

# THE HINDU



## COLLECTOR'S EDITION

The Hindu's August 15, 1947 issue

# THE HINDU

From its birth as a weekly in September 1878, The Hindu became a powerful instrument of the Indian national movement that sought to overthrow British rule. It was hence fitting that when freedom dawned, The Hindu welcomed it with characteristic aplomb, deep thought, and skillful penmanship.

The Hindu's edition on August 15, 1947, along with a 32-page supplement, was a tribute to the freedom struggle, with articles by some of the greatest names of that age including V.K. Krishna Menon, India's first woman legislator Muthulakshmi Reddi, and the great educationist K.M. Munshi. It also carried striking images of the arrival of Independence, and riveting news from that tempestuous time.

The Hindu's leading article on the historic day was characteristically pithy and powerful. Titled "Red letter day", it said: "By the grace of Providence India enters the comity of free nations today, an equal among equals. It is an occasion for rejoicing not only for her people but for all who value human freedom as an end in itself. So long as this country with her hoary civilisation and many-sided culture, her wealth of resources and matchless opulence of spirit remained in political bondage, that very fact constituted an implicit denial of those values to which the dominant nations of the West were wont to pay lip service."

Now, we are proud to share with our loyal subscribers, those very pages, articles, and images from which our readers got to know about the advent of freedom on August 15, 1947.



In sharing the Country's rejoicings on this memorable day of the birth of **INDEPENDENT INDIA**

we stand in bowing reverence to our illustrious Great Leader, MAHATHMA GANDHI, who has infused the spirit of courage, inspired and guided us through the darkness and brought us FREEDOM without bloodshed, an unique achievement in World History, redounding to the glory of our Philosophy. We pay our homage to the Stalwart Pandit and his accented colleagues who are ably shaping our destinies, and to the martyrs known and unknown that have suffered and sacrificed in the cause of Freedom.

The progress of our Concern, as every national enterprise, in recent years, has been in no small measure responsible to the spirit of SWADESHI inculcated into our hearts by the NATIONALIST MOVEMENT, and we take this opportunity to assure that we shall continue to endeavour our very best to ensure the maintenance of the Quality of our products and to deserve the support, whilst we also aim at further progress and cherish to achieve a stand in the Industrial World, befitting the status of Independent INDIA in the Comity of Nations.

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## CELEBRATION IN MADRAS

### FLAGS HOISTED ALL OVER CITY

MADRAS, Aug. 15. Madras along with the rest of the country has put on a festive appearance to celebrate the birth of a free India. In the business areas of the City merchants vied with each other in decorating their premises for the Independence Day. The finishing touches to these decorations were given last night and the setting of the lighting arrangements gave the public a foretaste of how the City would appear on Friday night.

A drive around the City enabled a representative of The Hindu to get a picture of the City in festive garb. While the National flag will be hoisted over Government buildings only early in the morning, Commercial houses in the City had the flag hoisted over their buildings by last evening.

Business places on Mount Road, in Mambalam, in Mysore and in Triplicane have all been similarly decorated and lighted. Muslim shop-keepers have not lagged behind their Hindu brethren in celebrating the occasion. Traffic in several parts of the City, particularly in the George Town area, had to move at snail's pace owing to the heavy rush of sight-seers. The Police are having a difficult time to regulate and direct pedestrian and vehicular traffic.

The enthusiasm of the occasion has taken hold of every man, woman and child. It is difficult to see even a single person without wearing a National Flag.

### MINISTERS TO TAKE OATH

MADRAS, Aug. 14. The Prime Minister and other Ministers of the Madras Government will take the Oath of Allegiance to India and the Constitution at 9 a.m., to-morrow, at the Secretariat.

H. E. the Governor will administer the oath.

### CORPORATION PROGRAMME

MADRAS, Aug. 14. The Commissioner, Corporation of Madras, writes to say that the following programme has been finally settled in consultation with the Mayor.

For the function at Ripon Buildings at 10-20 a.m., it is likely that there will not be sufficient seating accommodation for all the officials of the Corporation. They are requested to co-operate with the Officers of the Corporation by themselves playing the host and receiving the guests and giving them preference.

August 15-7 a.m.: All the children of the Corporation schools will wear their respective school uniforms through the streets and assemble at the selected central school in each division before 7-45 a.m. The programme for the day will be explained by the senior Headmaster or Headmistress present; 8 a.m.: Unfurling of the National Flag by the Divisional Commissioner or in his absence by some other gentleman. Message from the Hon'ble the Premier will be read by the H. M. of the School; 9 a.m.: Presentation of the Children to be dispersed peacefully from about 8-30 a.m. to 10 a.m.; State Procession carrying the National Flag to Ripon Buildings; Presentation of the National Flag to the Hon'ble Mayor by the Local Administration; 10-11 a.m.: Arrival of Hon'ble the Minister, Welfare, Union; Mr. Ismail Khan, President of the Golden Rock Branch of the Union, and Mr. P. Banu, Office Secretary of the Union, detenus under the Public Safety Act were released from the Trichy Central Jail this afternoon.

### ARRANGEMENTS AT PORT TRUST

MADRAS, Aug. 14. The Port Trust authorities are celebrating the Independence Day to-morrow. The National Flag will be hoisted on the Harbour buildings and signal station by Mr. M. S. Venkatraman, Chairman of the Port Trust.

The premises of the harbour, and the Harbour Police Station will be floodlit, and decorated with flags and festoons. To-morrow the harbour premises will be thrown open to the public. Simultaneously as the national flag is hoisted on the buildings, the sirens in the harbour, and the ships lying in the docks will be sounded. The ships will also be floodlit.

To-morrow the Shore labour numbering about 1,500 will be given a special feast.

The South Indian Film Chamber of Commerce have arranged to film the functions at the harbour.

H. M. J. S. "Krishna" of the Royal Indian Navy arrived yesterday. A personnel who will take part in the March Past Parade on Island grounds to-morrow evening.

### LEAGUE LEADERS' APPEAL

MADRAS, Aug. 14. Mr. Mohamed Ismail, President, Madras Provincial Muslim League, in a message of greetings to the people on the occasion of the celebration of the Independence Day, says: This is the proudest and the happiest day not only in the life of the present generation but also in the whole history of this ancient and historic land. This has got a rare uniqueness about it in that it not only restores indigenous rule to this vast country but also ushers in for the first time in its history the rule of the people by the people themselves on which glorious act the people have got a right to congratulate themselves. Now the great day of freedom has dawned on this yearning and long suffering mass of humanity of this land of ours, thereby placing in their hands the elixir for curing their poverty, misery and wretchedness. It is now for us with our freedom in our hands to march forward to prosperity, equality, fraternity and happiness and through them to the peace and happiness of the world. May the Almighty be with us and guide us in our onward march!

### MINISTERS' ADVICE TO SCOUTS

MADRAS, Aug. 15. Unfurling the National Flag last evening at the headquarters of the Hindustani Scout Association, Mysore, Mr. H. Sivarana Reddi, Minister, Industries, said that at this hour of triumph our thoughts should go towards those martyrs who were not with us now but who by their untiring sacrifices had brought freedom to this country.

Mr. K. Madhava Menon, Minister for Agriculture, exhorted the scouts to remain true to their motto of love and service. Messrs. K. A. Nachappa Gounder, V. S. Rathnasabapathy and T. V. Nilakantham also addressed the scouts. Girl Guides of the Association sang a number of songs composed by Poet Bharathi.

### CHRISTIANS' DEDICATION SERVICE

MADRAS, Aug. 15. The Christian Government servants celebrated the inauguration of the Independence last evening, at the Memorial Hall, Park Town, when there was a special Divine Service of dedication. There was a large gathering including Dr. P. V. Cherian, Messrs. R. S. Satyanathan, P. D. Mathews, John Sunder Sao, R. D. Paul.

Rev. R. L. Watson conducted the service. The meeting which was convened by Mr. Rajah J. Swaminoss was addressed

## WESTERN INDIAN STATES

### ATTACHMENT SCHEME TERMINATED

### REGIONAL COMMISSIONER APPOINTED

NEW DELHI, Aug. 13. A communication issued by the States Department to-night announced the termination of the four-year-old 'attachment scheme' affecting some 327 talukas and thanas in Gujarat and Kathiawar, and new arrangements for their future administration which include the appointment by the Dominion Government of a Regional Commissioner with headquarters at Rajkot.

In accordance with the general wishes of the attached units, the system of future administration will be the same as it was before the attachment scheme came into operation, says the communication.

The attached units will retain such rights and powers which they enjoyed at that time and will cede all the residuary powers to the Dominion Government which will exercise them through officers and authorities subordinate to it. The following is the text of the communication:

The States Department have had under consideration for some time the question of the future of the attached States in Gujarat and Kathiawar. There are some 327 talukas and thanas which are affected by this scheme. On the lapse of Paramountcy on the commencement of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, the scheme of attachment will terminate and new arrangements have to be devised.

The attachment scheme was introduced in 1943 principally with the object of integrating the States and of giving these small scattered areas the benefits of modern administration which only association with a larger unit could provide. Under the terms of the scheme, the attaching States were required to provide minimum standards of administration including schools, medical relief, public health, roads and adequate police and judicial arrangements.

### "SCHEME HAS FAILED"

A review of the working of the attachment scheme, which has now been in operation for over four years, has proved that the improvements in standards of administration expected from it have not been wholly realised. The attached States have never been fully reconciled to the scheme. With few exceptions the attaching States have not found themselves able to spend large sums of money on the attached units and there is a consensus of opinion among the attached States that the scheme has proved a failure.

There are other non-salutary jurisdictional States which are affected by the attachment scheme. In their cases, the policy of the States Department is that the powers which they enjoyed before attachment will be restored to them and they will be invited to accede to the Dominion Government on the clear understanding that they would exercise no more powers than they did immediately before the attachment.

The new Scheme will come into force on August 15 and will apply to all the attached units except those mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Necessary administrative machinery will be put in train as soon as possible. But in the meantime every effort will be made to prevent any lawlessness or dislocation either in the administration or in the general economic life of the people. The question of civil supplies and provision of food and the maintenance of law and order in the immediate future will be the primary concern of the Dominion Government.

Other matters arising out of this announcement will be settled by discussion and negotiation between the officers of the States Department on the one hand and the Chiefs and Talukdars on the other.

The Member in charge of States hopes that this scheme, which has been devised in the interests of all, will find ready acceptance on the part of the Chiefs and Talukdars concerned and that they will co-operate with the officers of the Dominion Government to ensure its success and to bring good administration to the people of these States who have been living in a more or less feudal condition.—A.P.I.

### CONVICTION OF POLICEMAN

### CHEATING CHARGE UPHELD

MADRAS, Aug. 13. At the Madras High Court, Horwill and Satyanarayana Rao JJ, disposed of a criminal appeal confirming the conviction and sentence passed by the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Egmore, on E. K. Krishnan, ex-police constable, attached to the Traffic Department, for the offence of cheating applicants for motor driving licences.

The prosecution case was that the accused was working in the Traffic Department, City Police, used to approach persons desirous of obtaining licences for driving of cars and obtained from each applicant Rs. 35 and that he procured licences without the necessity of the applicant undergoing any test. He was doing this for a period of five months from December, 1945 to April, 1946. He was charged before the Magistrate with the offence of cheating on three counts. The Magistrate found him guilty and sentenced him on each count to undergo rigorous imprisonment for one year, the sentences to run concurrently. The accused was also ordered to pay a fine of Rs. 100 on each count. Against his conviction, the accused preferred the present appeal. When it came on for hearing before Mr. Justice Rajamannar, in the first instance, His Lordship referred it to a Bench on a question of law. His Lordship in his reference stated that the facts alleged in the prosecution would be deception. The explanation to the section dealing with the offence of cheating declared that dishonest concealment of facts was deception. But the accused in this case did something more, viz. he made false representations knowing them to be false. It could not be said that the officers in the Department were defrauded. The question was whether it could be said that the accused was guilty of cheating. He might be guilty of forgery or of making false representation. The Lordship held that the act of the accused in procuring the licence in the way he had done was a fraud and that the offence amounted to cheating. In the end, the conviction and sentence were confirmed.

Mr. B. T. Sundararajan appeared for the accused. Mr. A. S. Sivakumathar, Assistant Public Prosecutor for the Crown.

### INTERIM RELIEF FOR GOVT. SERVANTS IN MYSORE

BANGALORE, Aug. 14. As a measure of immediate relief to the Non-Gazetted Government servants, including railway employees, Mysore Government have sanctioned one month's pay in advance as on August 1, 1947, subject to this advance being set off against a lump sum that may become payable to them, in view of the retrospective effect to be given in the proposed revised scales of pay.—F.O.C.

### COMMISSIONER OF CIVIL SUPPLIES

MADRAS, Aug. 14. Mr. C. K. Vijayaraghavan, I.C.S., Second Member of the Board of Revenue, will be the Commissioner of Civil Supplies, vice Mr. C. H. Masterman, proceeding on leave preparatory to retirement.

Mr. V. N. Kudva, Third Member, will be Commissioner of Excise.

Lady Agnes Anne Colville, wife of Sir John Colville, Governor of Bombay, was appointed to the Imperial Order of the Crown of India last Friday. Her announcement in the London Gazette, states a London message dated August 12. No details were given.

### RELEASE OF PRISONERS FROM TRICHY JAIL

TRICHINOPOLY, Aug. 14. About 785 convicted prisoners have so far been released from the Trichy Central Jail in accordance with the Madras Government's decision to release certain categories of prisoners in connection with the Independence Day celebration. With few exceptions, the prisoners to be released before this evening. Of these, eighty were convicted for violating Prohibition laws. Two persons have been saved from the gallows and their death sentences were commuted to life imprisonment. Some of these released prisoners have already left for their respective places.—A.P.I.

### MR. K. ANANDAN NAMBIAR RELEASED

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)  
TRICHINOPOLY, Aug. 14. Mr. K. Anandan Nambiar, President of the South Indian Workers' Union, Mr. Ismail Khan, President of the Golden Rock Branch of the Union, and Mr. P. Banu, Office Secretary of the Union, detenus under the Public Safety Act were released from the Trichy Central Jail this afternoon.

### CELEBRATION IN BOMBAY

BOMBAY, Aug. 14. The "Ujya Pratiksha Indes" where the first seed of the Indian Freedom movement was sown by the Indian National Congress at the Christmas of its first session under the leadership of Mr. A. O. Hume was en fete to-day, resplendent with illuminations and floodlights piercing the clouds to usher in the new era of liberation from foreign rule.

The nation's Tricolor, which to the layman is little different from the Congress flag, spangles the walls, arches and roofs of the tallest of Bombay's famous buildings, among them the Secretariat, the Council Hall, the High Court, the Municipal Buildings, the Clock Tower, and the headquarters of the two railways, either floodlit or tastefully illuminated. The whole island appeared a blaze of lights from the air.

The enthusiasm of Bombay's cosmopolitan population—Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians, Iranis, Jews and Anglo-Indians—seemed unparalleled. The surging crowds literally measured every yard of the main thoroughfares, glancing at the attractively decorated emporiums, some of them displaying electrical Tri-colours with revolving wheels.

The unending line of the people stood still for a minute as the sirens, the whistles of locomotives and mills signalled the last minute before midnight, in eager expectation of the birth of a new India.

### HOLIDAY FOR POST OFFICES

NEW DELHI, Aug. 14. All post offices in India will observe Friday, August 15, as postal holiday on account of Indian Independence Day.—A.P.I.

### CALCUTTA EN FETE

CALCUTTA, Aug. 14. Calcutta is beflagged and illuminated to-night in both Hindu and Muslim areas on the eve of Independence. Lorry loads of enthusiasts are moving about even late at night shouting national and unity slogans.

### DAY OF PRAYER AND FASTING

MARHATMA GANDHI'S SUGGESTION  
CALCUTTA, Aug. 14. To-morrow was the appointed day of deliverance from the foreign yoke and it was, therefore, a great day which they were bound to celebrate, said Mahatma Gandhi, addressing his prayer meeting this evening. It was the day when both the Dominions were to shoulder their heavy burdens. He invited everyone to have a 24-hour fast and prayer that day for the welfare of India, and pass the spinning as much as possible. It was hand-spinning that knit the poor and the rich together and gave occupation to countless men and women who were without occupation.

A packed audience was present which listened to Mahatma Gandhi without the slightest disturbance.

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In accordance with the general wishes of the attached units, the system of future administration will be the same as it was before the attachment scheme came into operation, says the communication.

The attached units will retain such rights and powers which they enjoyed at that time and will cede all the residuary powers to the Dominion Government which will exercise them through officers and authorities subordinate to it. The following is the text of the communication:

The States Department have had under consideration for some time the question of the future of the attached States in Gujarat and Kathiawar. There are some 327 talukas and thanas which are affected by this scheme. On the lapse of Paramountcy on the commencement of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, the scheme of attachment will terminate and new arrangements have to be devised.

The attachment scheme was introduced in 1943 principally with the object of integrating the States and of giving these small scattered areas the benefits of modern administration which only association with a larger unit could provide. Under the terms of the scheme, the attaching States were required to provide minimum standards of administration including schools, medical relief, public health, roads and adequate police and judicial arrangements.

A review of the working of the attachment scheme, which has now been in operation for over four years, has proved that the improvements in standards of administration expected from it have not been wholly realised. The attached States have never been fully reconciled to the scheme. With few exceptions the attaching States have not found themselves able to spend large sums of money on the attached units and there is a consensus of opinion among the attached States that the scheme has proved a failure.

There are other non-salutary jurisdictional States which are affected by the attachment scheme. In their cases, the policy of the States Department is that the powers which they enjoyed before attachment will be restored to them and they will be invited to accede to the Dominion Government on the clear understanding that they would exercise no more powers than they did immediately before the attachment.

The new Scheme will come into force on August 15 and will apply to all the attached units except those mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Necessary administrative machinery will be put in train as soon as possible. But in the meantime every effort will be made to prevent any lawlessness or dislocation either in the administration or in the general economic life of the people. The question of civil supplies and provision of food and the maintenance of law and order in the immediate future will be the primary concern of the Dominion Government.

Other matters arising out of this announcement will be settled by discussion and negotiation between the officers of the States Department on the one hand and the Chiefs and Talukdars on the other.

The Member in charge of States hopes that this scheme, which has been devised in the interests of all, will find ready acceptance on the part of the Chiefs and Talukdars concerned and that they will co-operate with the officers of the Dominion Government to ensure its success and to bring good administration to the people of these States who have been living in a more or less feudal condition.—A.P.I.

### CONVICTION OF POLICEMAN

### CHEATING CHARGE UPHELD

MADRAS, Aug. 13. At the Madras High Court, Horwill and Satyanarayana Rao JJ, disposed of a criminal appeal confirming the conviction and sentence passed by the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Egmore, on E. K. Krishnan, ex-police constable, attached to the Traffic Department, for the offence of cheating applicants for motor driving licences.

The prosecution case was that the accused was working in the Traffic Department, City Police, used to approach persons desirous of obtaining licences for driving of cars and obtained from each applicant Rs. 35 and that he procured licences without the necessity of the applicant undergoing any test. He was doing this for a period of five months from December, 1945 to April, 1946. He was charged before the Magistrate with the offence of cheating on three counts. The Magistrate found him guilty and sentenced him on each count to undergo rigorous imprisonment for one year, the sentences to run concurrently. The accused was also ordered to pay a fine of Rs. 100 on each count. Against his conviction, the accused preferred the present appeal. When it came on for hearing before Mr. Justice Rajamannar, in the first instance, His Lordship referred it to a Bench on a question of law. His Lordship in his reference stated that the facts alleged in the prosecution would be deception. The explanation to the section dealing with the offence of cheating declared that dishonest concealment of facts was deception. But the accused in this case did something more, viz. he made false representations knowing them to be false. It could not be said that the officers in the Department were defrauded. The question was whether it could be said that the accused was guilty of cheating. He might be guilty of forgery or of making false representation. The Lordship held that the act of the accused in procuring the licence in the way he had done was a fraud and that the offence amounted to cheating. In the end, the conviction and sentence were confirmed.

Mr. B. T. Sundararajan appeared for the accused. Mr. A. S. Sivakumathar, Assistant Public Prosecutor for the Crown.

### INTERIM RELIEF FOR GOVT. SERVANTS IN MYSORE

BANGALORE, Aug. 14. As a measure of immediate relief to the Non-Gazetted Government servants, including railway employees, Mysore Government have sanctioned one month's pay in advance as on August 1, 1947, subject to this advance being set off against a lump sum that may become payable to them, in view of the retrospective effect to be given in the proposed revised scales of pay.—F.O.C.

### COMMISSIONER OF CIVIL SUPPLIES

MADRAS, Aug. 14. Mr. C. K. Vijayaraghavan, I.C.S., Second Member of the Board of Revenue, will be the Commissioner of Civil Supplies, vice Mr. C. H. Masterman, proceeding on leave preparatory to retirement.

Mr. V. N. Kudva, Third Member, will be Commissioner of Excise.

Lady Agnes Anne Colville, wife of Sir John Colville, Governor of Bombay, was appointed to the Imperial Order of the Crown of India last Friday. Her announcement in the London Gazette, states a London message dated August 12. No details were given.

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All other details from: REPUBLIC 12, Thambu Chetty St., Madras 1.

M. & S. M. RLY. NOTICE.

With effect from the 20th August 1947. No. 454 Mixed Train from Donakonda to Bezwada will STOP at Tadepalli for 2 minutes only, on days when goods vehicles are not attached to it and leave at 21-40 hours instead of 22-00 hours, as at present.

M. & S. M. RAILWAY. NOTICE.

Opening of a Town Booking Office near Pondy Bazaar in Thyagarayanagar, Madras.

A Town Booking Office will be opened on the 16th August, 1947 at No. 83, Thyagaraja Road, Thyagarayanagar, Madras, for issue of tickets to passengers and for the booking of goods and parcels in local and through booking.

The rates for the conveyance of goods and parcels from this new office to Salt Cotours and Madras (Central) will be as shown below:—

GOODS Per maund or fraction of a maund As. 0-7-3. Minimum charge per consignment As. 9. PARCELS Upto 240 lbs or 3 maunds As. 5. For every additional 100 lbs or part thereof As. 5. The hours of business will be as under:— BOOKING OF TICKETS: 8 to 11 hours on all days. BOOKING OF PARCELS & GOODS: 8 to 17 hours on week days only.

SOUTH INDIAN RAILWAY

Name of work: Loading and unloading of permanent way materials in connection with relaying the existing 75 lbs. D.H. rails on C. I. pots with 90 lbs. R.F.B. rails on S. T. sleepers between miles E.258/174 and E.268/174 (10 miles) between Karur and Noyal stations—Erode Branch—Podanur District.

Sealed Tenders for the work will be received by the District Engineer, South Indian Railway at Podanur upto 12 Noon on 27th August, 1947 and will be opened by him or his representative at his office on 29th August, 1947.

Tender forms can be had from the District Engineer at Rs. 5 per copy (extra copy if available at Re. 1 each) which amount will not be refunded under any circumstances. Plans, specifications etc. can be seen at his office between 11 a.m. and 3-30 p.m. on all working days except Saturdays.

Each tender should be accompanied by a money order receipt or a cash receipt from the Railway Engineer, Financial Adviser and Chief Accounts Officer at Trichinopoly or a receipt from the Reserve Bank of India, Madras or from the Imperial Bank of India or anyone of its branches at places other than Madras for an earnest deposit of Rs. 500. The final date for the acceptance of deposit will be 22nd August, 1947 and deposits paid after this date will not be accepted by the Railway Administration.

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit (LIFE SKETCH)

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INDIA'S STERLING BALANCES

TERMS OF INTERIM AGREEMENT

OVER £65 MILLION RELEASED

LONDON, Aug. 14. Britain's agreement with India on loans sterling balances provides that the Indian Reserve Bank's sterling assets of £1,160,000,000 will be transferred to a "number two account" at the Bank of England, it was announced today, cables Reuters' Financial Editor in London.

Of these assets £35,000,000 will be released, plus £30,000,000 for a working balance.

Other releases included pensions payable by the Government of India, pending their capitalisation. Other points in the agreement are: India can draw on the sterling balances to pay for voluntary repatriations of British-owned assets.

India will not restrict remittances of savings owned by Britons coming home from India.

The agreement covers the period from July 15 to December 31.

It embraces the whole of India as it exists to-day and thus covers the two Dominions as they will exist to-morrow.

Authoritative comment in London on the agreement disclosed that India, like Iraq, will remain in the Sterling area.

The release of £65,000,000 plus further amounts for pensions and certain other purposes are largely in relation to Britain's limited resources but leave only a narrow margin for India's essential imports.

Since the sterling balances comprise almost the whole of India's foreign reserves Britain had to provide a working balance to the Sterling area. This balance will not be formally frozen.

Since it is wholly owned by the Reserve Bank of India its working can be arranged between that Bank and the Bank of England. Unlike the cases of Egypt and Iraq, the British Treasury is thus issuing no freezing order.

Unlike Egypt and Iraq, the sterling balances of Indian banks are unaffected. The two countries came nearer than was thought possible to make a five-year agreement. Instead of this very short-term arrangement, they did not quite manage to freeze the balance too early for the two new Dominions to decide their future policy regarding sterling.

It is believed in any case that it would be technically impossible to partition this particular subject before the year ends.

The agreement was made with all territories under the Government of India. The two Dominions of India and Pakistan will thus inherit it.

INDIA'S FOOD IMPORTS

The negotiators were particularly concerned to assure India's food supply. It is realised that even this may be a tight squeeze and that there will be little margin for luxuries or general consumer goods from the dollar area.

The particular difficulty before the negotiators was the high prices for food which India has to pay to the Western Hemisphere countries.

Some criticism is expected here of the arrangement whereby India can draw on her sterling balance for pension payments since these are a revenue item whereas the sterling balances are capital. But this arrangement anticipated the eventual capitalisation of these pensions which both Governments have contemplated for some time.

The general channel of the negotiations and their very friendly character indicated that the two new Dominions, in their own interest, are likely to want to maintain close financial contacts with Britain for several years.

The interest earned on the unreleased sterling balance for pension payments before—because the Indian authorities intend to keep it invested in much the same form as now.

Releases for repatriations are confined to "voluntary" repatriations. This means that if Indian buyers reach an agreement with British sellers for assets in India the purchase price can be drawn from India's sterling balance. But there has been no question of the British Government requisitioning British owned assets in India for compulsory repatriations against the sterling balance.—Reuters.

INDIA GOVERNMENT'S ANNOUNCEMENT

NEW DELHI, Aug. 14. The conclusion of the interim sterling balance settlement between India and the United Kingdom, covering the period to the end of the year is announced in a Press communique, issued to-day.

The communique states: "The Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of India have to-day (August 14 1947) concluded an interim agreement to cover the period upto the end of 1947, relating to India's sterling balances. The agreement is of an interim nature, and without prejudice to further discussions for a settlement of India's sterling balances."

MAINTENANCE OF ORDER

ORDINANCE ISSUED BY ASSAM GOVT. SHILLONG, Aug. 13. The Governor of Assam to-day promulgated an Ordinance to "make better provision for the suppression of disorders and for the restoration and maintenance of public order" in the disturbed areas of Assam. The Ordinance which extends to the whole of Assam, comes into force at once.—A.P.I.

MINISTERS APPOINTED IN PUDUKOTTAH

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.) PUDUKOTTAH, Aug. 13. Following the Council's decision electing two popular Ministers at its session on August 10, H. H. Raja of Pudukottah has been pleased to appoint, with effect from August 15, Messrs. V. Shanmugasam Chettiar and V. Balakrishna Servaigayar as Ministers.

They will hold office at the pleasure of the Raja, and their term will ordinarily be co-terminous with the life of the Council from which they have been elected and they will continue in office till the dissolution of the present Council and a new Council is formed.

The post of Second Councillor is abolished from August 15 and the Executive Council will consist of the Dewan, a Councillor and the two elected Ministers.

FORWARD BLOC LEADER SENTENCED

BOMBAY, Aug. 13. Mr. Sheelbhadra Yajce, General Secretary of the All-India Forward Bloc, was sentenced to four months' rigorous imprisonment by a Presidency Magistrate of Bombay for defying the ban on public meetings when he presided over a meeting held in February last to observe the R. I. N. Mutiny Day.—A.P.I.

MADRAS CITY NEWS

MADRAS (Meenambakkam), Aug. 14. Thursday's Max. Temperature: 90.6 Min. " " " 79.0

PERSONAL

DR. T. S. S. Rajan, Minister for Food, arrived in Madras this morning from Salem. Mr. P. Govindan Nair, I.C.S., Private Secretary to H. E. the Governor, arrived in Madras this morning from Ootacamund. Mr. M. B. Chabiani, Director of the City Improvement Trust, left Madras this morning for Bombay. Mr. J. A. F. Cory, Chief Operating Superintendent, M. & S. M. Railway, returned to Madras this morning from tour. Mr. S. V. Ferris, Chief Commercial Manager, M. & S. M. Railway, arrived in Madras this morning from Bangalore.

MADRAS, Aug. 15. Sir S. V. Ramamurti arrived in Madras last night from Bombay. Mr. R. S. J. arrived in Madras last night from England on leave.

