-

ngest sympathies of Russia, China, America, and the right-thinking section of Britain on the question of HERE and NOW independence of India.

What is more vital than the mere expression of India's will by Indians and sympathetic commentary by the foreigners, is the real state of affairs in India. British rule in India in actuality is dead; only its ghost exists.

The Leaders of the Congress, Trade Union Congress, All-India Kisan Sabha, All-India Students' Federation, All-India Women's Conference, and even some of the Communist Party of India, and their many comrades and colleagues who enjoy tremendous following in the workers, the peasants, the students and the rest ; and the leaders of the Jamiatul-Ulema and other nationalist Muslim organisations ; the sikh leaders ; the representatives of the peoples who ran popular ministries in seven provinces ; the personalities who constituted the coalition ministry in the eighth ; all are imprisoned. The brave Allahbux, the only successful (and now "dismissed") premier of

Sind has hurled back at the face of British imperialism the so-called honours that he had been decorated with by the Government. The tenth province Bengal can be said to have a popular ministry but the truth is not a secret that all the ministers there including the Premier are gravely dissatisfied with the ruthlessly unwise policy of the Government of India and the India House and have declared their feeling of contempt and anger in most simple language more than once. They are carrying on with the responsibilities of the Government not on account of their sympathies with the system of British Government in India or the British Government itself but on account of very peculiar circumstances of their province.

Yes, in the solitary province remaining, Sikandar is successful apparantly. He has a shrewd police force at his back and a C.I.D. more cruel than the Gestapo is said to be. Repression can seem to prolong the life of the most tyrant rule ; but repression cannot bestow prosperity on the land or force goodwill into her people. The Punjab that alone could feed the whole country with its wheat and other produces, is starving

today. The Punjab that alone could fully subscribe to the Government loans of any denominations, does not look to the war loans today. The Punjabi like every other person in India, has lost faith in British rule, British currency and anything that is British. The life is miserable there but with all that misery brought to his followers and the province, Sikandar has not been able to recruit even a fragment of the Punjab's capacity of contributing man-power to the war effort. And even those who have been forced to the forces—what about them?—well, Sir Sikandar has been more than once to the battle front—communiques have said to see his fighting people. But is it essential that the premier of a province must go so often and at such short intervals to see his people fighting?—may be to see that if they are not, they should. However, there is a very important question. If Sikandar seconds the British Government and its policies honestly, and so does his province too, and the Muslims of that province and the people, why Defence rule in that province? Shall Churchill or Amery speak? Ahraries shelved off with the double-edged sword of Shahidganj matter before the provincial elections, everybody

else worth name in the province behind the iron bars, why cannot the Punjab of Sikandar, majority province of Muslim, all Muslim Leaguers perhaps as Amery might think (Amery has chosen to deceive himself and those whom he may be able to deceive with the idea that Muslims and specially Muslim Leaguers are behind the British Government)—with fighters on the front ; Congressites, saboteurs, hooligans and goondas in jails—why cannot even armless, helpless, trodden, innocent peasants and poors be ruled without the extra Measures ? Yes, Sikandar Sir, remove the bayonets and see who is with you and who is not. Your popularity has been weighed when the Government of India has withdrawn restrictions from the press from all over India and you have got them imposed specially in your province.

Does not that clear the state of affairs in India? Has the British Government lost all sense of calculation ? There is no moral support to the Britishers in India. From first to the last man in the street talks about Britishers and British rule with abuses and curses. There is no support to the political power in the hands of the Britishers.