TO-DAY'S ENGAGEMENTS

T. K. K. N. Valsva Charities 586. Pvcrofts Road, Sri. Madduri Gangadhra Sastry discourses on "Sri Mahabharata" 9-30 p.m. Discourse on "Sugriva" by Kumbakonam T. N. Raghunatha Bagavathar at 18, Krishnappa Nalcken Agraharam, 9 p.m. Sri. Bagavath Vishaya Kalakshetra Sabha: Discourse on "Sri Ramayana—Sita Rama Samvahanam" by Sri. Ramayana—Kutumba Narasimhachariar at the rear of the Co-operative Society Hall Oosman Road, Nagar, 8-30 p.m. Sri. Rama Bhakta Jana Sabha, Hari-katha Kalakshetra on "Sasikala Swamavaram" by Brahmasri T. S. Balakrishna Sastry at Veerappan Street, C. I., 9 p.m. Sri. Yogananda Ashram: Discourse on "Yoga Vasistham" by Sri. Krishnamurti Sastry at 7 a.m.; discourses on "Sara Sangraham" by Sri. K. Balasubrahmanya Sastry 7-30 p.m.

TO-MORROW'S ENGAGEMENTS

Jagannatha Baktha Sabha, Egmore. Five Upanvasam by Sri. Ramayana—Kutumba Narasimhachariar on "Sri Mahabharata" at Sri. Saketha Nilayam, Chinnana Reddi Street, 5-30 p.m. Sri. Nallara Manram, Lecture by Mr. V. Damodar Reddy, Egmore, 6-30 p.m. Sri. Venkatesa Bhaktha Street, Perumalpet, 6 p.m. Discourse on Sri. Bagavath Gita by Vidwan Karpasana Venkateshachariar Swami at the Ramakrishna Mission Girls' School, Thyagarayanagar, 6-30 p.m. Sri. Yogananda Ashram: Discourse on "Saranga" by Sri. Yogananda Ashram, 6-30 p.m. Sri. Nageswari Ambal, Devasthanam, Singanna Chetty Street, Chintadripet, 6-30 p.m. Sri. Youth's Union, Choolai: Mr. Gopalakrishnan speaks on "Labourers and Capitalists" at the Corporation Boys' School, Avadambalapuram, Choolai, 6-30 p.m. The Literary Club, Egmore: Meeting at Sri. M. C. Muthiah Chettiar High School premises, Purasawalkam; Mr. S. M. Fossil speaks on "The political Future of India" 6-30 p.m. T. K. K. N. Valsva Charities, 586, Pvcrofts Road: Discourse on "Sri Mahabharata" by Sri. Madduri Gangadhra Sastry, 9-30 p.m. Sri. Kumbakonam T. N. Raghunatha Bagavathar at 18, Krishnappa Nalcken Agraharam, 9 p.m. Sri. Gita Sravana Baktha Sabha: Sri. Venkateshachariar discourses on the Ramayana at A. R. C. Secondary School, G. T. 6-30 p.m. Sri. Mahabharata Sabha: Music: Mahabharatam, Veenanatha Alvar (vocal), Papa Venkateswaraiah (violin), Master T. K. Murthy (mridangam). Sri. Sangeetha Vidvat Samajam: Music by Srimati R. Jayalakshmi-Veena Edward, Elliot's Road, Mylapore, 6 p.m.

MADRAS CONSPIRACY CASE

RAMAMURTHI AND 11 OTHERS DISCHARGED. MADURA, Aug. 14. Mr. K. Hashim, Special Magistrate passed orders this evening in the Madura Conspiracy Case, discharging twelve accused and committing the rest to Madura Sessions to take their trial for offence under Section 120-B of the Indian Penal Code. The Magistrate held that there was no case against the twelve accused and discharged them under Section 209 (1), Criminal Procedure Code; Messrs. P. Ramamurthi, N. Sankaria, S. Krishnaswami, M. S. S. Mani, K. T. K. Thangamani, S. Sethuraman, R. V. Siddha, R. K. Chandulal, Nagu, Natarajan, Ramathirtha and Manavalan.

Mr. Ramathirtha, accused 23, though discharged in this case, is undergoing his term for another conviction.

Against the remaining seventeen accused, the Magistrate framed charges and committed them to Sessions, after recording that they will be filing a list of defence witnesses.

The Magistrate, in the course of his order said that while there was no doubt that there was a conspiracy, there was no evidence that the Communist Party, as such engineered or indulged in acts of violence.

A huge gathering of people including men and women workers, had gathered in front of the District Jail, where the Magistrate passed orders.—F.O.C.

HYDERABAD PREMIER

REPORT OF RESIGNATION DENIED

HYDERABAD (Res.), Aug. 14. The report that the Nawab of Chhattari has resigned the Premiership of Hyderabad is denied officially here. An official spokesman stated: "There is not an iota of truth in that report."

SIR W. MONCKTON RESIGNS FROM COMMITTEE. Sir Walter Monckton, Constitutional Adviser to the Nizam, has resigned his membership of the Hyderabad Negotiating Committee, but will continue as Constitutional Adviser to His Exalted Highness.

COMMISSIONER OF POLICE. MADRAS, Aug. 14. Mr. A. V. Patro, who has been posted as Commissioner of Police, Madras City, took charge of the office to-day from Mr. S. W. Wright, who has been released from service.

Mr. C. V. Arunagiri Mudaliar took charge to-day as Assistant Commissioner of Police (Crime Branch) Madras City.

EXODUS FROM DACCA. Dacca, Aug. 14. An exodus of minority communities is going on for the past few days. In view of the rush of passengers, the joint steamer companies had to run a special steamer from Naranganj to Goalundo and a specially chartered plane made four flights from Dacca to Calcutta and back to-day.

Mr. Surendra Mohan Ghosh, President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, and other leaders arrived here this morning by plane.—A.P.I.

SIR ARCHIBALD NYE. MADRAS, Aug. 14. H. E. Sir Archibald Nye, Governor of Madras and Lady Nye arrived in Madras to-day by air from Ootacamund.

MR. O. P. RAMASWAMI REDDIAR. MADRAS, Aug. 15. The Prime Minister, M. O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar, will visit Tiruvannamalai on August 16 and return to Madras the next day. He leaves for Delhi on the morning of August 18.

PROCUREMENT OF FOODGRAINS

STEPS TO HASTEN DELIVERIES

MADRAS, Aug. 14. The Ministers at an informal meeting this afternoon considered the food situation with particular reference to the measures to be taken to intensify procurement of rice in the surplus areas. A statement issued by the Minister for Information Mr. H. Sitarama Reddi, immediately after the meeting says: "The Government have already decided to pay a bonus of eight annas per maund for all supplies of paddy after November 1, 1946. This will be paid in cash immediately to all those who surrender their surplus from August 15, 1947 to October 1, 1947 as also for the paddy supplied by them earlier from November 1, 1946. In the case of all those who have no surplus paddy to surrender, the cash bonus will be paid to them in the usual course."

NEHRU'S JAIL TICKET FOR ALLAHABAD MUSEUM

ALLAHABAD, Aug. 12. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who was on a short visit to Allahabad, presented to-day to the Director of the Allahabad Museum, the jail ticket issued to him during his first incarceration in the struggle for independence. A section of the museum is housing a large number of caskets, garlands, etc., in gold and silver received by Mr. Nehru in the course of his several tours both within the country and overseas.—F.O.C.

BOOKING RESUMED TO PONDICHERRY

MADRAS, Aug. 15. Information has been received that the South Indian Railway authorities have resumed booking of passengers between Villupuram and Pondicherry station last evening which has been suspended for the past three days due to the accident to a passenger train. Mr. G. W. Scriven, Senior Government Inspector of Railways, has concluded his enquiry held in connection with the accident to the passenger train.

PITHAPURAM MAHARAJA RENOVATES TITLE

MADRAS, Aug. 14. The Maharaja of Pithapuram has sent a letter to H. E. the Governor relinquishing the titles of Maharaja and C. B. E. conferred upon him.

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Revised Prices of the products of the Govt. Soap Factory BANGALORE. (1) Sandal, Jasmine & Lavender Soap .. 0- 9-0 per cake (2) Jasmine Bath tablet .. 1- 2-0 per cake (3) Sandal & Lavender Both tablet .. 1- 3-0 per cake (4) Special Sandal Soap .. 1-11-0 per cake (5) Guest tablets (big) .. 0- 4-6 per cake (6) Guest tablets (Med.) .. 0- 2-3 per cake. Our patrons are kindly requested not to pay more than the above official prices. Instances where a merchant demands more than the above prices may kindly be brought to the notice of the undersigned. M. NAGESA RAO, Ag. General Manager, GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY, BANGALORE.

VISIT COCHIN. COCHIN is the First State in India to have Responsible Government. COCHIN is one of the first States to join the Constituent Assembly. Why? His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin announced at the Aikya Kerala Convention that "no word or act of mine shall usher in a day when a Cochinite finds that he has lost the right to call himself an Indian... Let us remain an integral part of India, gaining strength from India's strength and in return giving her all the strength which a homogeneous and strong unit could give." VISIT COCHIN. COCHIN HAS A VARIETY OF splendid scenery, pleasing landscapes, well laid out parks and gardens and many miles of backwaters alive at all times with picturesque crafts of all kinds—from the primitive VALLAMS pushed along by long bamboo poles to the most modern launches driven by steam or motor—and fringed on both sides by evergreen groves of waving coconut palms. These constitute a sight that is as rare as it is refreshing. COCHIN has a first rate Harbour—THE QUEEN OF THE ARABIAN SEAS—a romance of marine engineering. From the point of view of their structural beauty, the ancient temples and churches in the State stand in a class by themselves. No tourist to Cochin ever misses to visit the world-renowned, ancient and historical Jewish Synagogue at Mattancheri. One of the oldest mosques in India is at Cranganur, the ancient sea-port of Cochin. COCHIN Forest Tramway is a magnificent engineering achievement, the only tramway of its kind in India. COCHIN wood carvings have got a name and a fame for their design and beauty. Possessed of a historical background, replete with romance and adventure, and of a distinctive culture and civilisation, COCHIN has several fascinating features that mark it out from the rest of India. The essential charm of Cochin lies neither in her modernity nor in her antiquity but in the harmonious merging of the past into the present.

INDIAN COFFEE BOARD. NOTICE

Arrangements are now complete for the supply of coffee to retailers, small roasters, local consumers and local coffee hotels. Dealers should apply as indicated below:—

Retailers and Roasters in the districts of: Vizagapatam, Kistna, East Godavari, West Godavari, Guntur, Nellore, Tanjore and Trichinopoly. Bellary, Cuddapah, Anantapur, Kur-nool, Tumkur, Chitaldurg, Hassan, Kadur, Shimoga, Kolar and Hyderabad State. Coimbatore, Nilgiris, Salem, Malabar and Cochin State. Madras, Tinnevely and Ramnad. Madras, Chingleput, North Arcot, South Arcot, Mysore, Mandya and Bangalore.

2. The works and officers mentioned in column (2) will supply only to retailers and roasters in the districts allotted to them. 3. The following is the schedule of prices:—

Table with 3 columns: (1) Plantation A, B, C & T, Arabica Cherry Flats, Robusta Cherry Flats; (2) Price per cwt. ex bags ex depot; (3) To Local Coffee Hotels & Local Consumers. Prices range from Rs. 129-0 to Rs. 101-5.

4. The maximum quantity of coffee that will be sold to retailers and roasters would be two bags a month, to local coffee hotels one bag and to local consumers 14 lbs. a month, for the present.

5. Arrangements will, if necessary, be made to rail coffee by goods train to retailers and small roasters at Rs. 7-4 per cwt. less than the maximum retail rates for each type and grade of coffee. F.O.R. buyer's destination, including bags. The maximum rates are shown in column (3) of the schedule of prices in para 3 above.

6. The type and grade of coffee required should be mentioned clearly in the orders. Dealers are advised to mention alternative types and grades also which can be accepted in the event of the depots concerned being unable to book orders for the exact type and grade applied for.

7. Payment: Coffee will be delivered or railed only on receipt of the full value in cash. Cheques will not be accepted, but Demand Drafts payable to the Works or Officers mentioned in column (2) at the Imperial Bank, Central Bank, Bank of Mysore or the Indian Bank situated in the following places will be accepted.

For supplies from: Hunsur and Mysore Depots, Chikmagalur Depot, Badliagudi (Pattiveeranpatti) Depot, Coimbatore (Mettupalayam) Depot, Bangalore, Dated August 12, 1947. M. V. YELLODI, Chief Coffee Marketing Officer.









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## SPORTING

### SLOW SCORING AT CHELTENHAM

**DYER'S STOLID INNINGS**  
CHELTENHAM, Aug. 13. Gloucestershire, leaders in the County Cricket Championship, scored 89 for the loss of two wickets in reply to the South Africans' first innings total of 225 runs at the close of play to-day as (briefly reported yesterday).

The touring batsmen's display was not particularly impressive. They had all too rare periods of lively batting. For the most part, they rather flattered the bowling and there were some painfully slow periods.

The loss of three men before 85 was reached may have led to the carefulness and some of the brightest hitting was accomplished late in the afternoon by Harris, whose 36 included six 4's and Fullerton, who played himself in carefully, but showed he could hit while compiling 35 not out.

Dyer, who opened the innings for the tourists with Melville was the top-scorer with 74, which occupied 10 minutes short of three hours, included seven 4's.

Gloucestershire had two wickets down for 38, but the combination of the two left-handers, Allen and Crapp, held out for the remainder of the day's play.

The scores:

<b>SOUTH AFRICANS—1ST INNINGS</b>	
Melville b Barnett	3
Dyer c Wilson b Cook	74
Viljoen b Goddard	22
Nourse c Cook b Scott	11
Dawson c Scott b Cook	24
Harris b Cranfield	36
Fullerton (not out)	35
Rowan lbw b Goddard	3
Tuckett c and b Goddard	0
Mann c Wilson b Cranfield	9
Smith lbw b Cranfield	1
Extras	7
Total	225

Fall of wickets: 1-10, 2-56, 3-85, 4-132, 5-141, 6-185, 7-198, 8-201, 9-201.

Bowling analysis: Barnett 10-5-12-1; Scott 10-2-25-1; Parker 6-2-17-0; Goddard 23-7-73-3; Cook 25-7-49-2; Cranfield 14-8-42-3.

<b>GLoucestershire—1ST INNINGS</b>	
Barnett c Fullerton b Dawson	5
Scott 10-2-25-1	52
Fullerton (not out)	35
Neale b Tuckett	29
Crapp (not out)	0
Extras	0
Total (for 2 wks.)	89

Fall of wickets: 1-13, 2-38. Bowling analysis: Tuckett 9-1-30-1; Dawson 5-0-16-1; Mann 5-1-18-0; Rowan 4-0-12-0; Smith 3-0-13-3.

### INTER-COLLEGIATE LEAGUE

MADRAS, Aug. 15. The following are the results of matches played in the Inter-Collegiate Hockey and Football League:

Hockey: Madras Christian beat Government Muslim College 0-0. Football: Madras Christian beat Government Muslim College 4-2.

At Tennis, the Madras Medical College defeated the Madras Christian College by 2 matches to 1 on the Christian College courts.

The scores: Veeraraghavan (Medical), beat Ayyararao (M.C.), Paranjothi (Medical) beat Dharmaraj (M.C.); Doubles: C. D. Gopinathan and Dharmaraj (Christian) beat Paranjothi and Richard Manuel (10-4).

### MYSORE ALL-INDIA FOOTBALL

MYSORE, Aug. 13. The Government of Mysore have now accorded permission to the Mysore Football Association, to take possession of the open site situated at the northern side of the Public Offices, Mysore.

The Association is making rapid arrangements to convert the site into a suitable football field and restart the All-India Football Tournament—the biggest tournament of the season—early in September next. It is stated that from this year, the tournament will be styled as "H. H. the Mysore Maharaja's Birthday Football Tournament". —F.O.C.

## INDEPENDENCE DAYS RACES

### ACCEPTANCES AND SELECTIONS

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

POONA, Aug. 14. The following are the acceptances and selections for the Independence Race Day to be held on Saturday August 16, the first race starting at 2-15 p.m.:

**INDIAN UNION PLATE, Div. II (1m):** Kurishwari 9-1, Here's Luck 9-0, Loyal 9-0, Maharaj 8-5, Torrent 8-3, Embarkation 8-1, Bahram Khan 7-12, Lalaji 4-12, Boswell 7-7, Peace Treaty 7-6 and Prima Donna 7-4.  
Selections: (1) HERE'S LUCK, (2) MAHARAJ.

**FREEDOM PLATE, Div. III (5f):** Oracle 8-7, Golden Horn 8-7, Frada 8-7, Calista 8-7, Her Excellency 8-7, Lady Cleopatra 8-7, Moulin Rouge 8-7, And How 8-7, Padsahba Begum 8-7, The Shrew 8-7, Kash-nava 8-7, Cree de Chine 8-7, Jovette 8-7, Rukhsaman Devi 8-7, Princess Marnock 8-7 and Come Again 8-7.  
Selections: (1) LADY CLEOPATRA, (2) HER EXCELLENCY.

**ASOKA CUP, Div. II (1m):** M. and B. 8-2, George 8-12, Raj Doot (late Mullick Shah) 8-1, Tomcat 8-9, Belamina 8-9, Pathan 8-9, Flower of Baroda 8-8, Pearl Mahal 8-7, East Works 8-7, The Hind 8-7, Barash 8-7, Hiems 8-1 and Kholnoma 7-10.  
Selections: (1) M. AND B., (2) RAJ DOOT.

**FREEDOM PLATE, Div. II (5f):** Kesari 8-7, Well Dealt 8-7, Golden Form 8-7, Double China 8-7, Eternity 8-7, Queen's Bess 8-7, Mukti 8-7, Missing Link 8-7, Patricia's Choice 8-7, Lakshmi Devi 8-7 and Mahi-Nau 8-7. (To be ridden by Indian Jockeys.)  
Jockeys and Riding Boys. Riders of 30 or more winners to carry 5 lbs. extra—no allowances.  
Selections: (1) KASER GIRL, (2) MAH-INAU.

**ASOKA CUP, Div. I (1m):** Truman 9-2, D. Day 9-0, Artistic 9-0, The Judge 9-2, Amar Kirti 8-9, Lord Bill 8-5, and Princess Padma 8-0.  
Selections: (1) D. DAY, (2) TRUMAN.

**INDEPENDENCE CUP (6f):** Narm Image 9-4, Comet 8-12, Once Again 8-10, Jo Hukam 9-9, Aziz 8-7, Futurity 8-5, Himalaya 8-7, Flashed Out 7-12, Fuzumount Power 7-9 and Merry Windsor 7-7.  
Selections: (1) FUTURITY, (2) AZIZ.

**FREEDOM PLATE, Div. I (5f):** Begum Chitor 8-7, Pan Supari 8-7, Nicotine 8-7, Eternal 8-7, Eternity 8-7, Blue Lotus 8-7, Mauretani 8-7, Maduri 8-7, Royal Flower 8-7, Nafeeza 8-7, Royal Blessings 8-7, Maha Nanda 8-7 and Fadmimi Devi 8-7.  
Selections: (1) MADURI, (2) MAURE-TANIA.

**COMMONWEALTH CUP (6f):** Perivale 8-8, Priority 8-4, Quality 9-4, Coup d'Etat 8-0, Irish Right 8-5, Nafez 8-8, Welsh Lass 8-7, New India 8-7, Elnora 8-7, F. H. 8-8, Mistful 8-6, Morton Daisy 8-6, Parting Summer 8-6, Wilbod 8-4, Lata 8-4, and Taiwan 7-4.  
Selections: (1) NAFIZ, (2) MORTON DAISY.

**INDIAN UNION PLATE, Div. I (1m):** Yalta 9-1, French Prior 9-0, Bhopal Star 9-0, Brilliant Sunshine 8-12, Zedai 8-10, Borulla 8-7, Gibraltar 8-7, D. Day 8-7, King's Cup 8-6, Pure Emerald 8-3 and Daisy Tripper 7-12. (To be ridden by Indian Jockeys.)  
Jockeys and Riding Boys. Riders of 30 or more winners to carry 5 lbs. extra—no allowances.  
Selections: (1) OORMILLA, (2) DAISY TRIPPER.

### CALCUTTA ACCEPTANCES AND SELECTIONS

CALCUTTA, Aug. 14. The following are the acceptances and selections with the order of running for the fourth day's races of the Calcutta Races, Red Cross Meeting to be held on Saturday, August 16, the proceedings opening at 2 p.m.:

**MALTA PLATE (5f):** Simonsal 9-9, Broadway 8-8, Shanti 8-8, Star Hunt 8-4 and Man-Sarovar 7-7.  
Selections: (1) SIMONEAL, (2) BROAD-CAST.

**GANGES CUP, Div. I (11f):** Sauchiehall Street 9-7, Liberty 9-3, Bhal Sahib 9-7, Habib Begum 9-7 and Military Medal 7-7.  
Selections: (1) SAUCHIEHALL, (2) BHAI SAHIB.

**BRAHMAPUTRA PLATE (6f):** Clever Lass 9-8, Padma 9-3, Sindha 9-9, Crangle-glevar 8-9, Fair Music 8-8, General Montgomery 8-8, Voltaire 8-7, Dev Dasi 8-2, Air Mail 8-1, and Summer Hatter 7-7.  
Selections: (1) DEV DASI, (2) VOL-TAIRE, (3) MENTHINE.

**INDIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY CUP, Div. II (11f):** Alencon 9-4, Complete 8-12, Nike 8-8, Marakesh 8-7, Zaruba 8-1, King-dom 8-2, Sultan Bridge 7-11, South Seas 7-8, Free Press 7-11 and Sea Pageant 7-10.  
Selections: (1) ALENCON, (2) ZARUBA, (3) COMPLETE.

**INDIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY CUP, Div. I (11f):** Theikaden 9-4, Pausa 9-9, Chitern Maid 8-13, Cyrenatica 8-11, Zungai 8-9, Maroon Saga 8-7, Antecedence 8-5, Karbon 8-8, Disguised Princess 7-12 and Pack Up 7-7.  
Selections: (1) ANTECEDENCE, (2) PEGASUS, (3) KARBOO.

**DAMODAR PLATE, Div. II (7f):** Kom-miser 8-4, Gunderstone 8-4, Double Scotch 8-11, Lord Mountbatten 8-9, Lora Lass 8-9, Kiss Me 8-9, and Justice 8-1.  
Selections: (1) LIRA LASS, (2) GUARD-STONE, (3) LORD MOUNTBATTEN.

**DAMODAR PLATE, Div. I (11f):** Subert 9-4, Paper Doll II 8-9, Rhodora 8-9, Flirt 8-7, Kallish 8-6 and Roxanna 8-5.  
Selections: (1) PAPER DOLL, (2) ROX-ANNA.

**GANGES CUP, Div. II (11f):** Pearl Dust 9-4, Rabi 8-9, Red Cardin 9-2, Du-barry 8-9, Ajmal 8-3, Warspite 8-2, Sublaw 7-10 and Girl I Love 7-7.  
Selections: (1) GIRL I LOVE, (2) RABIA.

### CASINO TENNIS TOURNAMENT

#### INDIAN TENNIS PLAYERS' PROGRESS

NEW PORT (Rhode Island), Aug. 14. For the second consecutive day, India's Davis Cup team players, J. M. Mehta and Sumant Misra scored a victory yesterday in a doubles match at the Casino Tournament defeating Carl Cochel of New York and Sam Match of San Francisco in the third round in two sets.

The Indian team's victory can be largely credited to a fortunate combination of splendid service by the tall, bespectacled Misra and pretty work at the net by Mehta.

Cochel, who carried the burden for the losing combination in a match played largely at close quarters, appeared over-anxious to win and the cooler heads of the two Indian players prevailed. They sent innumerable accurately placed shots either whizzing down the middle between the opponents or sharply to the far corners of the court. It was a well earned victory.

The results: Men's Doubles: J. M. Mehta and Sumant Misra (India) beat Carl Cochel (New York) and Sam Match (San Francisco), 8-6, 7-5.

#### MYSORE HOCKEY

MYSORE, Aug. 13. Playing their first match of the season, the Mysore Gymkhana defeated the local Maharaja's College Hockey XI by 2 goals to 0 last evening on the latter's ground.

There was no scoring in the first half in which the exchanges ruled even. Thirteen minutes elapsed after the change-over before Seetharam scored the first goal carrying the ball all on his own. A few minutes later, K. Srinivasan obtained the second and last goal of the evening off a centre from Seetharam.

The death was announced on August 11 at Bournemouth (England), of General Sir Walter Stewart Leslie, Adjutant-General, India, between 1932 and 1936. He was 71.

## REFORMS FOR COCHIN

### ANNOUNCEMENT IN STATE COUNCIL

#### MAHARAJA'S CALL TO INDIANS

#### "FOLLOW PANDIT NEHRU'S LEAD"

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

ERNAKULAM, Aug. 14. His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin proposes to transfer all Departments of Government except Palace, Devaswom, Police, Jail and State Forces to Ministers under the Government of Cochin Act.

This decision was announced in a message of His Highness read out in the State Legislative Council to-day by the President, L. M. Pyle.

The message added: "I will be entrusting Police, Jail and State Forces to a Minister though in respect of them no transfer has been made. In practice, therefore, full responsible government will be functioning in the State."

#### MAHARAJA'S MESSAGE

The following is the text of the message of His Highness:

After nearly two centuries of subjection, India is going to be independent to-morrow. It is a remarkable tribute to the Governor-General and Indian leaders that the bitterness of the past few years has been forgotten and Englishmen and Indians are parting as friends. I hope this friendship will be fostered and friendly association of these two great nations will continue in the international field. In this lies, I believe, the cure for many ills the world is suffering from.

And yet after the rejoicings are over, we cannot but remember that we have parted with a section of our own people in hatred and bloodshed. There is a warning in this for Hindus and Muslims. They have been more concerned with their past glory than their present misery. Their mutual social exclusiveness is a negation of love and denial of common courtesy to each other.

In the result, this attitude has failed to prosper by either or even neighbourly feeling towards each other have grown and the country had to be cut up to avoid further bloodshed. If this catastrophe is not going to teach the Indian, whether Hindu or Muslim to change his attitude to his fellowmen, we have no future as a nation. It is only a revolution in the social outlook and cultural regeneration of Indians that can change the ominous prospects otherwise in store for us. Only one man in India to-day can bring this about. The salvation of our nation lies with Pandit Nehru, Premier and first Minister of India. No man thinks of him as a Hindu, Muslim or Christian. He is an Indian first and an Indian last. I would therefore, request people of India, young and old, prince and peasant, to resolve on this solemn occasion that they will follow his lead in every aspect of life and help him by unflinching co-operation.

Let us all strive to make India the land of his dream. I pray God Almighty to give my countrymen the gift to see their faults as faults, and capacity and will to rectify them. In this way, we may yet hope to re-unite the two Dominions for the perpetual glory and strength of our country.

#### CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

As far as our State is concerned, the rapidly with which events have moved since my last message to the council has compelled me to revise the present plan for constitutional changes in Cochin. Cochin has acceded to and become part of the Indian Dominion. In my view, it is essential for the strength and prosperity of India that all units of Indian Federation should, as far as possible, have uniform systems of administration. Therefore, I am proposing to transfer all departments, except Palace, Devaswam, Police, Jail and State Forces to Ministers under the Government of Cochin Act. I will be entrusting Police, Jail, and State Forces to a Minister though in respect of them no transfer has been made. In practice, therefore, full responsible government will be functioning in this State. Even during the last one year all major decisions connected with reserved subjects were taken after consultation with the Cabinet.

These proposals will be implemented soon after my Dewan returns from Delhi. I hope the Ministers will carry out their duties with a view to establishing a tradition of firm, good and efficient administration remembering that the Government here should always work harmoniously and in co-operation with the Centre and neighbouring Governments.

Along with these changes, a Public Service Commission will be constituted in order to ensure the creation of an efficient body of civil servants; who will carry out loyally and unimpaired by party politics the orders of the Government of the day.

The Departments which are now transferred to Ministers are: Finance, Law and Justice, and the newly created External Affairs Department.

The Maharaja's announcement brings practically the whole machinery of administration under the control of Ministers.

The Palace and Devaswom Departments will be administered by the Dewan.

The Dewan will have no seat in the Cabinet and a Prime Minister will be appointed.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon, Food Minister, will be the Prime Minister in the Interim Cochin Government. He will be in charge of Finance and External Affairs.

#### BANGALORE ALL-BLUES IN FINAL

BANGALORE, Aug. 14. The All Blues hockey team qualified themselves for the final by defeating the Bangalore Police by two goals to nil, in the re-play of the semi-final this evening, in the Bangalore United Service Club Hockey Tournament, on the Sullian Police grounds. All-Blues will meet Mysore Sports Club in the final on Saturday—F.O.C.

#### BANGALORE MUS'IME BEAT RANGERS

BOMBAY, Aug. 14. Bangalore Muslims beat the Rangers in an exhibition match by two goals to nil after a colourless game. They will meet Trades India in another exhibition game on Saturday evening.

#### EXHIBITION TABLE TENNIS

MADRAS, Aug. 11. An exhibition table tennis match will be held under the auspices of the Port Trust Staff Institute, in the Institute Hall at 6 p.m. on Saturday, August 16. The following top-ranking South India players have acceded to take part in the exhibition games: V. Sivaraman, C. K. Rajan, I. Arjunan, Krishnamoorthy and Panchapakesan and Miss Ponnammamma Ramaswamy and Miss Rukmani.

The programme will consist of Men's Singles, Women's Singles, Men's Doubles and Mixed Doubles.

## ALLEGED THEFT OF QUESTION PAPERS

### ACCUSED ACQUITTED

MADRAS, Aug. 14. Mr. S. M. Hasan, Chief Presidency Magistrate, Egmore passed orders this afternoon acquitting K. Rajagopal Naidu and Chelliah, former employees in the Diocesan Press, who stood charged with offences of conspiracy and theft of a set of question papers of the S. S. L. C. and Intermediate examinations in February last.

The prosecution case was that there was a conspiracy between the two accused to commit theft of S. S. L. C. and Intermediate examination question papers from the Diocesan Press in which they were printed and that, in pursuance of that conspiracy, the accused were guilty beyond any reasonable doubt of the offences with which they had been charged. The Magistrate gave the accused the benefit of doubt and acquitted them.

### ENCYCLOPAEDIA IN TAMIL

ONE LAKH FUND TO BE COLLECTED

MADRAS, Aug. 14. The Minister for Education, Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar, has proposed a movement for the collection of Rs. 1 lakh fund to bring out an encyclopaedia in Tamil.

Donations from seven persons amounting to Rs. 33,000 have been announced in response to his appeal for funds. The donors are:

Dr. Rm. Alagappa Chettiar and Beja Sir Annamalai Chettiar, Rs. 10,000 each; Mr. V. S. Thyagaraja Mudaliar, Tiruvapur and the Raja of Sivaganga, Rs. 5,000 each; Mr. K. V. A. I. Ramanathan Chettiar, Kottaiyur, Mr. A. I. Ramanathan Chettiar, Devakottai and V. T. Veerappa Chettiar, Kandanoor, Rs. 1,000 each.

### MADRAS ASSEMBLY

MADRAS, Aug. 13. The Secretary of the Madras Legislative Assembly has notified that consequent on the appointment of Mr. V. V. Giri, a member of the Assembly, chosen by the Sarvasiddhi General (Rural) Constituency of India in Cochin, he has become vacant.

### SEPARATE SECRETARIAT FOR PREMIER

MADRAS, Aug. 14. A separate Secretariat has been created to assist the Prime Minister in dealing with subjects coming under his portfolio.

Mr. M. S. Jagannayakalu, Deputy Secretary to Government in the Revenue Department, has been appointed the Secretary to the Prime Minister.

### CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT

MADRAS, Aug. 14. Mr. K. Ramuni Menon, I.C.S., has been appointed the Chief Secretary to Government (which post the Government has decided to retain) vice Mr. W. Scott Brown, I.C.S., proceeding on leave preparatory to retirement.

The post of Additional Secretary to Government in the Public Department, vacated by Mr. Ramuni Menon, has been kept in abeyance.

The match between the City Club, Lucknow, the League Champions, and the E.L.R. Carriage and Wagon team in the second semi-final of the Keelung Cup Football tournament played on August 13 at Lucknow ended in a draw, each side scoring once.

With reference to the report of his statement on the celebration of Freedom Day published in The Hindu of August 12, Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu points out in a communication that he is not a member of the Hindu Mahasabha now and that therefore the reference to him as "the Hindu Mahasabha leader" is wrong.

### M. U. C. GOLD CUP HOCKEY FINALS ON 16-8-1947

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**THE COMMUNIST PROGRAMME**

**Full Share in Tasks of the Day**

By P. C. JOSHI

On August 15 the Communist Party of India will, together with the rest of our countrymen, participate in the national rejoicing, salute the National Flag, as the State Flag, greet the installation of the National Government and the Constituent Assembly free to create the structure of Indian Independence based on just and democratic principles. The Nation will pay its tribute to the martyrs of three generations of our freedom struggle, soldiers, sailors, workers, peasants, students and common citizens, names that have become legendary and all those unknown whose supreme sacrifices have made this day possible. All fighting forces of the Nation will recall with justified pride the part they have played in forcing imperialism to retreat and enabling the Nation to advance to its present position.  
The Communist Party is firmly of the opinion that it will be mocking at the memory of our martyrs and deluding ourselves if we believe that the great struggles are over, that we can rest on our oars while in fact the most decisive and critical period has opened just now. India is yet a Dominion, not an Independent Republic, part of the international, military and economic system of British Imperialism. Every form of pressure and persuasion is being used by imperial statesmen to show the "advantages" of staying inside their Commonwealth and the dangers of "isolated" independence. The Indian Princes are pressing for it and so are their allies, Indian Big Business, Highest Congress circles at New Delhi are debating the issue behind doors; so is the League leadership. What the Nation debated in the late twenties and finally settled at the historic Lahore Congress in 1930 cannot be allowed to be compromised and betrayed in 1947 during the coming Indo-British negotiations.  
The Communist Party will rouse the vigilance of the nation to the dangers ahead and wholeheartedly ally with all truly anti-imperialist elements to ensure: Firstly, that the Constituent Assembly boldly goes forward with its Objectives Resolution and creates the structure of an independent democratic republic and the Indian Dominion remains no more than the barest temporary transitional stage. Secondly, the economic treaty with Britain must be based on the principles of mutual co-operation and mutual interests as equals, ending India's status as Britain's economic colony and respecting India's right to independent economic development. Prompt payment of our sterling must be guaranteed to enable us to plan and industrialise our country and all efforts of British monopoly capital to extract concessions and get into a position to control the Indian economy must be decisively defeated. Thirdly, India must not remain a military appendage of British Imperialism through any new form of "British aid for Indian defence." The Defence of India can and will be guaranteed by a rapidly nationalised and thoroughly democratised Indian armed forces themselves. It is British militarist slanders that India's soldiers cannot do their job, that they themselves are indispensable. India shall not be really independent with British Generals controlling our armed forces, with Britain having bases in our country, with India militarily linked up with the "Empire Defence Scheme." All this Lord Mountbatten and Lord Ismay sought to achieve during their last years' stay and all this just what we have to prevent at all costs in the name of our own independence.  
Inside our national movement, not one is proud of the existence of the Indian Princes inside the Indian Union.

Only the right wing national leadership defends it as a necessary stage in our onward march. They are blindly denying the active role that this tradition of fight column of British Imperialism will play if we do not exist as a nation over their subjects and are welcoming them or their nominees inside the organs of the Indian Union. They will act as spokesmen of British Imperialism and seek to modify our foreign, military and economic policies in the interest of their masters. Their territories will be outside the scope of serious all-India action and instead open to the British capitalists and trade penetration, thus weakening and endangering the Indian economy. The mantle of "patriotism" that they so cheaply win by entering the Union is used by them to organise a more ruthless campaign against their people whose very pressure forced them inside the Union.  
The Communist Party has been organising and supporting the people's struggle inside States and will redouble its efforts with a clearer vision that the States' peoples' struggles to liquidate princely autocracy and for democracy will help to create a future, British bases inside our land, extend the frontiers of Indian Democracy, and make Indian unity real. Their battles are not only their own but also ours and they look to the rest of us for support. The Communist Party will spare no effort to win them over broadest support.  
People look up to August 15 to begin an era of national reconstruction, liquidating the heritage of British imperial rule and building a prosperous and happy future for themselves. National and Provincial Governments promise it and call upon the people for co-operation. In spite of the grim reality nothing has been done so far except appeasing vested interests who on the one hand are struggling their hardest to perpetuate the existing social order and on the other getting into alliance with British business and mortgaging our economy for their selfish profits. The national movement stands committed to the principles of a democratic economy. One can begin with the famous Karachi Resolution, made through the notes of the National Planning Committee and just recall the last election manifesto of the Congress.  
**ECONOMIC CRISIS**  
The unprecedented economic crisis facing our people, the spectre of famine, soaring prices, scarcity of everything, blackmarket all round are a living condemnation of existing vested interests who control Indian economy to-day and call for their complete elimination. We either boldly change the existing British-created social order or rapidly sink under famine, pestilence, unemployment and degradation. The situation brooks no delay. The Communist Party gives flesh and blood to the pledged programme of the national movement when it demands that the Centre and Provincial Governments should break through the interests and denounce their guilt to the people and together with all popular organisations formulate and carry out a five year National People's plan abolishing landlordism and giving land to the tiller, nationalising key industries and ensuring a living wage, etc., to the working class that will build the India of our dream through the efforts of our own people which they can measure in terms of their own growing welfare.  
Our people of Madras Province with eight ounces of rice ration and five yards of cloth per head know it better than any other part of India, in their own homes, that change must begin here and now if the people are to live. The Communist Party will offer full co-operation to every measure Government takes to save, feed and clothe the people. Again, the common people of Madras Province know it better what mighty popular pressures are needed before the Ministry will take such effective measures. The hungry and naked to-day rightly refuse to be satisfied with wordy "emphatic" from the "leaders". They are our proud people. Appeals for patience only makes them desperate when they see hoards of Jemmas, Mirasdars and Zamindars and the profligating of capitalists.  
The Communist Party has been the first to war against this deepening crisis and in the coming days its voice will be loudest in demanding real war measures against these enemies of the people and its efforts most ceaseless in organising the broadest people's mobilisations for democratic measures here and now.  
**COMMUNAL TENSION**  
The year-old communal civil war, partition of the country and communal tension everywhere is the legacy of British rulers when they are transferring power to the Congress and League Governments. The Communist Party firmly believes that the cause of Indian unity can and must triumph and works for the same in new conditions and in every way. We demand and work for close and friendly co-operation between the two States. The needs of the defence of Pakistan and India Union demand the closest military alliance between the two States. We work inside both parts for ensuring communal peace through vigorous defence and active guarantee of all the just rights of the minorities. Above all when we fight for building internal democracy inside the Indian Union we are inspired with the living hope that the liquidation of landlordism and nationalisation of industries here will inspire the common people there to fight for similar things there and the growth of the common people's movements wedded to fight for democratic advance will not only solidly unite Hindus and Muslims in both parts but pave the path for a final reunion. Fraternal relations between the two States, justice to minorities within, struggle to establish internal democracy are three planks that will lay the basis and lead to the reunion of the country.  
All the strength of the Communist Party will go to fight shoulder to shoulder with the nation's movement for the realisation of complete National Independence, building democracy for our people and establishing fraternal relations between the Indian Union and Pakistan and throwing our full weight into the UNO against the Anglo-American Imperialists and with the democratic forces headed by our great socialist neighbour, U.S.S.R. for world liberation of Asia and free co-operation as equals among the peoples of the world. On the day of national triumph we will point out the pitfalls ahead and pledge anew to carry forward the fight to final victory and take our full share in the tasks of the day.

**STATES' PEOPLES AND THE FUTURE**

**Objective of Struggle**

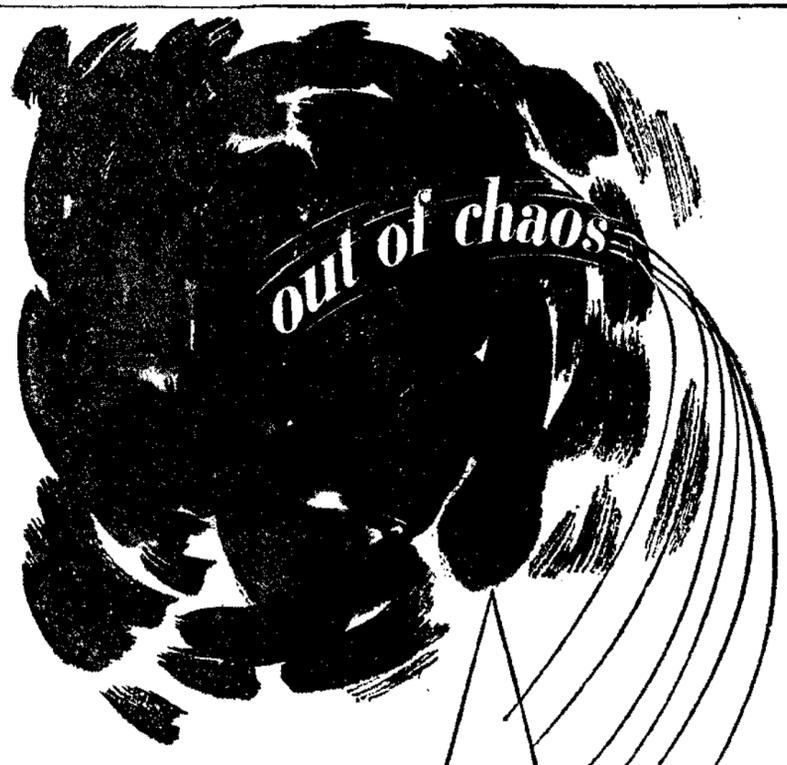
By DWARKANATH KACHRU

WHAT will be the character and the objective of the States' peoples' movement in the New India? This is an important question at the moment because unfortunately the status of the States people is still vague and undefined.  
To-day, the 15th of August, India has attained full Dominionhood and a year hence or a little earlier she will have inaugurated a constitution of her own making—the constitution of the Republic of India. The promised day has at last arrived and the thrill of freedom and liberty fills every heart. For the first time in many centuries Indians will attain the sovereign status that will give them the necessary strength and security to shape their destiny and plan their own progress and growth.  
But what about the Indian States? What is the position of the States or their people in this picture of a free and independent India? It is true that the British Imperialist hold over the country has been withdrawn and that the States would also become free; but what is the share of the States' people in this freedom that we have won? Have the 10 States' peoples also become free? What is their position?  
The position in the States, however, is considerably different and must be understood in all its aspects before an estimate is made of the new forces and factors which will inevitably be generated in the wake of Indian independence. It must be understood that the very outset that the States have been treated and recognised as separate and distinct entities, legally and politically, in the body politic of India. This position, unfortunately has had to be accepted notwithstanding the fact that the States were not sovereign and independent and having during the last many years shared with their countrymen in the Provinces the national urge for freedom and independence. With the lapse of Paramountcy the States therefore revert back to a position which legally and technically has now come to be accepted as tantamount to sovereignty and independence. Geographical factors accompanied by the force of circumstances will thus be the only compelling factors which will tend to exercise powerful influences for the entry of States into an organic relationship with the Indian Union.  
**SERIOUS HANDICAPS**  
The Government of India has thus started functioning with serious handicaps in respect of the Indian States. No doubt that the position is partly of their own creation but that is another matter and can be dealt with separately. It was perhaps, therefore, necessary that the terms offered to the Indian Princes should have been such as to induce them to accede to the Dominion and the Union. It is, however, permissible to argue that the terms offered to the States were not so good and the arrangements arrived at earlier in the Negotiating Committees fall far too short of the expectations of the States' people and may even be regarded as amounting to their betrayal. But the central fact of the situation remains and that is that the Government faces with various serious internal difficulties and certain disintegrating forces could probably not afford to be strict with the States particularly when the Princes were generally in a recalcitrant mood. Besides it was too late to think of being strict. The Congress could certainly have taken a strong stand on the States issue at the time of the Cabinet Mission. They could have insisted and with ample justification, on the States' people also being accepted as partners in the historical discussions. But that was not done. Having thus accepted the Princes and their Governments as the representatives of the States the way was thus made clear for the reactionary elements to play their role. The League-Princes axis soon became a reality and this formidable combination soon set to their task of wrecking the Cabinet Plan.  
However, the axis between the League and the Princes had thus to be broken. It could be done by two methods: either by strengthening the States' people's movement thereby creating conditions in the States which would compel the rulers to retreat from their positions and come to terms with the people or by offering them terms which would lure them into accepting a position within the framework of the Indian Union and the Constituent Assembly. The Congress, perhaps due to the circumstances, accepted the path of least resistance and offered the Princes the terms which they were in a frame of mind to accept. Hence the 50-50 basis for representation in the Constituent Assembly and the terms now offered for their accession to the Union.  
The next point to be considered now is the actual position in the States as it is likely to develop in the near future.  
Most of the States have now agreed to join the Dominion and the Constituent Assembly. They are thus parts of the Dominion of India and would no doubt be the parts of the Indian Union in the fullness of time. They are thus subject to the Central authority of the Government in respect of the subjects transferred by them to the Central authority. Internally, however, they are independent and have no legal or constitutional binding to model their internal administrations on the framework laid down for the other Units. In short the States still continue to be as autocratic and irresponsible as they were at the time of the Cabinet Mission's arrival in this country.  
This state of affairs thus brings to a head the internal conflict within the States and gives another point and direction to the States' people's movement. With the increasing volume of the Indian freedom and opportunities of constructive and creative work there will naturally grow a corresponding sense of conflict between the Princes and their people.  
**TWO ASPECTS OF STRUGGLE**  
The people of the States would naturally like to be liberated and while they may accept the Princes as the constitutional heads of their States they shall accept nothing short of full and complete responsible government. They would also like to break down the natural barriers and the political divisions created by the British. The problem of the States as it will develop now will thus have two aspects: the national and the local. Locally the States' people would demand popular and responsible governments more or less in harmony with similar institutions of the other units. Nationally they would want to merge in the great Indian nation and be united in a common fellowship and endeavour with their countrymen outside the States. They would thus exert maximum pressure for the States to join the Indian Union and scrap off the clause in the instrument of Accession giving the States the option to opt out of the Union at the final stage of Dominionhood or at the time of the inauguration of the new Constitution. They would insist on the equality of status with their fellow countrymen in the other units and would willingly accept the obligations and the limitations of a unit of the Union.  
Briefly stated, the objective of the States' peoples' movement as it will

develop now, will be the immediate establishment of full responsible governments in the States and the forging of organic and vital links with the Union. The States should thus gradually assume the character and the position of the other units conforming to them in their internal structure and differing from them only in one respect and that being that the head of the States or State unit may perhaps be a Ruler.  
Even ordinarily the ultimate evolution of the States as the units of the Indian Union like the other units should be regarded as the ultimate result of the growth of the Indian Union. Factors of geography and economics accompanied by other factors like the considerations of internal security and growth, defence and international solidarity and above all the mass popular urge for unity will at no distant date constitute what has been aptly described as the coercion of events.  
**GATHERING STORM**  
The Indian Princes would therefore be compelled to come to terms with their people. Refusal to do so would only harm them. They cannot stand against this mass upsurge and sentiment any longer. Up till now they were secure because the British bayonets were always there to prop them up on their positions; but the position now is very much different. Accession to Dominion without recognising the sovereign political rights of their people may not constitute much of a strength. For after all the position of the Dominion Government is not the same as that of the Government that protected them so long. The States' people would thus be in a much stronger position to fight the Princes, now shorn of the support of the Paramountcy.  
The rumblings of the gathering storm have in fact begun to be heard from Kashmir, Hyderabad and Travancore; and the day may not be far off when the storm against the autocratic Princely rule will gain momentum. The people of the provinces now freed from their main political pre-occupation—struggle against the British—would also tend to lend active support to the States' people's movement. It is, therefore, too much to say that the Indian Princes would greatly increase the chances of their survival if they realised the signs of the time and recognised the sovereign political rights of their people?

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**A NEW STAR IS BORN**  
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**NINETEEN HUNDRED AND FORTYSEVEN**  
Never before in history was the world in such turmoil as it is today. True, the War has ended but discontent and want are growing. Yet, out of this gloom and darkness, this misery and frustration, a new star is taking shape - a star that will shine on this ancient land of Hindusthan, on Asia and on the world. That new star is the freedom of Hindusthan. Never before indeed has there been an instance of an enslaved and disarmed nation attaining freedom without having to wage a full scale war. Varied are the factors which have led to the immediate emergence of our ancient people from the shackles of bondage but one thing stands out supreme—that great as have been the sacrifices of the people of the struggling nation, equally great is the heart of those who have acted in appreciation of these. The glory of it all goes as much to Britain as it does to Hindusthan.  
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**FLAG HOISTING IN NANKING**  
NANKING, Aug. 15.  
"This is indeed a historic moment in India's destiny. It is without significance in the history of Asia and of the world", said Mr. K. P. S. Menon, Indian Ambassador in China, in the course of his speech on the occasion of the hoisting of the National Flag at the Indian Embassy here today.  
"The flag which is about to hoist was the one under which the Indian National Congress conducted the struggle for freedom. Yesterday it was the flag of a Party; more, it was the flag of a Nation. To-day it is the flag of our State," added Mr. Menon. "At this moment the hearts of our people go out in gratitude to all those who have sustained them with their sympathy in their struggle for freedom. Never had we any doubt of China's sentiments. We are old comrades in civilisation, and we are determined to stand by each other in weal and woe."

# FATHER OF THE NATION

## India's Debt to Mahatma

### Gandhi

ON this day of joyful liberation from foreign rule, it is no wonder that all minds turn in veneration and gratitude to the little old man of Warahda, the one man, who more than any other, has been the author and architect of the freedom that it is our good fortune to celebrate to-day. Gandhiji has been the country's trusted pilot and the dictator of its premier political organisation, the Indian National Congress, almost continuously for a period of three decades—but the dictator has been not a tyrant, but a father—the beloved Babu. His leadership has permeated every phase of the people's life—moral, social and political—and has transformed as it were a nation of timid slaves, grovelling under the foreign heel and beset with a corrupt, anarchistic social order, into a dynamic and disciplined force for self-assertion. He has re-kindled in a torpid generation a passion for freedom and social justice and a sense of self-respect that it had all but lost.

The notable contribution that Mahatma Gandhi has made to India's freedom struggle is writ large across the last three decades of our turbulent history. And yet when he came back to this country, on a January morning in 1915, after twenty years of trial and "Experiments with Truth," though many felt that a new kind of leader had arrived on the Indian scene, the man to reckon with—his novel doctrine was prone to be regarded as but the eccentric vision of an impractical person. But his early skirmishes with organised power in South Africa had already given him that steadfastness of purpose and indefinable confidence in the purity and strength of his means to match the strength of his ends. He had already acquired the self-knowledge and conviction necessary to be able to enlarge on his doctrine. And in less than four years after his arrival in India, he had arrested the nation's attention, captured the leadership of national politics and routed the "old guard" of Indian nationalism, the Besants and the Pals, who could not see eye to eye with him and were inclined to regard him as an impractical blunderer on the political arena. His daringly outspoken speeches of those days and the object lesson that he gave India in Individual Civil Disobedience at Champaran and Kaira and the success that attended these as well as his experiment with the hunger-strike as a political weapon of securing redress at Ahmedabad, where he led an industrial strike in 1918—all these had won for him steadfast, if select following. When the Indian National Congress met late in 1919, "under the conflicting shadows of the Montford Reforms and the Jallianwalla Bagh tragedy," Gandhiji seized leadership by the sheer strength of his personal appeal. Of course, a group of dissidents walked out of the Congress, but he had won the allegiance of giants like Motilal Nehru, C. R. Das and Lalpat Rai.

#### GANDHIAN ERA

From that to the special session of the Congress at Calcutta in August 1920 was easier sailing. It was perhaps the most significant session of the Indian Congress. For it was here that the Mahatma secured acceptance of his new creed of non-violent Satyagraha to combat imperialist repression. The gos-

economic boycott was also telling in the very heart of Britain, in the cotton centre of Lancashire. It was the first big blow of the country under Gandhian auspices to overthrow the foreign yoke and the moral and political pressure exerted upon the rulers may be gauged by the fact that the Rebel and the Viceroy were closeted together soon after, in friendly negotiation.

The resultant Round Table Conference—the second one of its kind—did not fulfil the hopes entertained by the country. But it gave Gandhiji who went as the Indian Congress's sole delegate to the Conference, an opportunity to present India's case to the average Englishman and to the world. Gandhiji told the Indian story, simply but uncompromisingly. His genial personality, his mist humour, outspokenness and obvious friendliness for the English people, as different from the imperial system—all these won for the Indian a new esteem and understanding and focussed the world's attention on the just demands of the Indian people.

To seek to assess individually the results of each of the many campaigns that Gandhiji launched would be to miss the cumulative achievement of Gandhism as a whole. Lord Willingdon, the then Viceroy, apparently crushed the Civil Disobedience Movement that was launched soon after Gandhi's return from the Round Table talks. But in jail or out of jail, he succeeded step in his political career was a step forward.

In 1934, he again retired from the Congress, after calling off Satyagraha, but though officially out of it, his finger was always on the pulse of the nation and when the short-lived experiment in office-acceptance came to a fitful end with the outbreak of war, Gandhiji was there to take on the reins. Ever while in office, Gandhiji was the mentor and guide of the Congress, who canalised the activities of the Provincial Ministries on Gandhian lines. His basic programme of Khadi, Prohibition, rural reconstruction and the removal of untouchability formed the major concern of the Congress in office.

The end of the popular Ministries with the onset of the war, the individual Satyagrahs of 1940 that he had conceived in characteristic fairness to an opponent in trouble, the Cripps Offer and the subsequent "Quit India" Resolution of August 1942 were all in keeping with the Gandhian strategy. It is common knowledge, how in spite of his endeavours to place negotiations before direct action, the Government plunged the country into an orgy of violence by precipitate repression. And that last battle for freedom was perhaps his most trying experience. He was confined in jail and powerless to check the violent outbursts all over the country, he had to be a silent onlooker of all that was most abhorrent to his cherished creed. The sad bereavements caused by the death of his wife and Mahadevi, his faithful secretary and the so-called 21-day "fast unto capacity" that nearly cost him his life, certainly made it all the more bitter.

But the life-long sacrifice and purposeful struggle on the highest plane conceivable, had not gone in vain. If to-day an Empire is being wound up, by almost spontaneous transfer of power by the ruler to the ruled, such a transition can be but the fruit, in a very large measure, of Gandhian strategy and idealism.

#### MANY-SIDED EFFORT

Thus what looked at first like the caprices of a visionary has come to have its abiding and triumphant place in practical politics. With unwavering faith in his cause and his methods, Gandhiji has brought the Indian vessel to the haven of freedom. But in the evaluation of his inestimable services to the country, the political victory is but one aspect of a wider effort, with his deep sympathy and compassion for the common man, the poor and the oppressed in society, his restless genius has left the Gandhian touch in many phases of our national life. To-day, the curse of untouchability, that dark blot on our social life, has almost almost been removed. The Gandhian constructive programme which in a measure the Congress Governments in power are implementing are the main hope of the masses, as the means of translating political liberty into the living reality of the Basic Scheme of education, the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, the Village Industries Association, the All-India Spinners' Association, the Hindi Prachar Sangh and other such organisations are the leader's priceless gifts to the common man in India.

It is true that the Gandhian programme has not been without setbacks, which, one hopes, are but temporary. The leader's unceasing endeavours to promote Hindu-Muslim unity and preserve national solidarity, have for the time, ended in failure. To-day, the nation has got river in two, after months of senseless bloodshed, instigated by the forces of hatred. The critic will no doubt point out, that Gandhiji's methods promised more than they could perform, but if men had never promised more than it was possible for them to perform, the world would be the poorer, for "the achieved reform is the child of unachieved ideal".

"We are fortunate and grateful that fate has bestowed upon us so luminous a contemporary—a beacon for generations to come," wrote Albert Einstein, the scientist, in a birthday tribute to Gandhiji and we in India have indeed greater cause to be grateful to and indebted to him. The leadership that gave us such significant leadership in our hour of need. Non-violence in politics is no longer a beautiful dream—a dream too beautiful to be true. The Gandhian doctrine stands to-day as the main hope for a world in mortal peril of the atom bomb.

## INDIA WILL LEAD THE WAY

By EMANUEL CELLAR

AUGUST 15th is a red letter day for the whole world. It marks the severance of a cord that has bound India to Great Britain for nearly three centuries. This cord should have been severed many many years ago. India by virtue of her geographic, cultural, historic and economic position was entitled to resume her sovereignty long since.

The British ruling families and politicians have long drained resources from India. Henceforth India will be on its own.

As a country re-born, India will lead the way, particularly in Asia, so that every man and woman will be allowed to live in peace and dignity.

Prince and pauper, man and woman, rich and poor, high and low caste all shall henceforth have equal rights and protection before the law.

"Every man shall now sit in safety under his own vine and fig tree and there shall be none to make him afraid." Although this sentence is from the Bible, I believe it also embodies the teachings of the great saviours of India.

The new Tri-colour Flag of India now unfurled shall never more be lowered to any man or nation. The inclusion in this flag of saffron, white and green the wheel of Asoka is most significant. As one of India's greatest leaders he showed a view-point that proved to be world-wide and unparochial or national.

India's present leaders might well be termed modern Asokas.

## GREATNESS OF BHARATI CONTRIBUTION TO CULTURE

By PROF. K. SWAMINATHAN

SUBRAHMANYA BHARATI, who died in 1922 in his 38th year, would be 64 if he were alive to-day. It is too early yet to assign him his due place in Tamil literature or in world literature. His contemporaries—V. O. Chidambaram Pillai, P. S. Nelliappa Pillai, T. V. Kalyanasundaram Mudaliar and Desiyayinavayaloor—spontaneously welcomed and followed his leadership of outlook and simplicity of style and younger men like Suddhananda Bharati, Ramalingam Pillai and Bharati Dasan were proud to call him Master. He opened a new epoch in our poetry. His prose still remains little known and little used.