The supporters of the British Government are professional yes-men without the least mass following or the paid servants, both of whom shall not be ashamed to be yes-men or the servants of any Government of India — British, Japanese or National. British rule in India rests on the British atrocities and dirty diplomacy which are now fast giving way before the Indian resistance and India's will. These are the moral and political aspects. And now worst of all, what about the economic adjustments? Buying agents or suppliers to the Government or commercial and industrial interests cannot protect their forward supply contracts without the forward markets which are closed. The whole system of future contracted supplies of raw materials to the producing concerns, mills and factories at a certain price and based on the producers' fixing their prices, labour arrangements and other working process is at stake. With the non-functioning of ready markets, distribution of crops is impossible for the entire assets and machinery of the Reserve Bank of India are incapable of purchasing, transporting and distributing even a fraction of the Indian crop. That has always been and is possible by the help of private

commercial interests only and the Government lacks their help. Then if the crop is not purchased and transported and distributed from the cultivator to the market and the consumer through its usual commercial routine, how are the Government coffers to be filled with taxes and revenues? British Government seemed bankrupt of political goodsense, now it seems going bankrupt in all respects and meanings of the word. Raw materials and foodstuffs blocked like that, what shall happen to the war effort?—how shall the soldier stick to battlefield?—and the worker “to his job”? And the men, women and children of India with currency notes that cannot be exchanged into rupees and the rupees that cannot be exchanged for small coins, and a scarcity of food that is going to take the form of enormous famine, with the economic anarchy that is going to result very soon, crops rotting at the cultivation centres and the soldiers being cropped at the battlefield and true sons of India being cropped behind the walls for allegations of sabotage or cry for freedom—are these heartbroken, miserable, diseased, starving men, women and children of the brave Motherland going to be humiliated, starved and suppressed?

I see vividly rising from the underground; rising from behind the atrocities and repression of the British bureaucracy; rising from the bitterness of broken promises and mischievously menacing utterances of British diehards; rising from the dislocation of economic system in India from till-^{ing} land to forwarding market, factories and shipping yards; rising from the fear of fascist aggression over India and India's helplessness to avert or face it; rising from the bleeding hearts, starving bellies—poverty, disease, misery— of India, India that (not 'was' but) is rich, India that is great, whose riches can remove the misery of the whole universe, whose glory can enlighten all the darkness of modern civilisation and its sins; rising from the weak and vanquishing British Empire and British statesmanship; rising from the voices of three years upward children saying "*TOR do Bartani Raj, thore din men apna raj*", and eight years and upward girls and boys singing "*Hind Hindyon ka hai nahin kisi ke baap ka*"; and above all — rising from the despair and desperation of the till-now-cowed-down brave people of this great nation who tolerated all the vices of the British rule but have now stood against their

frustration by the said rule that disables them to fulfil their true part in the present world war—the part that they so anxiously, earnestly and manly wish to play; from all that I see vividly rising a storm of revolution and still more vividly I see how uncompromisingly and successfully it is sweeping away any foreign Government, aggressor, oppressor and obstructor that comes in its way—that obstructor may be British Government, Japanese aggressor, Indian traitors and toadies or even the Indian National Congress. Indian masses are on with the revolution determined not to retrace even at the voice of their own leaders. Every sensible man and woman in the world foresees today the imminent success of this open rebellion in India. They also see Free India extending her hands of cooperation—true and real, not diplomatic, opportunist or with vested interests—to China and Russia to change the political world map into a World Federation with no politico-territorial lines and to change the world civilisation to an one-family-brotherhood that abounds in life and happiness, with no cultivation or crops of rich and poor and poverty, disease and misery.

Shall Britain adamantly struggling to protect its power, allow itself to be swept away from the land and minds of Indians or wisely negotiate as friends and thus protect its remnant economic interests and socio-national relations ?

Indian dogs have barked to give warning to Britain. Roar British bull, thou too. But listen, your roaring has lost all charm ; roar mildly and honestly. And mind in this part of the 20th century barking and roaring and speaking is neither trusted nor cared for. It is the action and deed that matter.

India has spoken. India has shown her determination to act. India is about to act—act finally and successfully. Act Britain in favour of India before India acts against you, so that in the future comity of nations, the world Federation, India and Britain sit as friends and not as foes.

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