Bharati was occasionally a propagandist in verse, an improviser of simple songs in popular tunes in furtherance of public causes. His few political and personal satires have had their vogue and are best forgotten. But the proportion of genuine poetry of permanent literary value is, even in *Desiya Gitanai*, astonishingly high. In centuries to come it may well be that the followers of T. K. K. the founder of aesthetic criticism in Tamil will study Bharati's National Songs as "the occasional verse" of the immortal author of *Kuyil* and the *Kannan* songs. But those who see nothing wrong in the direct didacticism of our traditional poetry and believe in "poetry for the people" rather than in "poetry for the poet's sake," may pause at this turning point in our country's history to ask and answer the questions: "What does Bharati owe to India? And what does India owe to Bharati?" For Bharati deserves as conspicuous and honourable mention in any history of modern India as in the history of Tamil literature.

The claim of Shelley—that poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world—has always been conceded in practice by the cultured peoples of India and China, whose simple lives are regulated, by plenty of poetry and little legislation. Bharati, who in his sonnet wrote under the pen-name of "Shelley-dasan," asserted this claim, not only in the serene realms of religion and family morality, but in the grim fight for social equality and national independence.

#### "MOST AUTHENTIC SINGING VOICE"

Dr. C. R. Reddi has aptly called the Gandhian era "the heroic age" of Indian politics. But before this era and separated from it by the four years of the first World War was a less chivalrous and less idealistic "heroic age" dominated by Lalpat Rai and Tilak and Chidambaram Pillai and which incidentally gave to Pondicherry its world-religion as a sanctuary for poetry and religion. Of both these ages Bharati's was the most authentic singing voice, and of the latter the most powerful operative force. The transition from terrorism to Satyagraha, the recognition by the country that Gandhiji was more essentially Indian than its earlier heroes, was not merely paralleled, it was in a measure brought about by Bharati's own inner progress from politics to pure art and yoga. The lines "Love thine enemy, heart of mine" provoked by a C.I.D. official were Englished by Bharati himself and sent to Gandhiji and published in *Young India*. In poem after poem Bharati extolled Gandhi as the preacher of a new Gita, and the white Tilak and the black Desai, were still left in the overshadowing little, brown Bania from South Africa. In a marching song sung a dozen years before Dandi, Bharati says:—

"Sword, spear and dagger, bow, mace and missiles—all these are weapons for fools.

True Renunciation, Love are the arms of the army of spirit wielded by great ones, godly, immortal."

And he ends with these words the Pentad on Gandhi:—

"To reckon dear as your own life the life of your foe who would kill you, To look on all men as God's own children—God's own children— This courage of true faith you dared to bring into politics.

Where lay writhing the worms of war, murder and vengeance. You scorned to tread the way of war, the way of much murder.

But the manly way of dharma, the way of the wise and saintly You showed to India and proved it more fruitful too— That so the world may forget its hate and see its own future in virtue."

For thirty years Tamil Nad has stood steadily and calmly by Gandhi and Gandhism and has escaped the backslidings and disruptions which some other provinces have suffered. The credit is due not a little to the continuity and sweet reasonableness of Tamil culture and to the life-giving quality of our language, classic in its simplicity, yet with power to bring to meet our recurrent needs the wisdom of long past ages and lands afar off. Bharati was first the servant and then the master of this language—ancient and ever-around him through him he spoke to her children and had them in thrall. How often has one noticed that at crowded mass-meetings "anti-Congress" groups threatened disturbance and a Bharati song was sung by K. B. or D. K. or M. S., or by an ad hoc volunteer, and the riotous scene that was played, and to stand behold, peace was restored as if by magic. Our poet has been handier than a legislator; he has served as a posse of policemen and prevented riots.

#### RELIGION AND POETRY

All this would be incredible to outsiders. They might well ask, "How can poetry do so much and such varied work in the world? Nevertheless, it is true and indubitable. Bharati's praise of Tamil, loud though it sounds. Religion and poetry are still live forces in Tamil Nad and Bharati was their joint product. Between religion and the people, a divorce has come about everywhere else in the world, but not in India. Henceforth, in India, even the serfdom-seeker of Ultimate Truth was accepted as a political leader and did work in the world—much to the chagrin both of professional politicians and whole-time hierophants. Again, between mythology and poetry and between poetry and the people, a divorce has come about everywhere else and never found; but not so in Tamil Nad. Our temples and their festivals, our poet-saints in an unbroken line from the Sangam age to Ramalinga Swami, our one mighty masterpiece on the story of Rama and the thousands of folk-songs in infectious tunes on Rama and Krishna, Sakti and Kumara, have provided for us a precious heritage of dramatic situation and of stimulating and directive emotion, of poetic patterns and musical modes, followed by voice and enlivened and refined by each succeeding generation, colouring and coloured by the speech of the people and shared in common by the learned and unlearned. Such a wealth of poetic resource, such an orchestra of instruments with which to stir the pulse and the heart of the people, a drama Islam never had and Bengal in her Brahmo age shook off with scorn, but Bharati commanded and knew well how to use. By the side of Bharati, with his full-blooded emotion, his daring imagery, his racy speech and haunting song-music, his up-to-the-mi-

nute modern significance and all-comprehensive acceptance, Dr. Iqbal seems proud and provincial and Tagore aloof and anaemic.

Bharati belongs to the central tradition of Tamil literature; in some sense he is a freak of a rebel. "Wine and fire and wind and the wide expanse of heaven—compounding these together, our lucid Tamil poets make their sweetest songs," he says; and applies the dear, familiar words and figures and tunes to the litany new themes of to-day. Liberty and Mother India and Mother Tamil were new additions to our pantheon, so in their time were Siva and Sakti, Kumaran and Kannagi. The true poet exploits and, with the willing collaboration of the people, expands his country's mythology. The poet is no superior birth, but a man among men; only, he is more quick and sensitive in apprehending, and more bold and happy in articulating, the changes in the general mental climate. And he and his people together, in some golden epoch of history, create new gods for love and worship and service. In Bharati Mata's "Palli Ezhuchi" and "Sacred Dasanga" we watch an old outworn convention filling with substance and coming to life again; and like Madeline who hoped to see the figure of her lover in a dream and beheld before her waking eyes young Porphyro in flesh and blood, we rub our eyes and thrill with rapture. The real merges in the ideal and history and geography in vision; for verily the name of our Beloved is music; holy her mountain, river and city and drum-beats proclaim the triumph of Truth and Righteousness.

In Bharati's love of Tamil as in his love of India there was nothing narrow or fanatical. He dreams of boating in moonlight on the Indus, in the company of Kerala dancers, and singing sweet Telugu songs. His nationalism was no soul-destroying fever; it respected and reconciled the supreme claims of the individual for self-realisation and of all mankind for peace on earth and material happiness. He prays to Saraswati for sweetness and light for every Indian in every home in every street in every village; and in the very next breath prays to her for the same rich gifts for Huns, Greeks, Japanese, Chinese, Persians, Turks and Egyptians. For Belgium defying Germany, like a tiny girl threatening a tiger with a window in her hand, for the fall of the Czar before Communism, like Hiranya's before Narayana, for Mazzini's self-dedication, for the Love of Jesus and the Peace of Allah, he finds the right poetic measures and figures; just as he does for Tilak and Lalpat Rai, for Sivaji and Guru Govind. He accepted Sister Nivedita as his "Guru" for the gospel of the New Woman, who is but the Virgin of the Vedic Dawn reborn. Because he knew and enjoyed English literature, Sanskrit, Hindi and Telugu, and because he knew and sympathised with the movements of thought and feeling in other lands, and through him our ancient language and culture have gained new life and vigour.

By bringing the Tamil people in vivid contact with their own glorious past and with the pulsing life of the modern world and by keeping them in good form in the forefront of freedom's battle, Bharati has earned for Tamil Nad and left to her her rightful place, which is a high and honourable place in free India working in Truth and Love for a free and happy world.

## S. India's Share in Victory

By T. VISWANATHAN

There may be streaks of cloud across but still the rising moon going up the horizon is a thing of beauty; there may be clouds of division hiding the fullness but still independence is a thing of pride. August 15th, forward mark in the limitless expanse of time. It sees the freedom of a country; it sees also the hope of Peace for a Continent.

Those who flung themselves heart and soul into the fray, those who responded when Gandhiji made the National call, always felt that they lived in great times; for great were the possibilities of Satyagraha. In 1921 we had a burning passion for freedom, but we knew not the shape of its coming; in 1930 the call of independence drew the masses into the struggle; for they knew they had the power to shape the thing that was destined to come. And hence those that fought nobly and well as satyagrahis had an added strength and confidence. In 1941 we vacillated; but in 1942 we struck and struck with all our might. As it is said, to the English Ruler "Quit India" and be his now quit.

It is true that a great many who had talent were a little away; it is true that a few more tried to stem the inevitable; but yet the voice of the Congress was the Voice of the Nation; its marches in the struggle were for the Nation and the fruits of Victory were intended for the Nation and now really they are so, as one may see.

In the hour of Victory no one, however, need say it was due to him alone. Let all those who claim a share in it, for they too put in a twig of fuel in the fire; they too fanned the flame. Let all rejoice in one voice.

Yet I should say something about the glorious part of South India in this glorious struggle. The fight had many fronts; in no part did the National flag fly so high as in South India, the South India of Andhras, Tamils, Keralas and Kannadigas lag behind. I well remember how in 1931 in the A.-I.-C.C. one of the greatest of Indians had to withdraw his report when it contained a discourteous reference to the South Indians' share in the struggle. Satyagraha or Elections, Khadi or Constructive programme, Harijan uplift or Hindu-Muslim Unity, Parliamentary debate or Legislative output, whatever it may be, South India produced heroes, rare and daring personalities, perfect example of selflessness and courage, talent and intellect. South India had a harmonious blend of those qualities that in a due proportion go to make Greatness what it is,—yet we feel, I have always felt, that there is still some undefined something that gives us visions that stifies achievement that is supreme. May be it is the spirit of Deshaji May be it is a historical necessity that will in future create something real and lasting to the credit of the Tamils, to the credit of the Andhras, to the credit of the Keralas and to the credit of Kannadigas.

But now has come the need for realism. In Politics, now has come the need for realism or Economics. India has a gross inequalities; we fought for Independence that it may help us to realise our fullness with opportunity for all and with none to be victims of exploitation. We fought for a solid nation and united society. We fought for a time when favouritism and nepotism would cease to be and when communalism and other "isms" that disintegrate are at rest. We fought for an order in which the landlords would not grab and the tenants and tillers would produce and be prosperous, where the capitalist would not grab the man and the man would have his due. We fought for these things. We shall not be told "No" by those that get into power and we shall brook no denial nor shall the fruits of our victory be snatched away by others. May God help us to work out in peace what we got by war.

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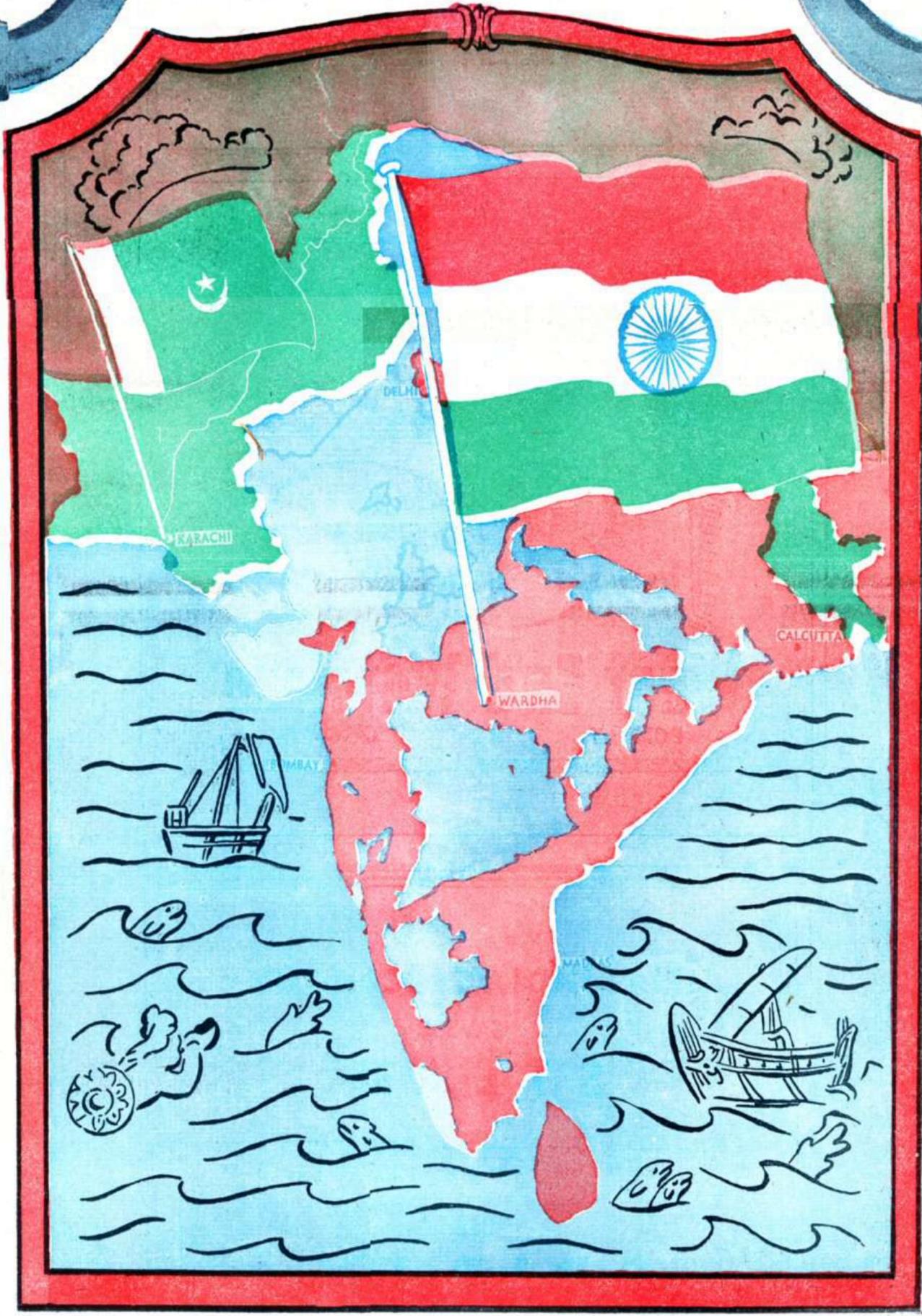
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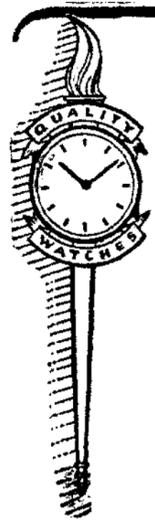
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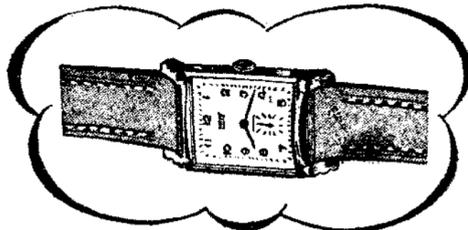
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# INDEPENDENCE: A STOCK-TAKING BIRTH OF GREAT ASIATIC POWER

By K. M. MUNSHI

INDEPENDENCE has come, sooner than I dreamt of, more like the end of an artistically woven plot—abruptly, almost inconspicuously. In 1905 under the influence of Shri Aravind, I began dreaming of Independence. Last year, after years, I felt Independence was far away. But it was not; it was round the corner. Two World Wars, a far-reaching party in power in Britain and a man with British tact and German thoroughness as Viceroy—and it came.

When I joined the great venture of the Constituent Assembly, the Plan of May 16th was the despair of my life. Whichever way I turned, the malignant spirit which Prof. Coupland had raised confronted me. Then came the Plan of June 3rd. It was nothing new; but it brought the two States Scheme in practical politics. Realism—the child of stark, naked reversal to barbarism in some part of the country—triumphed. It was the Plan of May 16th to pieces.

For a moment the Plan came to me as a shock. Akhand Hindustan—the mother of creed with me. Was the Mother whom I worshipped destroyed? I humbly asked, "No" came the emphatic answer. "India was one, is one and shall be one." This was only a step in the march towards Unity, unembarrassed by the military occupation of a foreign power.

The Plan of June 3rd did not destroy Akhand Hindustan; only its pattern was changed. India was not divided; only parts of it were administratively consolidated to form a new government. They were to be bound to the Motherland, but not by the visible bonds of administrative unity imposed by foreign rule. The not too perceptible bonds of hard facts—the common military frontier, the economic interdependence, the unity of an age-old culture—were to be brought into free play, may be to produce a closer unity.

At a conference, it was suggested that the Independence Act should give India the power to amend the Act itself. It was the lawyers' contribution in asserting Independence. Within a few days the ready wit of the brilliant H. M. S. G. agreed to the proposal. My heart sang with joy. India was Independent!

A great thing happened in the history of man. The whole of India—practically, the whole of the world—still happy old spots—was rid of foreign occupation after I don't know how many hundred years. And it was done by non-violent means. The bloody World Wars, the military reputation of the Indian Army and the not too non-violent activities of some of its patriots during the "Quit India" Movement, no doubt, were not inconsiderable contributory factors. Whatever the contribution of Non-Violence towards our gaining Independence this was the first event in the history of man when an imperial power handed over independence to a subject people with the ease and courtesy of handing over a cup of tea. That is a landmark in this war-torn, little sphere of ours.

Further, a great Asian World Power has been born. It has emerged as such after the Russo-Japanese War, but she did not evoke Asian loyalty. Free India is easily the cherished leader of Asia. Panditji's latest announcement of policy—the Nehru doctrine of Asia—comparable with the Monroe doctrine, is the triumphant assertion of her leadership of Asian nations.

"AGE OF NEHRU"  
One notable event, almost of world importance, is that one age is gone and another has slipped in without anyone even noticing it. The age of Gandhi is gone—of Nehru comes.  
Gandhi was the freedom of the Nation and became its "Father"; a father whom everyone worships and hears with reverence but does not necessarily follow. He has risen in stature in proportion to his shrinkage in actual leadership—a fate reserved only for very lucky national leaders. Washington and Lenin remained leaders to the end to be only "Fathers of the Nation" after it. Bismarck shrank in leadership when alive and was denied the fatherhood of the Nation he created. Gandhi is the technique of a Rishi; his duty done, he has receded to a nobler role and a higher, though distant, pedestal.

In 1942, he asked me to go out of the Congress for I could not reconcile myself with his strict Non-Violence. Now some of his disciples are ardent conscientious objectors. On many an evening prayer-time he bemoans the division of the country, which some of his disciples consider the last word in practical wisdom. He wants to be taken back to sorrow; the country is celebrating it as the day of deliverance. He wants Hindustani and two scripts; an overwhelming majority of Congressmen want Hindi and Devanagari. The national mind has been shocked into appreciation of realities, in spite of the Father's hypnotic touch. But he still dominates as the guardian-angel, the adviser, the censor, as the conscience-keeper of leading Statesmen. No longer a prophet fettered to the patriotic needs of one nation, he is patting the way of a world-prophet, pure and simple. The other event of almost equal importance is the emergence of Pandit Nehru on the world stage. This erstwhile prisoner of British power has, in a moment, become the Nation's

leader, the acknowledged leader of Asia and one of the four great leaders of the world. He claims to be nothing but a politician; but there is an undercurrent of deep spirituality in him. Once I said of him that he is the only great politician in the world who has a genuine faith in democracy; and that the world shares the view too. He loves great and noble causes, temperamentally. The first Prime Minister of Free India has in the moment of its birth become the foremost champion of world reconstruction among the nations of the world.

Independence has given a tremendous opportunity to Sardar to the "indomitable" Sardar, as I once styled him. He is made of the iron fibre of which Bismarck and Stalin are made. His vasty alert mind, his uncanny insight into human weaknesses, and his great power of persuasion have in the last few days, in the Free India of to-day, his hard-headed realistic view of things and the dread that he generally inspires are invaluable assets in the new venture. With him at the helm, Kerensky could not be thought of.

The leadership of Panditji and Sardar is a novel phenomenon in world politics. Two men of the highest calibre and yet of the most contrary temperament and outlook—one elegant, handsome, courteous, fond of social graces, familiar with distant nations; the other, old, stocky, mysteriously silent, his feet firmly planted on earth—both are gathered in an unbreakable bond of mutual understanding by Gandhian influence.

This seems to be the greatest piece of good luck for Independent India.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY  
I cannot forget the Constituent Assembly. How can I? For nine months it has been almost my sole pre-occupation. India's greatness can legitimately be assessed by this Constituent Assembly, the first sovereign legislature of India. What a galaxy of stars of the first and second magnitude! Few indeed, in world assemblies, have contained so many statesmen, the wisdom, the brilliance and the eloquence which this Assembly can claim.

Its spirit is represented by Dr. Rajendra Prasad. All his great moral qualities combine to make him the head and symbol of that body. Sweet smiling, patient, dignified, with distant majesty, he is, at home, guides gently, without anyone discovering that he is being guided. He curbs turbulence by his very presence; he pulls up loquacity with an air of almost encouraging the speaker. Every section of the House has confidence in him, and he has the right to leave it to him. Whenever parties or interests disagree they quietly leave it to the President. There was a storm in the party meeting over the singing of Bande Mataram. Suddenly some one proposed to leave it to the President. There was almost unanimous agreement. It was the Assembly's "Always in Leave" it to Panditji's sort of mood—to use the phrase of P. G. Wedehouse.

The Assembly has done great work. Fundamental rights and an independent Judiciary will establish the rule of law in this land. The threat of dire penalties; no more shall it divide man and man. Adult suffrage and a bicameral legislature will provide it with a parliamentary apparatus. Responsible Governments at the centre and the slightly modified and in the Provinces will show how deeply we have made the British democratic tradition our own. India is perhaps the first Asian country which has accepted this great inheritance so avidly and there is least likelihood of its having to be sorry for it. At the same time the Advisory Committee has swept away separate electorates—that wretched system, born of British imperialism which has made of this country a cauldron of violent passions.

Will this Independence endure? I have no doubt, it will. The Independence Act has given us complete independence, as also a constitutional nexus with the British Commonwealth. India will be a Dominion, for some time at any rate, and the continuity of institutions will be preserved. It makes the transition break-proof.  
What is wrong about the Dominion, except its name, which, in spite of Shakespeare, does not smell as sweet. It is independence. It gives a secure place in a world system and it gives us the help we need.

THE FUTURE  
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The Dominion of India (less the seceding parts) will be just the old India of the past—the States—but at the same time a new, independent, democratic nation. This revolution does not look like one—particularly as Lord Mountbatten continues the Governor-General. It was a great act of statesmanship—this election of a whirlwind of a glamorous Englishman as the first Governor-General of India. No power in history but Britain would have conceded independence with such grace; and no power but India would have so gracefully acknowledged the debt.

But for Lord Mountbatten the present solution would not have come; the partition would not have been voted; and easy India and Britain would not have been friends; nor, for the matter of fact India and Pakistan. And but for him, perhaps my friend Sir C. P. would still have been making the evening and morning papers "hideous"—to use a well-known quotation—with his flamboyant attempts to keep Travancore independent!

This new Dominion of ours is the flowering of the process of unification, which British military occupation enforced. Most of the Indian States are going to accede to the Dominion. The Rulers are no longer the enemies of the people. They are the Rajas and Princes. The instruments of force, in a moment, have been converted into partners in the great democratic experiment for which the Dominion stands. India will be the gainer, not only in compactness, but because of the accretion of a great steady-going force to its political life.

PARTITION  
Thus begins our voyage of independence, in smooth waters, with seasoned guides with chart and compass well tried, and not easy to be misled. But arduous venture begins on the morrow of the most catastrophic war known to man, amid starving continents and jostling international ambitions; with Soviet sprawling over Asia and Europe; with dollar diplomacy overshadowing the world; and it also begins with an unstarred division of what God and man have made one.

Last thirty-five years, we have been brought up on a slogan: the naturalness and inevitableness of Hindu-Muslim Unity. That this was wishful thinking has been proved in the last few days. A hundred thousand men and women and children fleeing for safety. The Muslim—a hard realist—knew and exploited the hollowness of the slogan; the Hindu cherishes it still. Hindus love words and ideals. They subject themselves to self-hypnosis and believe what they say. At the moment we woke to realities; but a self-complacent outlook is already creeping over us again. We have divided the country, thank Jinnah! And now India and Pakistan will walk down the aisle of history arm-in-arm, trusting and trusted, beloved partners of life.

REMARKABLE MOVEMENT  
And that first visit was at a moment when India was in the throes of the remarkable City Disobedience Movement. Thousands of men and women were in jail because they would not bow the knee; tens of thousands more were going to jail; hundreds of thousands were demonstrating and patiently taking the lathi blows of the charging police, or suffering injury and insult for what they believed to be a just cause. In every aspect of that severe struggle, in city,

ECONOMIC OUTLOOK  
The next danger arises from the sagging economic structure of the country. Inflation, rising wages and essential production, rising prices and rising costs, all these things are eating into the pockets of the people. Scarcity of food and cloth; a depleted civil service creaking at every joint; and a vicious system of control providing fostering sores of corruption, and strangling economic life: these are portents of a disaster which more and more people are beginning to feel. Independence will be weighed in the scales of essentials of life. If they are not forthcoming, the political structure is sure to collapse.

PSYCHOLOGICAL HURDLES  
Our Will to Victory is impeded less by objective difficulties than by our psychological hurdles. We are ill-tied to the fragments of our old ideological chariot; of India administered as one unit; of appeasement as the invincible weapon against barbarism; of spontaneous processes based on diversity generating an irresistible national consciousness of agitation and protest, and a strength by some miraculous process.

GREAT ACHIEVEMENT  
The spirits of these pioneers are with us now as we, Indians and Britons alike, celebrate the great event. And how they must marvel, as they survey the present situation, at the success which has been achieved since the day they set out upon their thorny path in 1945! It was no doubt the ultimate aim of all the early leaders to win the untrammelled liberty which India will henceforth enjoy, but hardly the most sanguine among them could have visualised the present situation. A little over sixty years, I remember the Madras Congress of 1898 in which I took part as a delegate. Referring back to the resolutions passed by that assembly it is noteworthy how limited was their scope as compared with the full nationhood upon which we are entering to-day.

OUR FLAG  
THE LIGHT OF ASIA  
"A SYMBOL OF FREEDOM  
which India and for all  
people who desire it."  
PT. NEHRU.

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# A NATION IS RE-BORN PATRIOTISM OF INDIA'S PRESS

By LEONARD W. MATTERS  
(London Representative of The Hindu)

I WAS born and bred in Australia—that great island continent which is as big as, if not bigger than, India geographically, but which is still pitifully under-populated in contrast with the country that is Motherland to 400,000,000 of Indians. They, on this great day, should square their shoulders and raise their heads, proud in the realization that at last they can truly claim their country as their own, subject to the will of none other than themselves. My birth-place was on the very verge of a primeval hinterland, stretching for a thousand miles, and through which scarcely half a dozen Europeans had ever passed. There was almost no breath of fresh men; men of the pioneer stock who owned no man master, and took orders from none. They were free settlers, too, and not of those who had been transported as convicts, as was the case in other parts of Australia, though I know not the details. I am ashamed to recall that so many of those involuntary exiles from the lands of their birth were brave souls, like the Tolpuddle Martyrs, the Chartists, and the Irish, whose only crime was participation in the perpetual struggle for liberty in one form or another.

The breath of freedom was born in me. That is why the struggle of India to be free has always stirred responsive chords in my being. And while I can only claim to have been in direct contact with India and her fight for independence through the pages of the Press, I am convinced that my very first living impressions came from India. The circumstances are worth telling.

Away out there in Australia, on the verge of the trackless desert of bush, there were stalwart, bearded men from India, drovers of camel teams which journeyed in the caravans of the wool from the "outback" sheep stations. My father knew them well, and he would drive out to their camps, with me—no more than four years old—beside him. There we would sit by their fires and talk, while I sat and wondered, not only at the men, but at the red of burning dung and savoury spices. Such impressions of childhood remain with one throughout life, and that explains why, when I first visited India the whole scene and the atmosphere seemed to be familiar and made me say to myself, "I already know this land, and these people."

INDIA-FREE AND FRATERNAL DAWN OF A BRIGHTER DAY  
By FREDERICK GRUBB  
AS one of the few survivors of those who were associated with the British Committee of the Indian National Congress in its early days, I feel it a privilege to join in the congratulations which mark the consummation of the nation-wide movement then begun. The revered names of Alan Hume, Dadabhai Naoroji, William Wedderburn, W. C. Bonnerjee, W. S. Caine and a host of others are still remembered and honored for they were all known to me, as were many more of the pioneers of India's freedom in those far-off days.

What one of that earlier group, by the way, is still with us, though of late years he has not been so prominent in the field of Indian politics as he once was. I refer to Sir Robert Baines (now Lord Baines) who for 27 years championed India's cause in the House of Commons as Honorary Secretary of the Indian Parliamentary Committee. Some of your readers may remember the part he took in trying to prevent the partition of Bengal in 1905, and the role he played in the revival by some of the outstanding publicists connected with The Hindu in days gone by, prominent among whom were G. Subramania Aiyar, M. Vira-gopalachariar, S. K. Mitra, and I. G. Patel. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, too, has no need to be ashamed of the share which he has borne during more than half a century in shaping the destiny of India. It is good to honour the memory of her sons (and daughters) who in the past have helped, with so much patient endurance, to win the inheritance into which their successors enter on this auspicious day.

CONSTRUCTIVE FREEDOM  
This is no time for over-stressing the imperfections of the new Constitution, obvious and dangerous though they are. A splendid opportunity opens for the young people of India to give us a brighter day. The best way of bringing back to the Union those who are to be severed for a time is, by an enlightened policy, constructive legislation, and wise administration, to show the seceding provinces how much they have missed. That, I take it, will be the surprise of Pandit Nehru and his colleagues in the leadership. There is certainly nothing either in partition or Pakistan that calls for congratulation. On the contrary, we may hope that Mr. Jinnah himself will live to regret the separation for which he is mainly responsible, no less than the means by which it was brought about. However that may be, the Indian nation must continue to be a magnet attracting to itself all who now stand aloof. Then, Dominion or no Dominion, within or without the wider Commonwealth, India will worthily fulfil her destiny in the future Federation of the World.

Let it be remembered that independence is not something which has been "granted" or a concession that had to be exacted. No, it is what India herself has achieved, though she will not grudge us, her British friends, a share in the well-won triumph. For Freedom, no less than Peace, is indivisible. The freedom gained by one part of the world belongs to the world as a whole, and I am confident that India is going to use it for the benefit of all the races of mankind. Independence should be something more than the apotheosis of nationalism. It should be a charter which will subscribe that wider inter-

town and remote village, I was supposed to be a mere observer, calm, objective, reflective. Nonsense! Nothing surprised me, but I was amazed by my blindness. From my study of many a story of man's fight for his liberty and right, and from my experience as a wanderer in many lands, I knew well enough that when an outside authority has imposed itself on a people, and that authority's will is resisted, anything can happen to the people. I was not shocked—not even by the official lying that went on and some things said by Sir Samuel Hoare, but anything in all my experience.

Well, those days are over. The men and women who suffered are to-day much older. The boys and girls have become the men and women. All lived through a period when suffering meant anything but the word of a man. I do not like it, and I have no belief at all in its permanency. It cannot endure. The oncoming generations of Indian patriots will see to that, be they Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians or what they will. All are Indians. Religion may be a matter of pride, but more so of a matter of mere utility, an accident. To be an Indian citizen, of a united India, participating in building up, improving, enriching one common Motherland, would seem to me something of which to be more proud. I believe the Press of India as a whole has done its very best to uphold that idea, although, of course, some newspapers and some journalists have taken an opposite point of view. It is not for me to criticise or condemn them. What I believe all have done according to their lights and their reservations as to the future political structure of India, has been to contribute much to the idea that India must be free, free in accordance with their own domestic viewpoints, to determine her own destiny.

Without a courageous Press—and never let it be forgotten that newspapers and journalists in India have suffered in the forefront of the battle—there would be no victory to celebrate this day. The Press has worthily sustained its role and its honour as the Servant of the People from the beginning to the end of the struggle for Independence, and to it no less than to her political leaders, India must be fully conscious of a great debt of gratitude. For my own part, I am proud to have been a servant of that Press over quite a long period. Perhaps I might have done more. I could not have done less under my burning conviction that India had a grand cause for which to fight, and an equal conviction that in the end she must triumph. In tendering my most complete congratulations upon the rebirth of a Nation, I boldly submit for India's acclamation: "CITIZENS OF INDIA! THE PRESS!"

WHAT ABOUT PAKISTAN?  
But all there is partition and Pakistan, says someone, and there is the unbridgeable gulf between the two. How are these to be squared with the noble ideal which Indian nationalists, whatever their race or creed, have invariably proclaimed? Yes, there is always a thorn with every rose and something to mar each human achievement, however well designed. The unbroken thread of the Indian struggle for independence, no less than her national independence. But let no one take the temporary disintegration of his country too deeply to heart. It seems inevitable in politics that the second best has too often to be accepted. There is never even a partial settlement without some degree of compromise. The insistence on the utmost would have meant no settlement at all, but rather chaos, probably followed by a long, long period of unsettlement, with all that this must have involved.

There were bound to be problems and difficulties whichever course had followed. It was a crucial choice which had to be made. But after all, one has only to look at the map of India to realise how much has been gained and how comparatively little has been lost—if indeed it has been lost India, it is true, is like a tree shorn of some of its choicest branches, but she is not fatally trunked. There has been no mutilation of the main stem. The essential tree of life remains to shelter her countless children, and may it become true of this tree also (as was said of another) that its leaves are for the healing of the nations. The evils most to be avoided are faction, provincialism and fragmentation. The Indian people kept a strong centre—stronger perhaps, than could have been secured if the Muslim majority areas had remained in. It is now for India to show that she is worthy of her progenitors and fit to be the Mother of generations yet unborn, whose freedom shall be unquestioned.

THEY PLAYED THEIR PART SAGA OF THE NEHRUS  
By Mrs. KRISHNA HUTHIE BINGH  
A MOTHER watched her young son playing with his companions and felt both fear and pride as she looked on. Younger than the other children he seemed to take the lead in everything. He was wild and dominating yet how easily he won the affection and loyalty of his playmates. The stars had loyalty he would rise to great heights, but the mother shook her head sadly for to her it seemed most unlikely. He was arrogant and had a temper which was not easy to curb and would brook no interference. How would he ever get on in life, wondered the mother, and sighing she prayed to God that he would change her willful son into a good man if not great one.

CHANGES AT ANAND BHAWAN  
Bereft of its master Anand Bhawan stood sad and desolate in the midst of the vast uncarved for garden. Gone were the happy carefree days when the house was full of people and the place hummed with activity, when laughter echoed through the house and sorrow and suffering were unknown. Now all was silent. He who had dedicated himself and his family to the service of the motherland was the first to pay the price by offering his life for the cause of freedom.

COMING OF MAHATMA GANDHI  
It was the year 1919 when Mahatma Gandhi appeared and started the Satyagraha Sabha. Young Jawahar, Motilal's only son, with all the fire and enthusiasm of youth wanted to join it immediately. But his stern father was bitterly opposed to it and forbade Jawahar to do so. Motilal saw only a handful of people courting arrest nor did he agree with any other item on Gandhi's programme. Tension reigned in Anand Bhawan. Long and heated discussions took place between father and son while the mother and sisters hovered around tearfully, fearful of the outcome of all these arguments. When cajoling and arguing failed Motilal lost his temper and asked his son to go if necessary to the devil. Being fully aware of the great love his father had for him Jawahar did not take it amiss but bided his time. Then came the tragic massacre of Jallianwala Bagh which had a profound effect on Motilal and changed his way of thinking. Little by little and after careful consideration and reasoning he joined the ranks of Gandhi's non-violent army, to which he remained true and faithful to the end.

Drastic changes occurred in Anand Bhawan. Motilal gave up his large practice in order to give all his time to political work. He had earned millions but had given much in charity and spent almost everything, confident in his ability to earn more any time he chose. But with no regular source of income expenses had to be cut down and simplicity took the place of lavish splendor. The delicate home-spun khadi replaced the fine silks and muslins. Each day found father and son more and more involved in politics and then began the pilgrimage to prison. An orgy of arrests and convictions took place and thousands were imprisoned. With the first batch went Motilal and Jawahar. The first thing he did it well and whole-hearted. To him never looked back or regretted. He goes more credit than to a younger man for the sacrifices he willingly undertook for the cause so dear to his heart.

Anand Bhawan remained empty and desolate though only two of its many inmates kept going to prison again and again. Unable to sit at home when their country was in the throes of a life and death struggle Jawahar's young wife and her sisters also joined the movement. Like thousands of others they courted imprisonment and served long terms in prison. Only a lonely little lady, sixty years old, remained at home doing her bit valiantly and working night and day in spite of her waning health. But the call to action moved her as it had done hundreds of others and regardless of those who tried to stop her she also courted imprisonment and was soon behind prison bars. Proudly and cheerfully she faced her sheepish jailors who were loathe to look her in the face, so ashamed were they of the role they played. Prison life always takes its toll and the aged Motilal's iron constitution could not stand the rigours of jail. But no complaint ever escaped his lips and not until it was too late did even those who were near him discover that the man who was the author of the release of his son but whose strength made him weaker and weaker as the days went by and though he put up a valiant fight even against death, it was the one battle he lost.

# THEY PLAYED THEIR PART SAGA OF THE NEHRUS

By Mrs. KRISHNA HUTHIE BINGH

Time passed. In a corner of a beautiful garden at Motilal surrounded by his friends and admirers, people of all castes, creeds and nationalities who flocked each evening to his palatial home Anand Bhawan to hear his brilliant conversation and to share with him in some of the humorous incidents Motilal would relate. The house and the grounds would resound with his laughter which first became famous in his home town, Allahabad, and then all over the country. All around was evidence of great wealth, of luxurious living and a taste for the artistic and good things of life. It was not long before all sorts of legends took shape around the person of Motilal, his fabulous luxury and comfort and his temper that still remained uncharitable and wild.

It was the turn of the two sisters now to go to prison, and joyfully they went. One left behind her children, her husband and her mother. The other had only her old mother to leave behind all alone in a deserted house. One long year they spent behind prison bars and then returned to carry on the struggle again. Alone in Anand Bhawan their mother had not sat idle. Despite her age and yet again to dark dreary cells. It did not break his spirit but it broke his health completely. Fate was unrelenting and he was her next victim who passed away in the very prime of his life.

And so the house which had once known only joy and gladness now stood deserted and lonely stripped of all its joy and laughter. One by one those who had loved there had passed away. A few remained with Jawahar. But his was a lonely life bereft of those who had been so dear to him. Neither comfort nor leisure was to be his, for life was becoming more and more strenuous. The years had taken much out of him and his sad and tired eyes could no longer hide his great loneliness. At last the day for which he with thousands of others had worked had dawned—the day of independence. There was joy in his heart and pride, yet perhaps a greater loneliness than before, for those who had left him long ago and were no longer near to share with him in the joyousness of this great day.

THE YEARS ROLLED BY AND THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE STILL CONTINUED taking its toll, Jawahar became more and more engrossed in his work and spent long periods in prison. His friend and comrade through these years was his brother-in-law Rajaji. A dreamer and a scholar he was not made for politics. But his love for his country gripped him as it had done so many others and he threw in his lot with Jawahar. He was the next to pay the price of freedom. He loved nature and hated to be in any closed space. But he was arrested and confined again and again to dark dreary cells. It did not break his spirit but it broke his health completely. Fate was unrelenting and he was her next victim who passed away in the very prime of his life.

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**INDIA AND PAKISTAN  
HOW THEY DIFFER FROM  
OTHER DOMINIONS**

By A Constitutional Expert

A memorable day in our annals, whether it marks the end of the road or is merely another milestone, whether, in plainer language, the two Dominions will remain Dominions or seek another goal, no one can tell but whatever the future may bring, August 15th, 1947, is sure of a place in India's history. Let us consider dispassionately where we have arrived.

India has now become a full-fledged Dominion, though she has parted with some of her territory in the process. There are many who regret this loss of territory; but there is no need to take too tragic a view of the event. It is not the first time in her history that such a thing has happened. The Straits Settlements were a presidency of India, like Madras or Bombay, for over 40 years; Burma too was a province of India until about ten years ago. Both are now separate, but India has survived these losses and has almost forgotten them and now Pakistan has become a separate Dominion. Let us wish it well and let us hope that in process of time, all these territories, together with India herself, will evolve some form of organisation to serve their common needs and thus in some measure come together again. The example of Australia and New Zealand is instructive. These are still nominally separate Dominions; nevertheless common interests have drawn them together to such an extent that since 1944 they have set up a joint Secretariat with a branch in each Dominion to deal with a large number of matters of common concern.

It is not possible in a brief article to deal with all questions arising out of the Indian Independence Act or indeed to deal adequately with any of them. A few words on the more important aspects of the Act must suffice here. The British Commonwealth of Nations has sometimes been compared to a Club of which the United Kingdom and the Dominions are full members. There is complete equality among these members, and in no way are they subordinate one to another. No new member of this class is admitted to the club without the consent of the existing members and some authorities go so far as to say that no existing member can resign without the consent of the others to this exclusive club, but Asian members have now, for the first time, been admitted, India and Pakistan.

**WIDER POWERS**

Not only are these new Dominions on a footing of complete legal equality with the others but they have in some respects wider powers. This is the result of difference in language between the Statute of Westminster and the Indian Independence Act. It must be remembered that India and Pakistan have not been added to the Dominions enumerated in the Statute of Westminster. They have been constituted Dominions by a separate and self-contained Act, the Indian Independence Act. The Dominions named in and governed by the Statute of Westminster are Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the Irish Free State and Newfoundland. A Dominion under the Statute of Westminster like Canada or Australia can repeal or amend "any existing or future Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom" so far as it is part of the law of the Dominion, that is to say, any Act existing when the Statute was passed or enacted after the Statute was passed but, as it is noted, not the Statute itself. The corresponding provision in the Indian Independence Act is wider; each of the new Dominions can repeal or amend "this or any existing or future Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom." There is thus an express power given to the new Dominions to modify even the Indian Independence Act itself.

Another variation from the wording of the Statute of Westminster is worth noting. Under that Statute no Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed after the Statute can extend to a Dominion as part of the law of the Dominion "unless it is expressly declared in that Act that the Dominion has requested and consented to the enactment thereof." The Indian Independence Act contains a similar provision for the

new Dominions but the qualifying clause at the end is "Unless it is extended thereto by a law of the Legislature of the Dominion". The difference between the two clauses is significant; whereas in one case the Parliament of the United Kingdom can legislate for the Dominion (although at the request of the Dominion) in the other case, the effective legislating authority is the Legislature of the Dominion itself. Thus it is clear that India and Pakistan enjoy legislative autonomy in a somewhat greater degree than Canada or Australia.

**POSITION OF REPUBLICS**

The question has sometimes been asked whether the new Dominions are likely to become republics and secede from the British Commonwealth. No one can predict with confidence what the position will be; but certain trends are worth noticing. De Valera claims that Eire or Ireland is an independent Republic associated as a matter of external policy with the States of the British

Commonwealth. Nevertheless His Majesty's Government and the Governments of the Dominions still recognise Ireland as a member of the Commonwealth. Indeed De Valera himself, when questioned on the point, replied in July, 1945, "That is a question for which the material necessary for a conclusive answer is not fully available. It depends on what the essential element is in the constitution of the British Commonwealth. The British Commonwealth claims to be an elastic, growing, developing organism and members of the Commonwealth have, I think, adopted the view of Joseph De Maistre that 'in all political systems, there are relationships which it is wiser to leave'. A great constitutional authority, the late Professor Keith, wrote as early as 1936, 'if no place can be found in a British Commonwealth for Republics, then the enduring character of the Commonwealth may well be doubted.' And only a month ago, when the Indian Independence Bill was under discussion in the House of Commons, a member, speaking of the Commonwealth as a Club composed of the United Kingdom and the Dominions to ordinary senior members the Colonies to country members, Eire to a week-end member, the Argentine Republic to a foreign member, and so on; the Commonwealth was, in his view, a living vital thing, subject to constant change. There are indications that the conception of Commonwealth is in the process of development. Meanwhile it seems idle to speculate on the question of secession.

**Dr. BESANT & INDIA'S  
FREEDOM  
CHAMPION OF HOME RULE**

By B. SHIVA RAO

A GENERATION has grown up in India only vaguely conscious of the immense services rendered by Dr. Annie Besant to the cause of National Freedom. Fourteen years ago she passed away, but her dream of a free India, unfulfilled. To-day, with that goal in sight, it is but appropriate that one should look back to the stalwarts who inspired and guided the struggle for liberty in its earlier stages—Dadabhai Naoroji, Tilak, C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru and Annie Besant.

Two great ideas Dr. Besant contributed to India's political progress, during the twenty years that she laboured with unflagging energy and devotion in the field: (1) Home Rule for India as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations; and (2) when the goal of responsible government was accepted by the Lloyd George Cabinet at the end of the war, the principle of self-determination for India—a Constitution framed for India by Indians.

In the middle of the first world war in 1916, when India's leading politicians, the Moderates of Pherozeshah Mehta's school of thought, were thinking in terms of a fresh political advance on the basis of the Montagu-Morley Reforms then in operation, she evolved the bold conception of Home Rule for India. It once captured the imagination of the younger generation which hailed her as the leader of a new movement. Brushing aside a legalistic approach characteristic of the period, she sought for the Home Rule League an emotional mass support. The Indian National Congress and the Home Rule League as its principal auxiliary, became, under her leadership, instruments for carrying the message to every section of the population.

**INTERESTING TECHNIQUE**

Her technique was interesting. At first the Moderates, apprehensive of the pace she was setting for a political party, placed themselves in virtual opposition to the demand for Home Rule. She became the centre of an intense, if somewhat controversial, agitation for a British declaration promising India complete self-government. Her intermittent but only proved ineffective, but provided a powerful stimulus for her movement. Ultimately, a British declaration came, associated with Mr. Montagu towards the end of the war for India's "progressive realisation of responsible government through the increasing association of Indians with every branch of the administration."

It seemed a ponderously feeble and half-hearted response to India's passionate plea for equality of status. "Unworthy of Britain to offer, and of India to accept" was Dr. Besant's first reaction to the declaration. Then followed a phase of conferences, deputations to London, negotiations and detailed discussions in the belief that acceptance of the scope of the British declaration. She remained a critic, as long as there was the least hope of securing a more satisfactory scheme from the British Cabinet. Once the scheme was ready for introduction, she offered discriminating support.

To many of her colleagues in the Congress, it seemed an incomprehensible change of attitude. They failed to see the real view that acceptance of the Montagu-Chelmsford Constitution, with all its limitations, was only a step towards the ultimate goal, not its repudiation. For her it was an extremely difficult decision to take in circumstances of extraordinary complexity. The final scheme, the result of many inescapable compromises, could not stand comparison with the conception of Home Rule or complete self-government for India.

There was another complicating factor. The disappointment caused by the whitening down of the original reforms was not as serious as the indignation which swept through India over the tragedy of Agriera's war. In the excesses of martial law administration in the Punjab. It was the moment of Gandhiji's appearance on the scene as a front-rank leader with his non-co-operation movement and the boycott of the legislatures. Dr. Besant could not reconcile herself to Gandhiji's movement and the policy of boycott. The decision to oppose him was painful and costly. It meant parting company with several valued colleagues who preferred to throw the weight of their influence on Gandhiji's side, and the sacrifice of her immense popularity built up during the war. Nevertheless, as those who were associated with her at the time can testify, she did not abandon hope, nor remain idle. While the rest of India was busy with carrying out Gandhiji's programme, she turned her attention to the next stage in India's political development.

**SELF-DETERMINATION**

Self-Government for India was no longer in dispute, though on the pace of advance there were inevitable sharp differences of opinion. The new idea Dr. Besant's movement was self-determination. Mr. Lloyd George's phrase, coined for a very different purpose with no relevance or significance for India. She turned it to India's practical benefit. Self-government, according to her, was meaningless, unless it was conferred by Indians in a form essentially in conformity with the country's political genius: a Constitution, in other words, which was modelled on her indigenous institutions.

In one sense, the project could not have been ushered into being under more unfavourable circumstances. Undermined by the indifference and even the hostility of a number of Indian leaders, many of them her erstwhile supporters, who were suspicious of her

moves, she pursued the idea with characteristic vigour, aided by an able collaborator, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Between them they produced a scheme for a National Convention of all parties in India—the precursor of the constituent Assembly—to draft a constitution for India without interference from outside.

The Convention met in New Delhi in 1924 and proceeded with its task of framing a Constitution and produced, in the following year, the Commonwealth of India Bill. It was not a representative body, lacking the support of the Congress. At every stage she sought it, but the leaders of the Congress—notably C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru—were preoccupied with capturing the machinery of the legislatures. Nor were they willing to endorse the general principles of the Bill without a reciprocal commitment from Dr. Besant in regard to sanctions. In the event of British rejection, the Commonwealth of India Bill went, nevertheless, to the House of Commons as Mr. George Lansbury's bill—a private member's measure—in the absence of official recognition from the Labour Government of that time under Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. There it remained, a bill which had obtained its first hearing in Parliament—but could progress no further.

Though the Commonwealth of India Bill was thus seemingly lost in a mass of private parliamentary bills, Dr. Besant's idea of applying self-determination to India began gradually to bear fruit. Congress leaders like Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar and Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar produced their own schemes, acknowledging the debt they owed her. Later came the All-Parties Conference under Pandit Motilal Nehru's leadership, with the Nehru Report representing the largest measure of agreement then obtainable in India—the product of a movement similar to her National Convention.

The completion of the Nehru Report, in the preparation of which Dr. Besant played a great part, virtually marks the end of her political activities. Indian Nationalism took a sudden plunge towards complete independence, leaving behind all the old moorings, including the Nehru Report.

No one surveying the course of Indian politics in the period between the two world wars can fail to note the significant and vital part played by Dr. Besant in hastening the day of India's freedom. Into her work she brought a high standard of precision, sincerity and whole-hearted devotion which entitle her to a lasting place among the greatest of India's servants.

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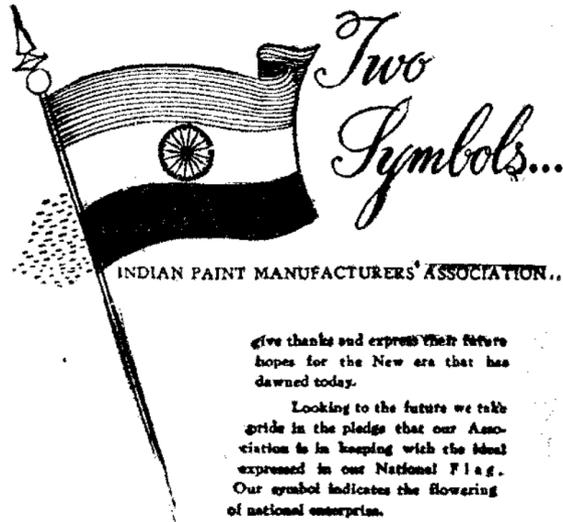
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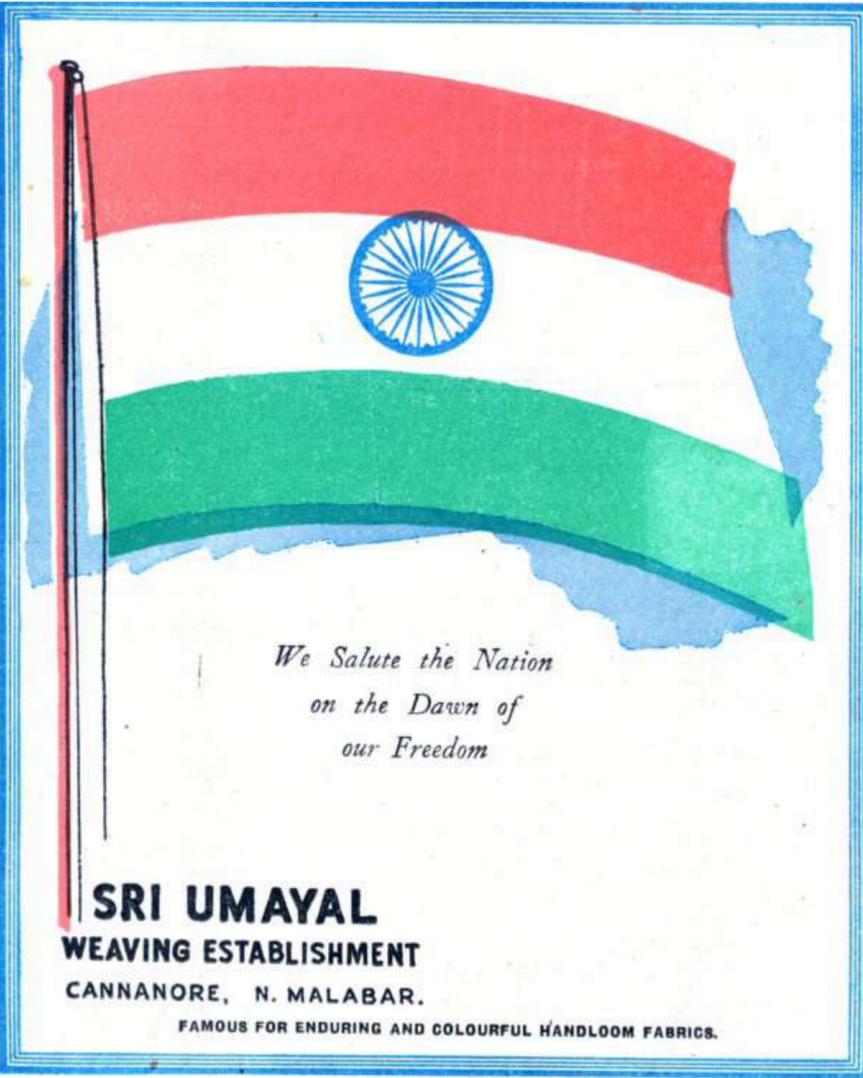
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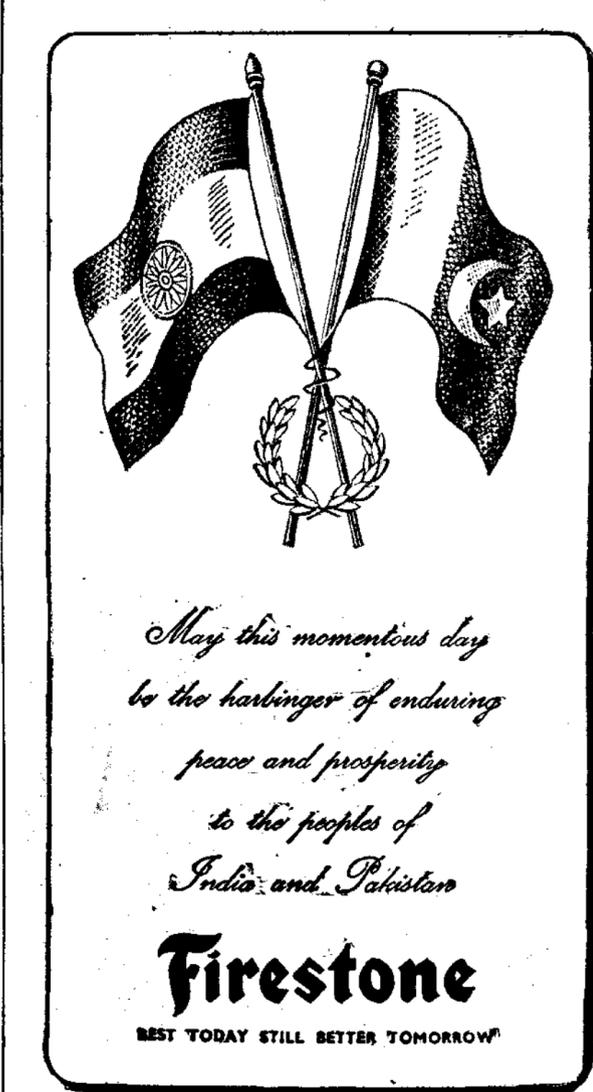
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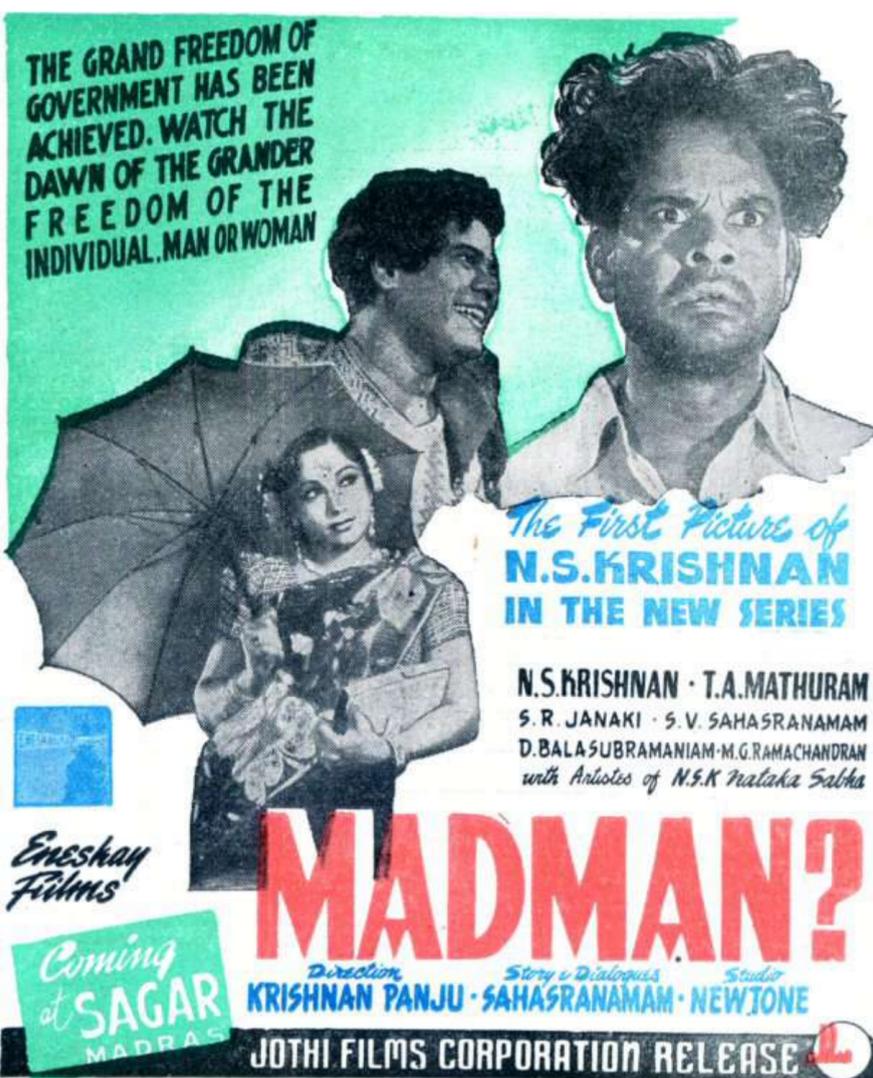
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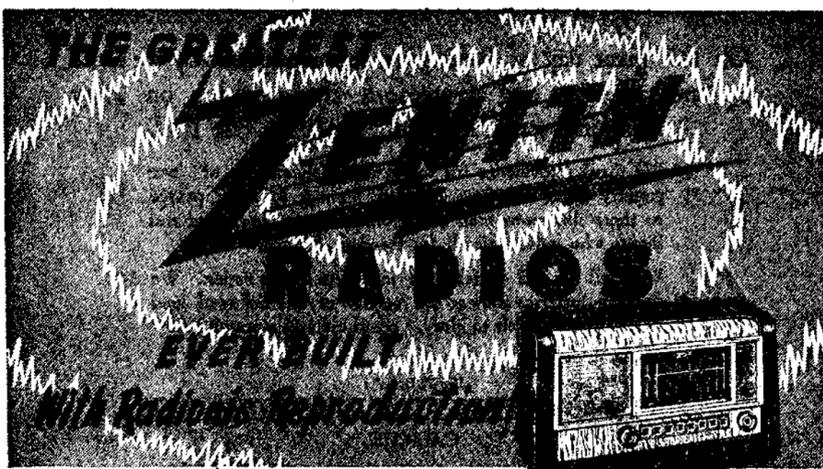
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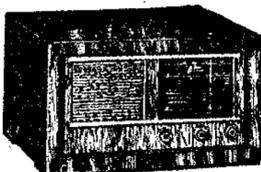
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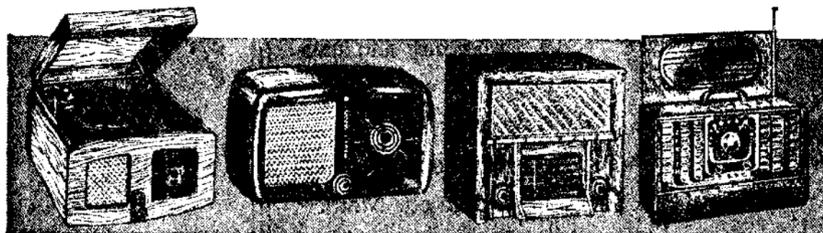


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**NETAJI BOSE AND THE INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY  
FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN EAST ASIA**

By S. G. ALAGAPPAN  
(Maj.-Gen., I. N. A.)

INDIA has been under foreign yoke for well nigh over two centuries. From 1857, otherwise misnamed the Sepoy Mutiny, many types of struggles have been launched, in and out-India, for the liberation of our motherland. Whether the method adopted was violent or non-violent, open or subversive, civil or military, individual or collective, inside or outside India, the objective was the same in all cases, namely, the attainment of freedom, which was our birth-right. On the dawn of our freedom, our mind naturally brings home to us in a kaleidoscopic manner the varying types of struggle launched by our leaders, from the distant past upto the present date, for our emancipation. Not the least important and noteworthy among them is the Indian Independence Movement launched in East Asia by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, together with the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, the Indian National Army which was the Government's sword-arm and the various auxiliary units for the efficient conduct of the campaign. The short resume of Netaji's historic contribution to the freedom of India is the least tribute his adherents and countrymen can pay in memory thereof, on the dawn of freedom.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was without doubt a far-sighted, resolute type of leader. He knew that World War No. II was bound to materialise sooner or later as a natural corollary to the Versailles Treaty. He knew that our motherland could not be liberated unless a military campaign was launched from outside India. He knew also that facilities could be obtained for such a campaign only from Britain's enemies and not from Britain's allies during the course of World War II. With these basic ideas, he made good his escape from India and proceeded first to Germany and thence to Japan.

**GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY**

Netaji arrived in Singapore on July 4, 1943. The Indian Independence Movement had already been launched in East Asia by the late Rash Behari Bose, a veteran nationalist, exiled in Japan. The old leader handed over charge to the new arrival, Subhas Chandra Bose, who was acclaimed as 'Netaji'. Within a few weeks of his arrival, Netaji became the live wire between Japan and the different occupied countries of East Asia; and brought under his fold all the Indians resident therein. He explained to them the imperative necessity for utilising the golden opportunity that presented itself at the moment to Indians in East Asia. His simple yet effective arguments were unassailable and extremely convincing. His sincerity to our cause and his honesty of purpose were self-evident. The words "Netaji will not sell our country to the Japanese" resounded in everybody's ears. Netaji became the most popular figure not only among all Indians, but also among the different nations in East Asia, who were attracted to him by his dynamic personality, fearless conduct, sterling character, charming manner and childlike simplicity.

Netaji took charge of the Indian National Army and expanded it to three divisions. On October 21, 1943, he formed the Provisional Government of Azad Hind with a Cabinet of Ministers and Advisers. On October 24, 1943, as Head of the State, the Provisional Government declared war on Britain for the liberation of forty crores of our brothers and sisters in our motherland. The Tri-colour Flag of the Congress was the flag adopted by the Provisional Government. A new National Anthem was adopted, so as to be acceptable to our Muslim brethren. "Chalo Delhi" was the war cry and "Jai Hind" was the acknowledged greeting among Indians. Great and memorable were the scenes of enthusiasm evidenced on the declaration of war, in the presence of a very large civil and military gathering in Singapore.

**MESSAGE TO GANDHIJI**

Immediately after the declaration of war, Netaji broadcast a message to Mahatma Gandhi and the people of India, as follows: "Father of our nation, we want your blessing and guidance at this critical juncture, when we have embarked on this momentous step for the attainment of freedom of our motherland." Netaji had always a great regard for all our national leaders, and particularly for Mahatmaji, whom he revered as his friend, philosopher and guide at all times.

To help the conduct of the campaign many a novel institution was created such as the Azad Hind Dal, Rani of Jhansi Regiment, Indian Independence Leagues, Balak Sena, etc. Material resources were donated in plenty and crores of cash poured into the coffers of the National Bank of Azad Hind. In fact, every one voluntarily placed their 'Tan', 'Man' and 'Dhan' at the altar of freedom. Recruitment and training of troops were carried out alongside in several training camps.

Netaji practised an independent outlook in every detail throughout the campaign. In diplomacy and military strategy, he was superb. All the resources were completely Indian; and the training of the I.N.A. was Indian with Hindustani words of command. The uniforms of the I.N.A. were of our own device. Except for aerial transport, the Japanese had nothing whatever to do with the movement at any stage, including the battles in the front line. Of course, we should concede that Japanese liaison had to be availed for obtaining all facilities under control owing to the fact that the Japanese had sovereignty rights in the occupied areas.

On January 6, 1944, the Headquarters of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and of the Supreme Command of the I.N.A. were moved to Rangoon. On February 4, the brave soldiers of the I.N.A. had crossed the border and entered into India. By June, the I.N.A. had surrounded Imphal and were battering away at its outer ramparts. Later, owing to the advent of inclement weather, the I.N.A. had to withdraw into Burma. The subsequent story of the heroic battles waged by the I.N.A. in various fronts in Burma till the fall of Rangoon on May 1, 1945, and the circumstances of the final surrender of the I.N.A. to the British forces in Malaya on September 5, 1945, are well known. The final scene of Netaji's military campaign was enacted in the Red Fortress of Delhi during the historic trials by Military Courts martial of the brave I.N.A. officers and men, most of whom are unfortunately still within prison-bars.

Of all the great principles brought into practical application during the entire phase of the movement, the 'Unity of India' deserves special mention. Netaji's I.N.A. was created with a view to be a living example to future free India; and in that I.N.A., religious, communal and other such differences were unknown. The fact that such unity still persists to-date, among all the members of the I.N.A., despite their economic hardship, proves that it was by no means ephemeral. Faith in our cause and readiness for sacrifice by voluntary total self-mobilisation were insisted on and willingly forthcoming

from all concerned. Besides organisational capacity and administrative ability, absolute sincerity to the cause and total sacrifice with the spirit of Bushido were needed for leadership, so as to be a shining example for others to follow. Every one worked hard and sacrificed to their utmost; and when the end came, there were no regrets. On 14th August 1945, Netaji, the undaunted leader, addressed a huge gathering in Singapore, when he stated that, even if the three million Indians in East Asia should perish to the last man, the sacrifice was nothing as compared to the freedom of crores of our sisters and brothers at home for many many years to come. Netaji then prophesied that the effect of the military campaign of the I.N.A. in East Asia would be to create an impression on the British Indian Army and ultimately make them politically conscious. In fact, this has been borne out even by Premier Attlee in his momentous statement on the eve of the Cabinet Mission to India. Netaji believed in the inner strength of India as the real strength of our movement in East Asia. He knew that the propaganda conducted in East Asia would be immense in our motherland. This fact has been amply proved by the universal enthusiasm evinced throughout the length and breadth of India during the historic I.N.A. trials.

**NETAJI'S IDEOLOGY**

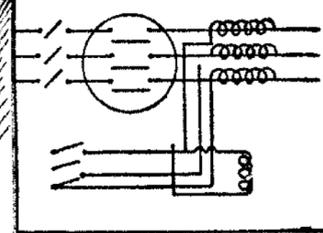
Those who took part in the struggle for the freedom of India during the last six decades and over, have had their reward in the dawn of freedom to-day. But the heart of India has been lacerated by the secession of certain areas. To call the award of Dominion Status as 'Independence' is a misnomer. Netaji's ideology of a united, independent India has not been fulfilled. To achieve this goal a long range policy is essential; and the campaign for its fulfilment has to be conducted chiefly among the masses in Pakistan. The I.N.A. convention, held recently in Cawnpore, has decided to form an I.N.A. Association on an extensive and comprehensive basis with branches in all areas of the world, where Indians are resident, with a view to fulfilling Netaji's ideology of a united independent India in the long run.

The decision of the Government of Madras, Bombay, Central Provinces and West Bengal to release a large number of political prisoners is a happy augury to the advent of freedom. The C. P. Government have further decided to compensate all those who suffered economic disabilities during the August Revolution in 1942. It is to be hoped that all the other Provincial Governments will adopt similar measures. After the historic trials of the heroes of the I.N.A., R.I.N. and R.I.A.F. public enthusiasm has waned considerably in regard to these groups. With the transfer of power to Indian hands, it would be a test of sincerity if the economic disabilities of the members of the I.N.A. and other groups are really remedied. Imprisonment, loss of service, forfeiture of pay, pensions and emoluments and jagirs and barring of admission to the police, military and other security services have been the penalty imposed on them in return for their sacrifice. It is to be hoped that the sons and daughters of India and their accredited leaders in power will reinstate all the above groups and redress all their grievances as such a measure would be the least the Government can do in recognition of their past services. Mother India needs the services of all for full-scale reconstruction; and it is up to the people of India to utilise the above groups in full.

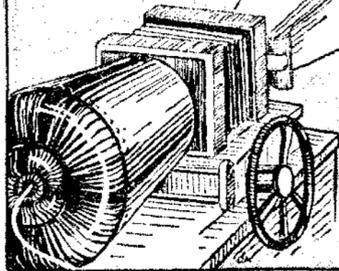
Lastly, in memory of all the freedom fighters, who laid down their lives for the distant past, fitting monuments should be erected in the Capital of India and other provincial centres.

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**SWARAJ THROUGH SATHYAGRAHA**

**WHAT THE NATION OWES TO THE CONGRESS**

By Dr. B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

INDIA'S freedom has not been the exclusive conception or dream of any single political party. It is a compendious expression of a whole nation's longing even as it is the combined demand of a whole nation's aspiration. It is not the selfish ambition of a few, but the organ and limb, the instrument and agent of such a nation in bondage. Organisation leads, enlightens and activates a people. The Congress has done so for sixty years. An organisation sees as it moves, develops as it works, rises as it labours. It is the Congress which was groping in the dark when it was started (1885), began to feel and find its way in a couple of decades (1905), broadened its vision and widened its outlook as it conceived Home Rule and finally rose to the altitudes of Swaraj and act in wide curves and broad sweeps.

What lay behind these labours, wherefrom arose the inspiration and spirit of sacrifice that have achieved the freedom of the Nation? Who are the leaders of such a noble cause pursued under the banner of freedom and planned for the purpose of self-realisation? The inspiration arose from an awakened consciousness of slavery. The sacrifice of thousands was the price paid for freedom. The leadership changed from time to time and from movement to movement. Let us study them in some little detail.

Political reputations are short-lived. When the active characters in the drama of politics appear on the stage and disappear from it, they hold the field for a while and their names shoot up like rockets, but when their labours, altogether spectacular, cease, their names also fade away from public memory. This is generally true of politicians but there are besides the certain nation-builders whose contributions to the building of the nation are substantial and abiding. They may or may not have figured in the limelight on the stage and drawn applause from admiring audiences but their work lives for ever.

All leaders of thought in the Congress need not have shone forth from the platform. The Press has been for over half a century a latent but effective participant in the processes of national regeneration. The Congress has received for decades effective support from newspapers like THE HINDU of Madras, and the AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA of Calcutta. Their past Editors, managers and founders like G. Subramaniam Aiyar, M. Veeraraghavachari, N. Subbarao Pantulu, and Kasturi Ranga Iyengar, Motilal Ghosh, Shishir Kumar Ghosh form a galaxy of Congressmen of no mean reputation. Of men like

W. C. Bonnerjee, Surendranath Banerjee, Ananda Mohan Bose, Gokhale, Tilak, Chandavarkar, Malaviya, Ayyangar, Dr. Bahadurjee, Sir Pherozshah Mehta, Wacha and Dadabhai Naoroji, Vijayarajendra Anandachari, Sankara Nair, Srinivasa Iyengar and Motilal Nehru, we need say little. Their life is far too fresh in our memories to require any detailed elaboration. Not one part of India has lagged behind another in the whole-hearted support accorded to the Congress in its labours for the recovery of national freedom. The Congress represented all parts and communities of India.

**PRE-GANDHIAN POLITICS**

A charge is sometimes brought against the earlier progenitors of the Congress that their vision was neither full nor clear. But it is generally forgotten that when a driver drives his car in a fog he sees only his path in bits and is content to drive his vehicle nevertheless for the faith in him enables him to realise that as he progresses his vision becomes fuller and clearer. If, therefore, upto 1905, the founders of the Congress emphasised administrative reforms rather than the ultimate destiny of India, it was because the journey to Swaraj had to be conducted in relays and no sensible man can blame the traveller for not doing so the last relay while he is yet not out of the first. The first twenty years of the Congress, therefore, witnessed the laying of the foundations of the edifice of Swaraj. In 1905-6 there was a hasty attempt to build the edifice but the work had to be stopped and the slogan of Swaraj was therefore short-lived. Bipin Chandra Pal, Arabindo Ghosh, Lala Lajpat Rai and Balagangadhar Tilak and Dr. Moonje were the great leaders of the day. It was only when the bricks of Swadeshi and boycott and the mortar of national education had been ready that the plinth was well-built, so that Mrs. Besant and her fellow workers might take on hand from 1915 the erection of the walls of this great structure. Dr. Besant's work brought a new spirit into the national movement, arising from the nation's own organisation and the common people. The era of the English-educated middle men definitely received a setback, but the youth of the nation had been for some time impatient. On April 30, 1908, a bomb at Muzfarpore meant for Mr. Kingsford, the District Magistrate, fell upon the Rev. Mr. Kennedy and Miss Kennedy and killed them. That was the beginning of the cult of violence which spasmodically worked for a decade and over until it was suspended through the exhortations of Gandhi who appeared on the Indian scene in 1915, but came into

full prominence in 1920 with his cult of Satyagraha based on truth and non-violence. The new movement was subject to the three usual stages of neglect, contempt and opposition before it worked its way across numerous difficulties on to what may be roughly regarded as the immediate goal of Swaraj. Its first achievement was to secure the willing consent of the apostles of force to stay their hand for a while.

The Congress has attempted to oust the foreign Power successively by physical, intellectual and moral forces. The violence movement that lay interspersed with the Congress programme in 1897 when Lieut. Rand and Capt. Ayrst were shot down in Bombay in the days of the Plague, again in the cult of the bomb and the revolver between 1908 and 1919, had to its credit the sacrifice and self-effacing patriotism of thousands of young men notably from Bengal, U.P. and the Punjab. But in the main the Congress applied its mind to solve the problem and use intellectual powers to argue with and convince the British first about the greater share in the administration due to Indians, then about partial share in the ruled territories and finally full share in the Government of the People by the People, for the People. It is said that when Abraham Lincoln used this expression, his real emphasis was laid on the noun people and not on the prepositions 'of', 'by' and 'for'. So did the Congress.

**GANDHIJI'S LEADERSHIP OF CONGRESS**

The Congress took up this third stage under the leadership of Gandhi who inaugurated the movement of non-co-operation and passive resistance and finally had experimented with it in Transvaal, on the basis of non-violence and developed it by raising its tempo steadily into Civil Disobedience and Satyagraha. This movement did not attract the English-educated middle classes, but was taken to heart by the unsophisticated masses under the leadership of a few men of vision, with the result that those who at first chose to scoff, remained in the end to pray. During this final phase the Congress made Swaraj its object in 1920, defined it as complete independence, in 1929, waged three battles of Satyagraha, first in 1931 when Gandhi was 50 years old and his consent was obtained reluctantly, then in 1930 when Gandhi was 60 and with his wholehearted initiative and finally in 1942-45 when he was 70-75 under his direct inspiration and guidance. "Quit India" was his war cry since April 18, 1942, and the British have quit India on August 15, 1947.

If, therefore, the country's economic progress is realigned through resuscitation of home crafts, if its social reform is assured through the elevation of the Depressed Classes and its moral uplift guaranteed through prohibition, if education has been nationalised and administration of justice is taken to villages through panchayats and the mother-tongue is rehabilitated in provinces with the national language fixed once for all, if the poor man is assured of his food and raiment, shelter, education and medication, if the initiative in National Reconstruction is on the basis for the country's freedom.

The Congress has thus played not only a notable part in India's freedom struggle, but helped liberate South-East Asia in her emancipation from the foreign yoke. It has proved that the moral method is superior to the physical and the intellectual methods and that the soul-force has the merit of a constructive power as against brute force. It has established once for all that the wars of the future shall be neither wars for territory nor for commerce but wars undertaken on the uplifting plane of the conversion of the opponent to abiding moral principles, not the conquest of the enemy through crushing physical force. India has made herself free through the ideals of the Congress and will only preserve and perpetuate her freedom in the measure in which she may dispel the ghost of untruth by the magic 'mantra' of truth and overpower the demon of violence by the ministering angel of Ahimsa.

"The English have taught us that we were not one nation before and that it will require centuries before we become one nation. This is with our foundation. We are one nation before they came to India. One thought inspired us. Our mode of life was the same. It was because we were one nation that they were able to establish one kingdom. Subsequently they divided us."—Mahatma Gandhi.

**BIRTHDAY OF FREE INDIA**

**SRI AUROBINDO'S MESSAGE**

SRI Aurobindo Ghosh has made the following declaration on the significance of the Day of Indian Independence:

August 15 is the birthday of free India. It marks for her the end of an old era, the beginning of a new age. But it has a significance not only for us, but for Asia and the whole world, for it signifies the entry into the world of nations of a new power with untold potentialities which has a great part to play in determining the political, social, cultural and spiritual future of humanity. To me personally it must naturally be gratifying that this date which was notable only for the end of an old era, should have acquired this vast significance. As a mystic, I take this identification, not as a coincidence or fortuitous accident but as a sanction and seal of the Divine Power, which guides my steps on the work with which I began. Indeed almost all the world movements which I hoped to see fulfilled in my lifetime, though at that time they looked like impossible dreams, I can observe on this day either approaching fruition or initiated and on the way to their achievement.

I have been asked for a message on this great occasion, but I can only say that I can do so to make a personal declaration of the aims and ideals conceived in my childhood and youth and now watched in their beginning of fulfilment, because they are relevant to the freedom of India, since they are a part of what I believe to be India's future work, something in which she cannot but take a leading position. For I have always held and said that India was arising, not to serve her own material interests only, to achieve expansion, greatness, power and prosperity—though these too she must not neglect—and to dominate the world, but to live also for God and the world as a helper and leader of the whole human race. Those aims and ideals were in their natural order these: a revolution which should achieve India's freedom and her unity; the emergence and liberation of the people, and her return to the great role which she had played in the progress of human civilisation; the rise of a new, a greater, brighter and nobler life for mankind which for its entire realisation would rest outwardly on an international unification of the separate existence of the people, preparing and securing their national life but drawing them together into an overriding and consummating oneness; the gift by India of her spiritual knowledge and her means for the spiritualisation of life to the whole race; finally, a new step in the evolution which, by uplifting the consciousness to a higher level, would begin the solution of the many problems of existence which have perplexed and vexed humanity since men began to think and to dream of individual perfection and a perfect society.

**"PARTITION MUST GO"**

India is free but she has not achieved unity, only a fissured and broken freedom. At one time it almost seemed as if she might relapse into the chaos of separate States which preceded the British conquest. Fortunately there has now developed a strong possibility that this disastrous relapse will be avoided. The wisely drastic policy of the Constituent Assembly may make it possible that the problem of the depressed classes will be solved without schism or fissure. But the old communal division into Hindu and Muslim seems to have hardened into the figure of a permanent political division of the country. It is to be hoped that the Congress and the nation will not accept the settled fact as for ever settled or as anything more than a temporary expedient. For if it lasts, India may be seriously weakened, even crippled: civil strife may remain always possible, possible even a new invasion and foreign conquest. The partition of the country must go—it is to be hoped by a slacken-

ing of tension, by a progressive understanding of the need of peace and concord, by the constant necessity of common and concerted action, even of an instrument of union for that purpose. In this way unity may come about under whatever form the exact form may have a pragmatic but not a fundamental importance. But by whatever means, the division must and will go. For without it the destiny of India might be seriously impaired and even frustrated. But that must not be.

Asia has arisen and large parts of it have been liberated or are at this moment being liberated: its other still subject parts are moving through what ever struggles towards freedom. Only a little has to be done and that will be done to-day or to-morrow. There India has her part to play and has begun to play it with an energy and ability which already indicate the measure of her possibility and the place she can take in the council of the nations.

**UNIFICATION OF MANKIND**

The unification of mankind is under way, though only in an imperfect, tentative, organised but struggling against tremendous difficulties. But the momentum is there and, if the experience of history can be taken as a guide, it will be complete in the near future. Here too India has begun to play a prominent part, and if she can develop that larger statesmanship which is not limited by the present facts and immediate possibilities but looks into the future and brings it nearer, her presence may make all the difference between a slow and a bold and a swift development. A catastrophe may intervene and interrupt or destroy what is being done, but even then the final result is sure. For in any case the unification is a necessary movement and its achievement can be safely foretold. Its necessity for the nations also is clear, for without it the freedom of the small peoples can never be safe hereafter and even large and powerful nations cannot really be secure. India, if she remains divided, will not herself be sure of her safety, it is therefore to the interest of all that union should take place. Only human imbecility and stupid selfishness could prevent it. Against that, it has been said, even the gods strive in vain; but it cannot stand for ever against the necessity of Nature and the Dictation of Nations. It then has fulfilled itself, an international movement and outlook must grow up and international forms and institutions: even it may be such developments as dual or multilateral citizenship and a voluntary fusion of cultures may appear in the process of the change and the spirit of nationalism losing its militancy may find these things perfectly compatible with the integrity of its own outlook. A new spirit of oneness will take hold of the human race.

The spiritual gift of India to the world has already begun. India's spirituality is entering Europe and America in an ever-increasing measure. The movement will grow, amid the disasters of the time more and more eyes are turning towards her with hope and there is even an increasing resort not only to her teachings but to her psychic and spiritual practice.

The rest is still a personal hope and an idea and idea which has begun to take hold both in India and in the West, on forward-looking minds. The difficulties in the way are more formidable than in any other field of endeavour, but difficulties were made to be overcome and if the Supreme Will is there, they will be overcome. Here too, if this is to be a take place since it must come through a gift with the spirit of the inner consciousness, the initiative can come from India and although the scope must be universal, the central movement may be hers.

Such is the content which I put into this date of India's liberation: whether or how far or how soon this connection will be established depends upon this new and free India.

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The Bombay branch was opened in 1912, the Madras branch in 1913, and the Calcutta branch in 1920, and local publishing started immediately. Since that time many textbooks for school and college students have been produced, and they form the bulk of the thousand titles published during the thirty-five years of the life of the Indian branch.

Apart from textbooks, the Press in India has produced a number of general books, of which perhaps the best-known is the series of Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs. Minoo Masani's Our India won instant recognition and has been studied in almost every province and State in the country. It is now available in ten languages. Moraes and Stimson's Introduction to the Country of the Bengalis, and Jim Corbett's Men-of-the-Month Club in America and by the Book Society in England. Another recent book is The Mind of Mahatma Gandhi, compiled by R. K. Prabhu and U. R. Rao, while My Early Life by M. K. Gandhi, arranged and edited by Mahadeo Desai, has been read in school and out for the last fifteen years. The publication of Rajni Rao's The Cow of the Bengalis launched a series of books of special interest to Indian readers—THE CHAMPAK LIBRARY. Besides short stories, THE CHAMPAK LIBRARY will include novels, plays, books of essays, travel and biography, and English translations of books popular in Indian languages.

Another early development of the INDIAN BRANCH was the publication of books in Indian languages: works in no less than nineteen different languages (apart from English) have been published. Arrangements have recently been made with Penguin Books Ltd., for the issue of Bengali, Hindi, Marathi and Tamil versions of some of their Puffin Books, and these brightly lithographed little books will soon be made available to our children.

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# STATES AND THE UNION

## SIGNIFICANCE OF ACCESSION

By K. M. PANIKKAR

ONE major political achievement, the significance of which has not been fully appreciated, stands to the credit of the leaders of the Indian Government. By an act of constructive statesmanship they have for the first time constitutionally integrated the States with the rest of India. In the result, the independent India we proclaim to-day is something which has never in fact existed before, a unity which Azoka was not able to establish and the Moghuls were never able to achieve. So far as the British authority was concerned its direct sovereignty extended only to the Provinces and whatever unity they were able to enforce had no constitutional or legal basis, but was based on the overwhelming force of a "Paramount power". Over a third of India continued to be independent and had been fitted into an administrative structure without even the semblance of legal authority.

To-day the position is different. The vast majority of States territorially contiguous to the Indian Dominion have acceded of their own will to form an Indian Federation. The significance of this act cannot be over-estimated. It is not less than a month since the claims for the independence of States were being vigorously urged by some Princes and Ministers. Not many days have passed since Rulers of certain States were hurrying hither and thither, some to London, others on pilgrimage to the feet of their master, to discover ways and means of declaring and upholding their independence. To-day that strange controversy seems like a bad nightmare. But the fact that we have overcome it should not blind us to the gravity of the danger that India faced only a short while ago.

### VOLUNTARY ACCESSION

It is well to remember that after the accession of the Pakistan provinces, the territories of the Indian Dominion were only a little larger in area than the States of the Indian Rulers. Through these States lay the main lines of communication. In the north, it was a vast stretch of contiguous areas from the borders of Bahawalpur to Orissa that was under the Princes. If they had sided with the forces of disruption, disguised in such tempting phrases, as independence, Rajasthan and Confederation, then the Dominion of India would have faced anarchy and chaos. To those watching from outside, it might at times have seemed that the prolonged fight within the Chamber of Princes was merely on the technical question of the opportune moment for participating in the work of the Constituent Assembly. That was the issue as it presented itself but the major question which was in the mind of all was whether the States should align themselves with British India to create a new Union in order that the country may be integrated into one State. The satisfactory solution which has now been reached would not have been possible but for the wise moderation that the Congress leaders showed from the beginning of negotiations. There were provocations on both sides, but the determined group of Princes who had recognised in time the gravity of the issues involved, and the British Indian leaders who had the advice of experienced statesmen kept their head and ironed out all the difficulties with the result that on the day that India assumes her full stature as an independent nation the threat to her territorial integrity has not only vanished, but the States by a voluntary deed of accession have become partners in the Union.

The instrument of Accession which the States have signed, by which the Dominion of India is transformed into a federation is a simple document. The States accede only for the subjects of

Defence, External Affairs and Communications, but this accession is complete in so far as exclusive legislative power transferred to the Federation in the matters specified under these three categories. It was a commonplace of law that neither the British Parliament, nor the Indian Legislature could in the past legislate for Indian States. To-day the position is different. In respect of the matters to which they have acceded the National Parliament has the right of legislation even inside the States. The authority of the Governor-General, the Federal Court and all other Federal institutions extend to the States in regard to these three matters. In fact by their signing the instrument of Accession, the States have become parts of the Indian Union, while safeguarding their autonomy and sovereignty in all other matters.

Accession which changes the constitutional position is no doubt limited to essential subjects and does not cover the vast field of administrative arrangements entered into in the past on the basis of Paramountcy between the States and the British Indian Government. It is the agreement that the administrative structure of India had been raised. If these arrangements were not renegotiated and placed on a firm footing, there was every likelihood of administrative chaos. To meet this difficulty the interim Government, in London, with the States decided to have a standstill agreement, which continues the present arrangements till others are negotiated.

Thus by goodwill, friendliness and a constructive approach on both sides, the immediate danger which faced the Union of India, even before it was born has been overcome. The representatives of the States will now sit in the Indian Legislature and the Princes and people of the States will share equally the independence that has come to India. This is an achievement of which we can all be legitimately proud, for to-day India stands erect before the world, with the forces of disruption inside her boundaries well under control and with her Princes and people united in facing the problems which the future may have in store for her.

### SCIENCE IN NEW INDIA

By SIR C. V. RAMAN

FOR more years than I can remember, THE HINDU has been in the very forefront of India's fight for freedom. In its own characteristic fashion, it energetically voiced our desire for liberty, and while checking the more explosive manifestations of rebellious spirit which the chains binding us naturally evoked, it urged on the leaders who considered personal advantage more important than the country's welfare. I do not remember that the British imperialism found it necessary on any occasion to close down the offices of THE HINDU and to march off its Editor. But THE HINDU has nevertheless been a power in the land, and one cannot wish better for a Free India than that the same catholicity, moderation and reasonableness which has been its policy will continue to inspire the chosen leaders of the nation in its onward march of progress.

While on this occasion of rejoicing, no one would wish to minimise the part played by the men who built up the spirit of national resistance and fought and won the battle of independence in the political field. It should not be forgotten that the resurgence of the national spirit manifested itself also in other fields of activity, and that its success in those other fields helped internally in rousing the feeling of self-confidence in our people, and externally in winning respect for India's spiritual and intellectual calibre from the intellectuals of other nations. The remarkable renaissance of Science in India during the last quarter of a century did more to establish abroad India's credit and status as a nation than most people realise or would be willing to concede.

It gives me great pleasure to respond to the Editor's request to write on Science in Free India. In doing so, I must regretfully point out that India is not yet free in the field of science. British Imperialism, while prepared in the last resort to apply physical force, has always preferred to use less obvious methods of imposing her will on weaker peoples. In an invited article which appeared a few years ago in the American Political Science Quarterly, I presented a picture of the methods by which the scientific renaissance of India was held back for a whole century by foreign rule. When such holding back was no longer possible, those very agents who worked against India's progress claimed to be her greatest friends and to have inspired and aided whatever progress had been achieved in spite of them. A typical example of this is to be found in an article in a British journal published by a European ex-official scientist who claimed that the father of Indian science was the orientalist Sir William Jones! The same ex-official showed in his real feelings towards Indian science by sponsoring the formation of a predominantly official organisation as a rival to the Indian Academy of Sciences when the latter was founded. He even went to the length of inspiring the issue of an official circular enjoining all men of science holding government positions not to join the Indian Academy of Sciences even if invited to do so by its promoters. After this, is it surprising that the Government of India while lavishing funds on the official organisation turned a deaf ear to repeated requests even for a token grant to the Indian Academy of Sciences? Is it surprising that British officials who are still in this country making difficulties for us publicly defended such refusal on the ground that the official organisation was recognised by the Government of India as the superior body? Is it surprising that this same official is now doing his best to prevent unity amongst Indian scientists?

Science can be free in India only when we eradicate the tendencies which a century or more of foreign rule has left behind as an evil legacy. The worst legacy is our own belief in the superiority of European scientists and scientific institutions to those in our own country. So long as this belief continues, there does not seem to me the remotest chance of Indian science rising to the level permitted by her new opportunities. Another evil legacy is the wholly erroneous belief that the three letters F.R.S. after a man's name mean that he is superior to those who do not bear that alphabetical distinction. Having F.R.S. myself for a quarter of a century, I know exactly what those letters mean both in the Empire context and in relation to India. The Royal Society of London is a stronghold of British imperialism containing no small proportion of men to whom science and scientific truth are less important than the maintenance of the British right to rule over the rest of the world. The sooner we in India realise this and shake free of a superstitious belief in the ability of the European people to guide our destinies in the intellectual sphere any more than in the political field, the sooner we shall march to the goal of our national ambitions.

# THE FUTURE IS IN OUR HANDS

MR. V. K. KRISHNA MENON, the newly appointed High Commissioner in London, has been Secretary of the India League in London for 18 years. He is a Madras and there is no more familiar figure in the Indian community in the British capital. Mr. Menon has been in the forefront of a sustained campaign to enlighten British people on the India question. His views on India's great day were given in an interview with the London Correspondent of THE HINDU.

By V. K. KRISHNA MENON

The great enthusiasm with which we all welcome this day of India's independence is necessarily marred by the fact that India has had to purchase freedom by the loss of unity. Let no one, however, mistake the fact that struggle has brought true freedom to our country. If the masses of our people do not realise as our leaders have done that Britain is really quitting, they will be making a mistake and it is a mistake that will harm us and nobody else, because we shall still be fighting under slogans which have become out of date.

Internationally, the new position of India is recognised and understood. I was happy to find no complexities had arisen in foreign countries and contacts with Foreign Embassies in London after my recent return from India confirms this. Indian leadership has risen high in the estimation of people but it would be a mistake—although I am sure nobody of any responsibility in India takes that view—quitting, they will be making a mistake and it is a mistake that will harm us and nobody else, because we shall still be fighting under slogans which have become out of date.

We regret partition but be that as it may, all Indian territory is now free from imperialist rule. Independence in all its implications has yet to be established but the future is entirely in our hands. Unless two main problems which most concern us—feeding the country and the development of our industrial life and the two go together—are solved, we can make little progress. We must have foreign machinery and we have to grow things of the earth, for that is our currency.

This week, I left the India League, so far as my official position is concerned. Looking back, I am entitled to say the work the League has done over the past eighteen years has had some effect in moulding policy in this country and making India's cause part of the Labour Party's policy. We have many friends among Christian bodies, political parties and other organisations in the United Kingdom and in days to come, this League will play an equally important part in guiding public opinion.

We need friends. We need to be understood. We can help India and world only by our words and our actions being understood and appreciated. I would also like to take this opportunity to say how friendly my relations have been with the Press of India which plays so very important a part in our international relations and in informing the world about India and India about the world for let us remind ourselves that while we complain other people fail to understand us and interpret events in India, our lack of knowledge and our inadequate appreciation of world affairs and the outlook and aims of other people is equally to be deplored. I join with all others in congratulations to India, my country.

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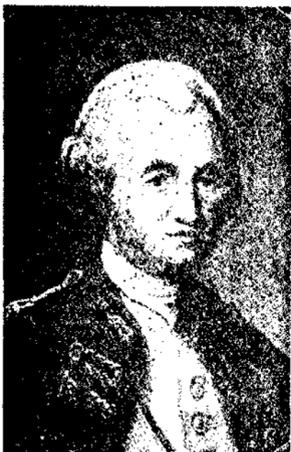
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# FREEDOM'S PROGRESS THROUGH THE YEARS



1765: Clive, acclaimed the founder of the Empire, was also its first administrative reformer but his scheme of Salt Monopoly was not approved by the Directors.



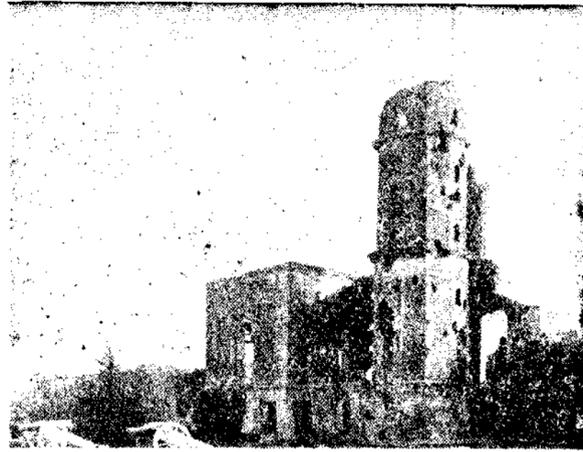
1773: By a Regulating Act, Parliament hoped to control the Company's administration but during Warren Hastings' term its ineffectiveness was clearly seen.



1800: India was rapidly changing from mediaevalism. One of the first Indians to visit England, Raja Ram Mohan Roy championed the cause of the peasants and the freedom of the press besides other social reforms.



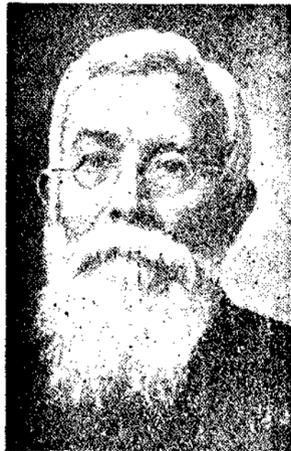
1857: The rapid spread of Western civilisation caused a general ferment in the country which culminated in open revolt by the Army which was led by the Rani of Jhansi and others.



1857: Delhi, Cawnpore, Gwalior and Lucknow were the storm centres of the Mutiny. Many heroic fights and defences took place. The defence of the Residency at Lucknow was a notable one.



1858: One direct result of the Mutiny was the assumption of the Government by the Crown and the recognition of Paramountcy by the Indian States.



1876: The Queen's Proclamation raised many aspirations. When these proved futile they led to agitations. One concerned admission of Indians to the Civil Service. Surendranath Banerjee was the leader.



1885: The political agitations and the economic state of the country led to the National Congress which met for the first time in Bombay under the presidency of W. C. Bonnerjee.



1892: Charles Bradlaugh who attended the Congress in 1892 drafted a Bill for reform and expansion of Legislative Councils. To counter it the British Government introduced the India Councils Act.



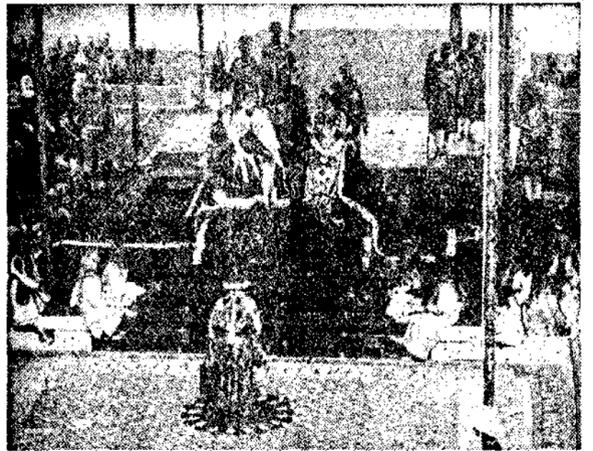
1905: The reactionary policy of Lord Curzon led to a stiffening in the ranks of the Congress. It also led to the growth of the Swadeshi Movement and the boycott of foreign goods.



1907: A section of the Congress was not satisfied with passing resolutions only and lost faith in the efficacy of the Congress programme. They were ably led by B. G. Tilak.



1909: With a view to meet strong nationalist demands the Morley-Minto reforms provided for associating Indians with Government and introduced communal representation.



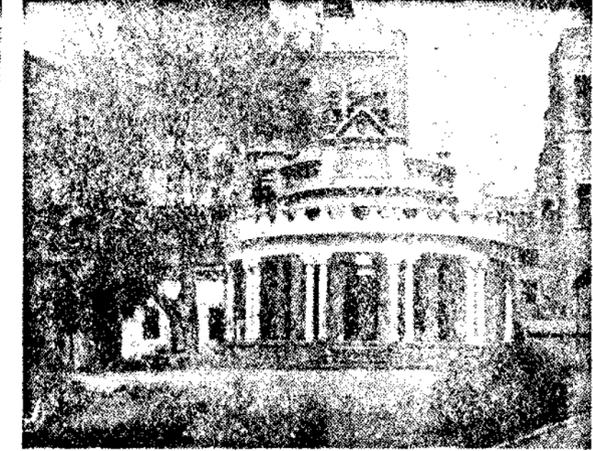
1911: The Morley-Minto reforms seemed to conciliate moderate nationalists for the time being. The boons announced at the Coronation Durbar at Delhi, tended to pacify the situation.



1918: The reforms were soon found inadequate and country-wide agitation was carried on under the auspices of the Home Rule League started by Dr. Annie Besant.



1918: To allay the discontent the Government announced the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform proposals. Direct election on a comparatively wide franchise was introduced.



1919: The Rowlatt Act and the arrest of Mahatma led to widespread unrest. At Jallianwalla Bag, fire was opened on a crowd and many hundreds died.



1920: The National movement gained a new orientation under the leadership of Gandhiji who started the Non-cooperation movement.



1923: Led by C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru and N. C. Kelkar a group of nationalists organised themselves into the Swaraj Party. They favoured the Irish tactics of "mend or end" the constitution.



1924: For the first time in February Mr. T. T. Kanchari moved a resolution in the Legislative Assembly to secure Dominion Status together with Responsible Government in Provinces.



1927: Indian politics took a serious turn owing to many factors like the Capetown agreement, etc. The Congress which met in Madras under the presidency of Dr. Ansari adopted Independence as the goal.



1929: Lord Irwin declared the attainment of Dominion Status as the natural issue of constitutional progress. He also announced a Round Table Conference in London.



1930: As Indian demand for independence became insistent, a Commission under Sir John Simon visited India to report on the political progress and the working of the reforms. There was no Indian on the Commission and it was boycotted.



1930: Skepticism about Britain's intentions became pronounced. Mahatma started his great Civil Disobedience movement. The Dandi Salt March was the main feature.



1931: The Round Table Conference was summoned in London and Mahatma who was released from prison attended its second session as the sole representative of the Congress, but had to return without attaining his purpose.



1932: Mahatma was arrested soon after his return from England. Lord Willingdon proscribed the Congress and carried on a repressive policy in putting down political agitation.

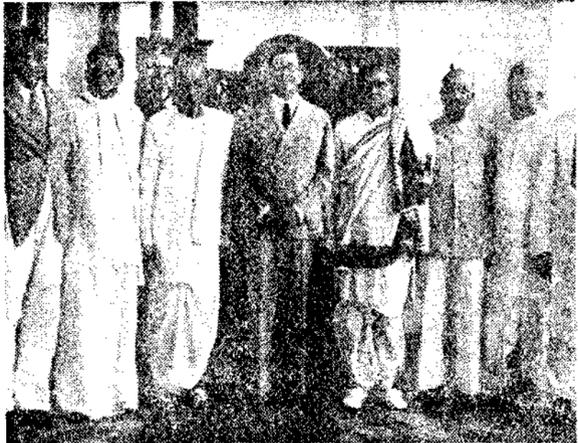


1932: Following the agitation over the "Depressed Classes" Award the Poona Pact was concluded. The integrity of the Hindu community was saved.

# FREEDOM'S PROGRESS THROUGH THE YEARS



1935: As a result of the Conferences proposals for reform of the Constitution were embodied in a Parliamentary Committee Report and finally became the Act of 1935.



1937: Though Congress obtained clear majorities in the elections a controversy arose over the "special powers" of the Governors. A somewhat conciliatory statement by the Viceroy enabled Congress to accept office in six Provinces.



1938: Gandhiji met Mr. Jinnah many times to bring about a Hindu-Muslim rapprochement. But the talks failed.



1939: When the World War was declared the Congress Working Committee defined its attitude and withdrew its support in running the Administration.



1939: Following the Congress Cabinets' decision the Provincial Ministries resigned.



1940: The Viceroy at Bombay appealed for an agreed settlement and assured Dominion Status of the Westminster variety.



1940: Mr. Jinnah addressing the Muslim League at Lahore demanded a separate home for the Muslims.



1940: Gandhiji planned for individual civil disobedience. Vinoba Bhave, the first one, was arrested.



1941: A Conference of Non-Party Leaders under the presidency of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was held at Bombay.



1942: Sir Stafford Cripps visited India to meet the leaders and arrive at an agreed solution. But the talks broke down.



1942: The Congress Working Committee passed a 1,700-word resolution demanding withdrawal of the British.



1942: In August Gandhiji and other leaders were arrested. This was followed by widespread disturbances in the country.



1944: Lord Wavell took up the Viceroyalty from Lord Linlithgow.



1945: In June the Congress leaders were released and the Viceroy called a conference of representative leaders at Simla. But the talks failed after a fortnight's discussion.



1945: The Congress triumphed in the Central Assembly elections.



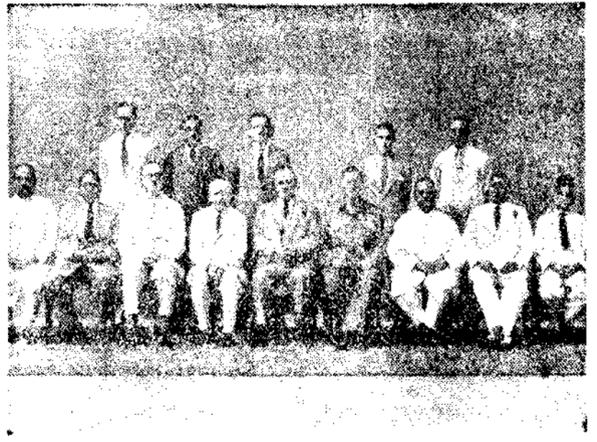
1945: The trial of the I. N. A. prisoners raised great popular agitation and the trial was abandoned.



1946: A Parliamentary Delegation arrived in India and met Indian leaders.



1946: A Cabinet Mission consisting of Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and A. V. Alexander arrived and had talks with leaders.



1946: Members of the old Viceroy's Council resigned as a preliminary to the new Constitution.



1946: Indicative of the changed status the British Government appointed Mr. Terence Shore as its High Commissioner in India.



1946: The Viceroy invited Mr. Nehru to form an Interim Government and the first National Government came into being.



1946: The observance of a Direct Action Day on August 16th by the Muslim League was attended by communal disturbances in Calcutta.



1946: The Viceroy and the leaders went to London in November for a hurried round table talk.

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# FINANCES OF THE UNION

By T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI

THE financial set-up of the Indian Union and its relation to its units cannot escape being dominated by the scheme of the Government of India Act of 1950, a tribute perhaps to the time and thought that went into the devising of the financial structure of the Act. The main reason for this is that the time at the disposal of Indian politicians and their advisers to attempt to re-orient the structure in the light of modern needs is far too short and everybody concerned is in a hurry to evolve a working constitution which can be put into operation as quickly as possible. While the satisfactory set-up that might emerge from it can be explained, there could be no room for complacency or satisfaction towards the financial framework within which the Union and its constituent units will operate.

The hang-over of the past is nowhere more difficult to shake off than in the field of administration, what with the bogey of every stamp at a change being characterised as expropriation, importation of Bolshevik ideas, stifling of private enterprise and so on. The need for careful economic planning has often been used as an argument for postponing decisions on important issues. The financial structure of the future is said to be dependent on All-India planning and has, therefore, to wait until we devise ways and means for that purpose.

In the rather complicated economy of the world the ultimate influence of which this country cannot escape, the Indian Union is faced with (a) a serious deficit in the necessities of life of the common man, (b) a breakdown of the orderly administrative structure operating economic controls brought into being during the war, (c) the slicing off from India of large portions of territory in defiance of all economic and natural ties for political and communal reasons, (d) the emergence of a defence problem of terrific magnitude and of a character which is long line of land customs frontiers the bulk of which is hardly accessible but is nevertheless vulnerable. With all these problems before us and with the ideal that politicians and publicists have cherished for long of making life bearable to the common man, it is not surprising that, if achieved, it would seem to be a matter of simplifying big issues in the future constitution, the financial set-up is copied almost word for word from the scheme of the Government of India Act of 1935.

### THE BACKGROUND

The background of existing conditions in so far as the finances of the Provinces is not very encouraging. In the example of two major provinces like Madras and Bombay, the war years have generally proved to be productive of considerably increased revenue. In the case of both these provinces, the old time sources of revenue like land-revenue have been more or less stationary, as in the very nature of such revenue, but the biggest increase in both these provinces has been in the field of excise revenue as there has been a four-fold increase in this item of income between 1939-40 and 1946-47. There has also been a phenomenal increase in the item 'other taxes and duties' in both the provinces; the estimates for 1947-48 being 6.23 lakhs in Bombay and 8.14 lakhs in Madras. The over-all income in the case of Madras for the year 1947-48 being nearly 50 crores as against a revised estimate of the previous year of nearly 30 crores, whereas in Bombay it is very nearly 30 crores which is about 3 crores more than the revised estimate of the previous year. The significant feature of both these provinces is that they are pledged to sacrifice in course of time 9.58 lakhs in Madras and 8.41 lakhs in Bombay which represent the two provinces respective income from excise revenue. The future from the provincial point of view, therefore, is that a large slice of revenue will go, land tax cannot increase and the only compensating factor is the item 'other taxes and duties' the bulk of which in both the provinces is represented by the item 'other taxes and duties'. Sales Tax, though of two differing types in each province. For the purpose of an estimate it can be taken that the picture in essentials of these two provinces is more or less typical of what ought to obtain elsewhere in India after making due allowance for the fact that these provinces are to be the most progressive in the administrative sphere.

The financial position in regard to the Indian Union has to be arrived at after a certain amount of guess-work. In the matter of Customs, the budget estimate for the year 1947-48 for the entire country was 90 crores and on that basis it can be computed that the Indian Union will get 78 crores by eliminating the estimated income through Karachi and Chittagong. Allowing for a possible diversion and expansion of trade, the normal revenue of the Union from Customs can be taken as 85 crores. In regard to Central Excise, the actual figures for the area covered by the Dominion of India for 1946-47 are in the region of 33 crores and the normal revenue for the Union, therefore, in the current year may be taken at about 40 crores. In the field of Income-tax, the figures have necessarily to be far more conjectural. The budget estimate for All-India, made up of Income-tax, Super Tax, Corporation Tax, Business Profits Tax, Capital Gains Tax and E. P. T. arrears is estimated to be 164 crores and odd, and allowing for about 7 crores and odd to be the Pakistan share, we are left with about 157 crores and odd. In any calculation the E. P. T. arrears cannot figure. It can, therefore, be estimated that the normal revenue of the Union under direct taxes may be taken as Income-tax and Corporation Tax constituting 100 crores, Business Profits Tax 15 crores and Capital Gains Tax 3 crores. This gives a total of roughly 118 crores from these three main heads of revenue. We have not taken into account the share of income-tax revenue payable to the provinces in the Union which might be roughly in the region of about 28 crores but this will be offset by other minor items like the Canteen and Post, contribution by Posts and Telegraphs, general revenues, contribution by Railways to general revenues, etc.

It is difficult to estimate the expenditure of the present Central Government and its successor Government. The 1947-48 estimate of the Finance Minister, Department, etc., all of which will perhaps continue to claim attention in some form in the new Indian Union as well. Interest on loans and similar obligations is about 43.4 crores which leaves about 75 crores for account of the routine expenditure of the Centre. If it is taken out it is unlikely that even with the division of Pakistan, the Central Government's other items of expenditure including interest charges will be much less than 100 crores. The tendency for such expenditure will, if anything, be on the increase. It is very difficult to estimate what the defence expenditure will be, because at the moment we cannot visualise what will be the nature of defence that has to be provided by determining the type and strength of the land forces and the strength of the air force and the navy

On the side of the air force, there will have a very considerable augmentation from its present strength of ten squadrons. In any event, a deficit seems assured without the Central Government committing itself to new schemes of expenditure for the betterment of the conditions of the people.

It might perhaps clarify issues if I re-state here the relevant items in the Provincial and Central list of the distribution of powers which is envisaged by the Union Powers Committee of the Indian Constituent Assembly. Item 11 of the Federal list, which corresponds to item 44 of List I, Schedule 7 of the 1935 Act mentions "duties of customs including export duties." Item 72 of the same list mentions "duties of excise on tobacco and other goods manufactured with certain exceptions, similar to what is mentioned in item 45 of the list in the 1935 Act. Items 77 and 78 relating to tax on income and on capital gains and assets exclusive of agricultural land correspond with items 54 and 55 of the previous list. Item 79, "duties in respect of agricultural land," has a counterpart in item 58 of the previous list. Item 81, "rates of stamp duty in respect of bills of exchange," etc. and 82, "terminal tax on goods and passengers carried by Railway," again find places in the previous list. Item 87, "stamp duty on estate duty in respect of property other than agricultural land, has a counterpart in item 58 of the previous list. Item 81, "rates of stamp duty in respect of bills of exchange," etc. and 82, "terminal tax on goods and passengers carried by Railway," again find places in the previous list. Item 87, "stamp duty on estate duty in respect of property other than agricultural land, has a counterpart in item 58 of the previous list.

### FINANCIAL POWERS OF CENTRE

The feeling is generally prevalent in provincial circles that the financial powers allotted to the Centre are not the expression of the financial resources of the provinces. But even who hold this view forget that at the time of the framing of the 1935 Act it was the insistence of the Muslim element at the Round Table Conferences and before the Joint Select Committee that made the common man in the Centre. The matter of finance for the Provincial and Central Governments. The only item in the provincial list of Schedule 7 of the 1935 Act which has been exploited after the Provincial Governments began functioning under the Act, was the Sales Tax. The success of the attempt to experiment in taxation was of a doubtful character as it was only in Madras that this scheme of taxation has produced decent results. The limitation of all financial and other control over agricultural property and the income arising therefrom to the Centre under the 1935 Act has not provided the provinces with any substantial means of raising additional finance. The fact that the provincial legislatures are under the influence, if not under the control, of landlord interests, has prevented agricultural income from being properly tapped. But, perhaps the major factor in the failure of this type of tax in the provinces where it was attempted to be levied was that the yield was very small in proportion to the administrative costs involved. In fact, it is unscientific in that the majority of persons who might be liable to pay agricultural income-tax fall into the category of persons with medium incomes, who have besides, other sources of income which is of a non-agricultural character on which the tax being properly tapped. But, perhaps the major factor in the failure of this type of tax in the provinces where it was attempted to be levied was that the yield was very small in proportion to the administrative costs involved. In fact, it is unscientific in that the majority of persons who might be liable to pay agricultural income-tax fall into the category of persons with medium incomes, who have besides, other sources of income which is of a non-agricultural character on which the tax being properly tapped. But, perhaps the major factor in the failure of this type of tax in the provinces where it was attempted to be levied was that the yield was very small in proportion to the administrative costs involved. In fact, it is unscientific in that the majority of persons who might be liable to pay agricultural income-tax fall into the category of persons with medium incomes, who have besides, other sources of income which is of a non-agricultural character on which the tax being properly tapped.

An assurance similar to what was contained in the speech of Sir Jeremy Raisman, the then Finance Member of the Central Government, made in February 1945, is called for from responsible leaders who would control the destinies of the Indian Union. Sir Jeremy said at that time "that it was the hope and intention of the Central Government that in due course, a satisfactory distribution of the Central revenues will take place."

### CO-ORDINATED SYSTEM OF SALES TAX

Yet another aspect of Sir Jeremy's speech at that time is brought to my mind, now that we are discussing the augmenting the combined financial resources of the Union and the units. That was the suggestion of the co-ordinated system of Sales Tax all over India. The investigations in U. S. during war time in regard to a Federal Sales Tax had, notwithstanding the U. S. Treasury's protest that the customary objections to such a type of taxation by orthodox economists were largely theoretical. The regressive nature of the tax which was supposed to be the worst feature of Sales Tax never operated unilaterally and was counteracted by other circumstances. Experience in Madras where a cumulative turnover tax was tried, to begin with, on a low percentage, has shown that in a period of rising incomes the tax registered no adverse effects on the economy. Elsewhere in India the Sales Tax has had a very limited success and in Bombay, where some kind of scientific investigation was attempted, the view of the experts tended towards the Madras type of tax rather than to a single point tax. There is, therefore, a strong favour of operating a uniform type of Sales Tax all over India, whether administered by the Central Government and the proceeds handed over to the provinces or co-ordinated by the Central Government by bringing all the provinces together and making them enter into a uniform type of tax, and adopt a uniform machinery for collection, if the prejudice against Central interference can be overcome. I would personally prefer this tax to be transferred to the Federal list and the means devised by which the Centre could re-distribute the proceeds of this tax along with certain other categories of its tax income to the provinces.

The fact of the States coming into the Union and the possibility of the majority of them, at any rate, agreeing to the transfer of federal taxation powers to taxation partly to help the Centre to fulfil its responsibilities in the matter of defence and partly for some portion of such tax income to be distributed amongst the units including the States, makes it necessary to review the whole nature of federal taxation afresh. I wonder if it would not be wise to earmark a particular sphere of taxation as entirely Central and leave the rest as being entirely for the benefit of the units, though administered by the Centre. For instance, if we assume that the downward curve will not start for a

long time to come, in respect of income and allied taxes, with the assignment of the power to the Union in respect of collecting taxes on agricultural incomes as well. It might be wise to earmark all direct taxes as being purely intended for purposes in which the Union is primarily interested. On the basis of the estimates made in a foregoing paragraph, the revenue under this head as it is at present would be about 118 crores but this will not cover even the defence expenditure of the Union. Should the States acquiesce in giving the Union power to collect direct taxes, this source and the addition of the tax on agricultural incomes might increase the revenue under the head of direct taxes to some extent, though not substantially. Estate duty on all property, agricultural or non-agricultural, if assigned to the Centre, might go to further augment the revenue under direct taxation. But even then the Centre will need a large slice out of the income from other sources which it might be collecting though primarily earmarked for the benefit of the units. At the moment, these are only two—Customs and Central Excises, which in the aggregate might for purposes of an estimate be said to amount to 125 crores. The additional revenue that might be coming from the States will be negligible in so far as these two items are concerned. The addition of Sales Tax in the Central sphere of taxation and an expansion of the ambit to Central Excises might make the pool of contributions by direct taxes a fairly respectable figure, but of the total annual income from these sources that goes into the pool, the Union will have the first charge of a fixed amount of, perhaps, the sum of 125 crores, which represents the Union's present income from Customs and Central Excises. The balance might be distributed to the units on some equitable basis, preferably on a per capita basis which would, in the long run, help the improvement in the economic status of the poorer sections of the Union and which can be justified from the standpoint of equity.

These are some of the suggestions on which expert thought could be focused but the sine-qua-non for any such attempt would be for the units to realise that if they act unilaterally in trying to augment their tax income, evasion will be a powerful factor to be encountered and secondly, that economic improvement over the whole country will be top-sided, the richer units progressing faster and leaving the poorer ones behind. This in turn will impose a liability on the Centre to deflect its grants on a differential basis paying more to the poorer units than to the richer ones. An all-round economic development on the lines that many of the publicists and politicians in this country are visualising will not be then possible. This will again constitute a fruitful source of provincial jealousies. In the present set-up, when new hands of unity have to be forged, and where there are no particular provincial interests to be specially safeguarded, when planning and economic development is to be made the primary responsibility of the Union to be carried out on an equitable basis, the ultimate benefit being spread out all over the country, I cannot see why the provincial leaders should persist in maintaining an attitude which refuses to concede powers to the Centre, the results of the exercise of which would be passed on for the benefit of the units. On the part of the leaders of the Union any effort spent in allaying the fears now prevailing in provincial circles by a vigorous reiteration of the responsibility of the Union for the well-being of the units and the denial of all intention of impinging on the rights of the units in the matter of the right of finance for the purpose of gathering more power to the Union would be very welcome indeed. If such an atmosphere could be created notwithstanding the fact that the time before us is short, a complete re-examination of the financial provisions contained in the Federal and provincial lists attached to the Union Power Committee's report would prove to be of great benefit for the country's future.



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We join our policy holders and our brothers and sisters in this vast land in offering respects and greetings to all those who have brought us to the very portals of freedom.

In the years that lie ahead, sunny or clouded as they may be, we shall add our weight to that foundation of stability and security on which alone the structure of the new nationhood can rise.

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# INDIA SHOULD PURSUE THE PATHS OF PEACE

## CLOSE UNDERSTANDING WITH PAKISTAN ESSENTIAL

By ARTHUR MOORE

NOW is the appointed Day. Now is the day of salvation. If we start right, we can continue right. On every one of us who lives in India, be it in the Indian Union or Pakistan, there is a personal responsibility to start this day with our thoughts right. For it is out of our collective thinking that will spring the actions and attitudes of Ministers and Legislatures, masters and men, communities and trades unions and Chambers of Commerce.

Long have I lived and hoped for the day when Greater India, an India that includes what was British India and the Indian States, should take its place in the equal councils of a world conscious of essential unity in its admired diversity, conscious of the truth that we are members one of another though each member has his own function and none is in all respects like any other. To me such a day was to be the fitting climax of the intertwined story of Britain and India, the fulfilment of Britain's mission, a mission carried out under God, with many failures to cease its greatness, with some inevitable personal yieldings to the lure of pomp and circumstance, of the pride and glory of this world and the love of money; but for all that a mission writ in the stars of East and West, and discharged from the British Throne and the High Court of Parliament downwards with a large and steady faithfulness, through ever rarer good report and ever increasing ill report.

Now the day has come, and what was British India is resolved into two States. Let us waste no tears on that. The essential thing is to preserve and foster the unity of systems and of outlook that exists. Let us shun the awful example of Europe, which is a recurring specter because it lacks good Europeans, and has only good Frenchmen, Germans, Spaniards, Russians and the rest.

### RUSSIAN ANALOGY

Consider the case of Russia. Under the Tsars there was a single vast country, such as India has been under British rule. Then came war and revolution, and new sovereign States. Russia carved out—Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia as well as a great Poland. Western Europe in the name of democracy resisted and resents Russian efforts to draw them back into a Federation of Republics. That is because of the ideological wars of the Russian revolution in Russia and capitalism cum social democracy in the West. But the Indian Union and Pakistan start together without a revolution, and with equal goodwill from the rest of the world. Let us not build the ideological State that separated the young Baltic States and Poland from Russia and produced eager partisanship for one side or the other in great countries who normally should not meddle in Eastern Europe at all. The sure way to create that eager partisanship would be for Indian spokesmen to use threatening language or exerting economic and military pressure. The lines are drawn between the two States, the issue is settled. Let us start as two self-respecting States respecting also each other, and inheriting common systems of administration and of handling problems. Let us have as many and as long standstill agreements as possible. Remember how easily the separation of Burma and India was effected in 1935, with a standstill tariff agreement for five years.

And what is true of the Indian Union and Pakistan is true of the Indian States. If some States wish to retain their new independence at any rate for a time, what is the harm provided they remain good Indians and through standstill agreements they preserve the unity of Greater India? Such States are larger in area and population than several of those independent European countries that the shortage of good Europeans necessitates.

Let us get back to brotherhood. Consider the British Commonwealth of Nations. The nations, are separate

sovereign States, but they have a common defence policy for their separate armies, navies and air forces, common postage and telegraph rates between themselves, and communications and tariffs planned in consultation. Let us, while we still lack a Federation of Greater India, produce our own Indian Commonwealth. I have no doubt that the British Commonwealth will eventually federate itself, so urgent is the need for closer co-ordination in economic and foreign affairs; but if separatism is still so strong in the British Commonwealth need we be dismayed that the Indian sub-continent is not at once ready for federation?

It is good to aim at perfection, but let us not interpret as failures the delays which the time factor causes.

### COMMUNALISM IN BRITAIN

Consider the case of the United Kingdom. Ten years before I was born, no Roman Catholic could go to Oxford or Cambridge, nor though Ireland was a predominantly Catholic country would he go to Dublin University. Fifty years before I was born Catholics were just obtaining the right to vote and even to sit in Parliament but the vote itself was the privilege of only a small percentage of the adult population. Much of my boyhood was spent in a pocket borough which returned a member to the House of Commons from an electoral roll of perhaps two thousand people, whilst great manufacturing cities such as Birmingham and Manchester were by comparison grossly underrepresented.

In 1905 I had a conversation at Salonika with Hilmil Pasha, the Turkish Governor-General of the Macedonian vilayets. We talked of the terrible animosity between Serbs and Bulgars and Greeks, and I made bold to put forward the argument that every opportunity of studying English institutions. His researches led him to the Kensington Workhouse Infirmary. There his observant eyes noticed one lot of old women had tea at separate tables from the rest. He enquired the reason, and was told that they were found to be separate Protestants from Catholics as they were apt to quarrel. With a twinkle in his eye he retailed this incident to me and said "Vous voyez, Monsieur Moore, c'est pre'cisement la me'me chose a' Londres et en Maccodoine."

Having been born in Ulster I know something of communal riots and passions. My father, an Irish parson, was counted dangerously liberal by some of his congregation because he was on social terms with the parish priest, and even took me, a small boy, to a funeral mass for a priest. My mother, who descended from small Huguenot settlers in the west of Ireland, was a good and devout woman, but less advanced. She believed that all Catholics were inherently bad men who after death would burn for ever in everlasting fire; and I think she felt that she could spot a Catholic at fifty yards. In the country parish where I lived between the ages of three and eleven there had been a pitched battle some years earlier between Orange and Green which is still celebrated, though with diminishing ardour, by the Orangemen of Ulster as a glorious victory.

So let us not be dismayed by the fierceness of the communal passions that rage in India to-day, or by the terrible events of the past year. Time is a sure healer, and we cannot cut out the time factor just because we have

read a lot of liberal stuff in books, or because religious persecution has died out in Britain.

Here in India we are fortunate in having a long start. We have had no penal laws against Moslems or Hindus or Sikhs such as the struggle between Protestantism and Catholicism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries produced in Britain. We begin with religious freedom for all, and with the concept of the higher unity of all true religions; of one God and Father of us all. Also the pace is faster now, and we can quickly reach the attitude of tolerance that drew so slowly but has now flowered so finely in Britain.

### PROBLEMS AWAITING SOLUTION

Great and immediate troubles of a non-communal kind confront the Indian Union and Pakistan alike. To their solving they will be forced to bend their common energies. Let me list some of these problems. First, there is the root difficulty that the Indian Peninsula, like Great Britain, does not grow enough food to keep alive its population. In the past Britain solved the problem by large food imports for which she easily paid by exporting manufactures and by services, and in any case the rate of increase in her population was slackening. India solved her problem by progressively lowering the diet of the masses and simultaneously aggravated the problem by increasing her population at a high rate. Year by year she has been drawing nearer and nearer to mass starvation. Western Pakistan is a land of surplus, but suffering and comparatively well-served administrative area. Eastern Pakistan and the Indian Union are faced with a grim winter prospect. From the outside war-shattered world little food can be expected. Burma, the nearest country with a rice surplus, is in turmoil. Harmonious relations between Western Pakistan and the rest of India, and free trade in goods and services alone can mitigate the coming ordeal of the masses.

Secondly, we must face the fact that this shrinkage of food coincides with a revolutionary stirring amongst the workers. They will insistently press their demands not merely for the maintenance of the old standard, but for a rising standard in food, in housing, and other necessities and amenities, and for educational facilities. Amongst the Hindus there is also an awakening of the social conscience and they will be confronted by the "Have-nots" with their own lavish promises of wealth and freedom and full employment for all. The new States may therefore expect some large-scale strikes and industrial unrest, and every wage concession won by workers in one part of the country will have reactions elsewhere.

For their mutual benefit, let us have healthy competition between all the provinces as to which can do most to increase the fertility of the rural soil, to industrialise the urban areas, and to give to every child in town and country at least the power to read and write.

### FOREIGN POLICY

Next there is the certainty of new fateful contacts with the outer world. In the great solid Eurasian continental land mass that stretches from Lisbon to Kamchatka and from the Arctic Ocean to Comoros, Russia to-day is incomparably the strongest Power, militarily and ideologically. She is India's neighbour, while Britain with whom India has far stronger cultural and politico-scientific links is far away and America further still. For generations the British, suspicious of Russian designs on India, have on security grounds refused to allow Russians to visit the North West Frontier Province. We may be sure that not many weeks will pass before the physical nearness of the Soviet Republics to the new independent States of the Indian Peninsula becomes more manifest than when India's foreign relations were conducted from London.

Here there is need for us to watch our step, and a close understanding between Pakistan and the Indian Union is essential. It is reasonable to assume that Russia will seek to draw the Indian Peninsula into her orbit of influence in what the Soviet leaders regard as an economic struggle with the USA and in a lesser degree with Britain and Western Europe. Obviously the inhabitants of the Indian Peninsula have strong reasons for being on good terms with such a powerful nation as Russia. On no account must they find themselves in a military camp definitely

(Continued on page XVII)

# INDO-CHINESE FRIENDSHIP

## Ancient Cultural Ties

By H. E. OHIA-LUEN LO

(Ambassador of the Republic of China)

THE cultural relationship between China and India is a truly happy relationship, as it has never been strained, nor strained by any sinister motives, aggressive measures, or territorial ambitions. It started with peaceful trade in beautiful articles and was kept going on by the pursuit of noble aims, lofty ideas, religious enlightenment and intellectual satisfaction.

Some contemporary Chinese scholars even trace Indian influences in Chinese culture back to as early as the Kingdom of Tsu in the fourth century B.C. But as a student of history, I think that there is a great deal of conjecture, as these scanty historical materials will be quite unconvincing but can never be conclusive. The name of India first appeared in Chinese history in about the second quarter of the second century B.C., when the great Chinese Ambassador Chang Chien, sent to the West-ern Empire, returned with a report from An Hsi (Parthia), after having been in Ta Hsia (Bactria), the furthest satrapy of Alexander's empire, then ruled by a Macedonian dynasty found by Diodotus. In his memorial to the throne Chang Chien clearly stated: "When your servant was in Ta Hsia he saw large bamboos and cloth of Shu (Szechuan). When he asked the people of Ta Hsia how they obtained these things they told him that their merchants brought them in Shien Tu (Sind, India) which is a country several days' ride to the west of Ta Hsia, and is a sedentary (i.e. not nomadic) country, like Ta Hsia." But the route by which these things were brought to India is still unknown.

The introduction of Buddhism into China dates back probably to a century before the year 65 A.D. when Emperor Ming of the Later Han Dynasty, had his famous dream of the Holy Man, in which he saw a revelation of Buddha. It is true the great Indian ruler Asoka sent more than two hundred Buddhist missionaries to all parts of the world to spread his cherished faith in the third century B.C. but no traces can yet be found that any one of them ever arrived in China.

But after Emperor Ming, anyhow, the contacts between China and India through the Tarim basin in Sinkiang, until the fourth and fifth centuries when Buddhism had its most gorgeous blossoms in Chinese history. Both Mahayana and Hinayana were transplanted from the Indian to the Chinese soil, though only the former flourished at its best.

All this was due to the great zeal and great efforts of a great number of learned religious leaders and scholars, both Chinese and Indian. I should not omit to mention that some Turanians, Parthians and Kushans also participated in this joint work. In 399 A.D. Fa Hsien, a learned Chinese monk started his arduous journey to India, by crossing the most treacherous Tarim basin and the Hindu-Kush. Through Afghanistan he arrived in India and travelled extensively up to Bengal and Ceylon. His sound scholarship as well as keen observations left not only a great legacy to the Buddhist literature in China but also some historical records of those countries he visited. Almost simultaneously the celebrated Kumara-jiva, a monk of Indian descent but born in Central Asia, arrived in China early in the fifth century. His translations of the Buddhist sutras in China and opened the path to new schools of Buddhist thought. His prestige and popularity was in later times only shared by and comparable to Bodhidharma, whose miraculous passage of the great Yangtze river on a weed, of course, is a sheer legend.

### HUAN-TSANG'S PILGRIMAGE

There is no need to give any details to Hsuan-Tsang's pilgrimage to India which he started in the year 629, as it is only too familiar to our Indian friends. After sixteen years of difficult journeys and arduous work, he spent his last twenty remaining years in translating Buddhist sutras which he brought back with him. The total amount of translation works ascribed to him was so stupendous that it was about five times as much as voluminous as the Christian Bible! His records of the warm and courteous treatment accorded to him by his Indian friends were so vivid and touching that they have never failed to arouse the deep feeling of the Chinese people towards Indians, even to-day.

So much for the past; and the past is only of value and importance to our present generation as it could be incorporated into the present to form an inseparable whole towards a future destination. Ever since the time of Hsuan-Tsang's visit, both China and India changed and have constantly been changing, particularly in the last two hundred years, politically, economically as well as culturally. There, it seems to me nothing is more urgent than the seeking of a new understanding, with new forms of co-operation in its wake, between our two great ancient and yet modern peoples.

Through the more frequent contacts with Western culture and civilisation, and especially by the introduction of the scientific method, both China and India have been working out different paths leading to the adaptation of our lives and fortunes to an entirely new international environment. Indian genius, so far as I know, has never failed in coping with its new tasks. Industrialisation, although just partially completed, has given India a great impetus, politically, economically as well as culturally. There, it seems to me nothing is more urgent than the seeking of a new understanding, with new forms of co-operation in its wake, between our two great ancient and yet modern peoples.

### FIRST REPUBLIC IN ASIA

As to China, politically speaking, we may perhaps have the honor to claim that we, among Asian peoples, were the first to start a national revolution, and consequently succeeded in setting up the first republic in Asia. We have been constantly adjusting our old traditions and social systems to meet modern requirements. By adopting the scientific method and imbuing the scientific spirit we have resumed our painstaking work of text criticism and applied it even to sacred books. Hence, through new avenues of approach, new interpretations have been made of, and new light thrown on, our historical past. We have re-evaluated our cultural heritage by new standards, and have eventually brought about the Literary Revolution, which has chiefly sponsored the use of the spoken language, in its written form, as a medium of expressing thoughts and ideas

liberated from the bondage of classical forms and traditional mannerisms. Thus thoughts and ideas have flown and spread through much easier and wider channels, coming in touch with and within reach of the common people. This spoken language has become a new and generally accepted form of written language, known as the "Kuo-Yu", or the national language. It has since been continuously amplified, improved and standardised.

In modern science as well as in humanistic studies, China has also a number of eminent scholars in geology, mathematics, physics, biology, history, philosophy, archaeology and perhaps in a few other branches of learning. And China also has a few academic institutions such as the Chinese Geological Survey and several well-known Institutes in the Academia Sinica, which are quite worth mentioning and perhaps also worth visiting by foreign scholars. When I am mentioning this, I am perfectly aware of our limitations, particularly that which were and have been imposed upon us by the war and the post-war situation; but when I am looking at the future, I cannot help calling the attention of our great friends, the Indian people, to the fact that the modern changes and especially the cultural activities of the Chinese people should be duly appreciated. In this connection, may I add that as our Indian friends taught us to make sugar out of the sugarcane in an earlier period so we are returning the courtesy by returning to them the gift of B. Hou, an internationally known chemical engineer, come to India to help the Tata Works to make cheaper and better caustic-soda by a process of his own designing.

### HEAVY INTELLECTUAL DEBT

While reviewing the past history of Chinese-Indian relations, I have somehow been puzzled that the Indian monks-scholars were so generous to give, but so reluctant to take. I have brought with me three Chinese books on Sanskrit grammar and philology, one written perhaps in the fourth century, and the other two in the eighth or ninth centuries, and yet so far as my limited knowledge in Indian literature and bibliography goes, I am still uncertain whether you have any books on Chinese grammar or philology or any translations of Chinese classics, written by Indian scholars, in and after that period. Anyhow, I wish to assure you that since China owes India a heavy intellectual debt of the past, she will never hesitate to pay it back if she has any intellectual contributions in reserve.

The recent arrangement of exchanging professors and students is a very encouraging sign to which I will always give my fullest support. My only regret is that the number is too small and the field is not extensive enough, even by comparison with the pilgrims of any of the earlier periods. When the travelling conditions were so difficult those scholar monks risked their lives in treacherous quicksands in deserts, dangerous snow-capped mountain peaks, and perilous waves of boundless oceans just for the sake of looking for the fountains of wisdom to quench their intellectual thirst. Then why should be moderners, provided with such comfortable airways and sea-routes, be hesitant to cover the distance which has been already shortened by science?

I earnestly hope that some more and better facilities for promoting and cementing the cultural relations of our two peoples would be provided as soon as circumstances permit. In this modern world, China and India have not only ample chances, but also a great necessity to co-operate in the fields of international affairs, commerce, industry, communications, and anything relating to our common welfare and common security. But as an educationalist and as a man so closely connected with cultural relationship, which will surely lead to mutual understanding and through mutual understanding to mutual appreciation and respect, is the best and surest foundation on which rests the most permanent international friendship.

Formerly, when people wanted to fight with one another, they measured between them their bodily strength; not it is possible to take away thousands of lives by one man working behind a gun from a hill. This is civilization.—Mahatma Gandhi.

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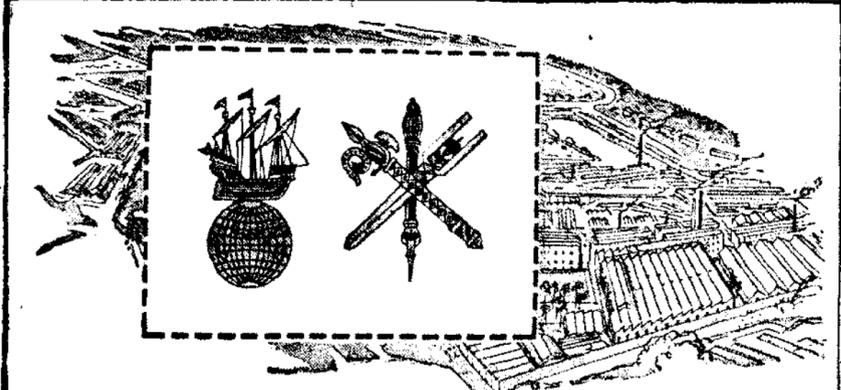
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# GANDHIJ'S PHILOSOPHY OF ACTION

## THE FUTURE OF NON-VIOLENCE

By BHARATAN KUMARAPPA

TO-DAY we rejoice as we reap the fruit of Gandhiji's efforts to win freedom for India from foreign rule. What is the philosophy motivating this trail old man that has led him successfully and without shedding of blood to break up the mightiest empire the world has ever known? What other great achievements would he lead his country to, if his people only followed him? Obviously, we cannot within the limits of this article attempt to give more than the barest essentials in the way of an answer.

The secret of his philosophy of action lies in his unswerving faith in eternal verities, call them Truth, God or moral principles. He regards his life as a quest for Truth, and his public activities as due to a longing for self-identification with the heart of the universe. For him nothing else matters.

In this he is essentially in line with the seers and saints of old, who also gave themselves completely to the search for and to union with the Infinite. But his uniqueness consists in this that this age old quest and passionate devotion led him, not to a life of seclusion and retirement in the Himalayas but to service of his fellowmen.

India had always taught that the Deity was not some remote abstract entity but was the very soul and life-principle of the universe. He was the unity that ran through all creation like a string through pearls, and sustained it.

The direct result of this belief was for Gandhiji to seek his salvation only in and through the salvation of his fellowmen. He who would find God must find Him in identifying himself with his fellows. The individual and society are one. In serving society, therefore, he finds himself.

Another result of this belief was his application of religion and morality to social life. People generally regard religion as something which should govern the relation of one individual to another. But since for Gandhiji the line of demarcation between the individual and morality which was ordinarily applied only to individual conduct, he applied also in the social, economic and political spheres.

### BASIS OF PHILOSOPHY

Still another result of Gandhiji's belief in the essential unity of all beings is that the only right principle of conduct for man was non-violence or love. Whatever unites man with his fellows partakes of the nature of Reality. Non-violence or love does this. Therefore, it is to be adopted.

With non-violence as the base, his whole philosophy of action follows step by step. Non-violence demands not only that the individual may not commit physical violence against another, but that every form of social injustice and inequality must cease, and individuals be given full and equal scope for self-development. If the social system makes distinctions between man and man, gives opportunities of knowledge, wealth and spiritual development to some but denies them to others, then such a social system must go. For are not all men embodiments of the one Brahman? Touchable or untouchable, Hindu or Muslim, are one before God. So they must be one for man.

Or take economic life. Judged by the standard of non-violence, any system which involves more than the minimum force and compulsion is wrong. Large-scale production, whether under Capitalism or under Socialism, is, therefore, unacceptable. For when it is carried on on a national or global scale, as it tends to be, it becomes centralised and has to be managed by experts, the bulk of the people becoming merely servants carrying out orders issued to them by those at the top. This necessitates violence, the individual being forced to conform to orders issued from the centre, whether he wishes to or not. Non-violence, on the other hand, involves giving full scope to the individual to

plan and direct his work as best he may, provided he does not thereby do injury to his neighbour. The less control over him and interference from the State or from a powerful managerial group, the better. This is possible only under a decentralised economy, where individuals manage their own work and are limited only by the needs of self-sufficient and self-governing village groups.

Gandhiji's passion for liberty and distrust of all state control over the individual is rooted in his non-violence. Nothing can injure a man so much as depriving him of his liberty; for without free will there can be no moral or spiritual growth and development. Liberty in the political sphere, means self-government. So he organised a movement for liberating his country from foreign rule. For this, however, he could not resort to violence as other revolutionaries had done, as non-violence was the basis of his philosophy. Besides, he believed that means and end were organic. So if he wanted to establish non-violence, he felt he could not do it by violence, any more than he could hope to make water cold by heating it.

But mere political freedom does not mean much to the masses. What they want are food, clothes, shelter, health education and opportunities for self-development. They are held in bondage by poverty, disease, ignorance, drink and other evil habits. They cannot be liberated from these obstacles to their self-development are removed. Hence Gandhiji's movement for Khadi and other Village Industries, medical aid, basic education, temperance, and such like. All these activities of his are offshoots of his philosophy of non-violence, which, stated positively, aims at liberating the powers of the individual to the fullest, so that he may grow and develop to the maximum.

## Service to the Common Man

### "We Have To Shed Old Ideas"

By Mr. O. P. RAMASWAMI REDDIAR

ON this historic occasion of the attainment by India of a place in the comity of Nations as an Independent Member thereof, our hearts go out in gratitude to that Great Saint, Mahatma Gandhi, who more than any other single person has been responsible for this result. The War of Independence of the year 1857 was waged with much valour and with a lot of loss of life. It unfortunately failed and left the people with a sense of frustration and defeatism. The torch of fight for freedom then lit was dimmed but not extinguished. It was 28 years before the people could just rise up and think again of freedom and organise themselves for that purpose under the banner of the Indian National Congress. The Congress first began in a humble way but soon its voice became more strident and persistent and it is under its banner that the country has now achieved freedom.

It was when Mrs. Besant entered the political life of the country in 1917 that I began my humble service to the cause of the country. Soon came the great Movement of Non-co-operation started by Mahatma Gandhi and I was one of those who threw their hearts and souls into it. I am a believer in the Gandhian way of life and also his method of struggle. The Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930 and 1932 galvanised the nation into a strength which it had not felt before and the people at last began to realise their strength. The Conservative Party then in power in England tried its best to suppress this and wasted five long years over constitution-making. The speed with which recently all provisions were made for the transfer of power, even for the partition of the country, can well be contrasted with the enormous delay

Similarly Swadeshi. No one can develop his capacities if his needs are met by others. This is true not only in regard to physical needs like those of food and clothing, but also in regard to spiritual needs like religion, education, art and culture. Hence the necessity to encourage local industry and talent. Otherwise people will be reduced to a state of helplessness and be incapable of looking after themselves. The goal for a believer in non-violence is the individual's self-development, not a mere satisfaction of his wants.

### DISLIKE OF WESTERN CIVILISATION

This explains also Gandhiji's dislike of Western civilisation. He finds that instead of making the individual self-dependent and capable of being his own master, and of thinking and acting for himself, the West through industrialisation has led him to enslavement. It has multiplied his wants and made him dependent for his happiness on their fulfilment. Through artificial devices invented to counteract the evil effects of dissipation in regard to food, drink, and sex, he is encouraged to go further and further down the road to self-destruction, till he loses all self-control and becomes completely a slave of his cravings. As all his wants are met by ready-made goods manufactured by mass by machines, he is losing all initiative and capacity for creation. In these ways the spark of divinity which is in him—the power he shares with his Maker to control and create—is extinguished, and he tends to become dehumanised and regimented.

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taken ten years ago and exemplifies the good old adage "Where there is a will, there is a way."

The climax in the freedom struggle was reached when in August 1947 Mahatma Gandhi first set forth the call 'Quit India' and it is in the fitness of things that in the same month India should become independent. We have suffered much, we have undergone many privations, many of us have lost all that we had, but comparing our freedom struggle with the struggle of other countries, our loss in life and property has been very small indeed—thanks to Mahatma Gandhi's doctrine of non-violence. We have waged our war of independence without any feeling of bitterness and our war has been to remarkable extent free from any racial hatred.

While we realise what we have achieved, it is time that we took stock of the situation and prepared ourselves for the future. Our troubles begin only hereafter. We are a great country with great natural resources, but we are one of the poorest countries in the world. Our resources in men and materials have not been fully utilised. We are underclothed and underfed. Many of us have so far lost ourselves in the struggle for freedom and have not consciously prepared ourselves to shoulder the responsibility that is now ours. The sudden dawn of responsibility on us has taken some of us almost by surprise and it is time that we consciously set our selves to the task of preparing ourselves to serve the country in new walks of life. We have got to train and apply ourselves to the task of administration. We have got to shed off many of our old ideas which were good enough during a period of struggle, but which might not be quite proper at a time when we are masters in our own home. More than all, there is the lot of the common man in this country to be improved. He is one of the hardest hit, most miserably clothed, fed and housed individual in the world. It is in service to him that we have to reach our highest levels. May we on this solemn occasion re-dedicate ourselves to serve him—that, in fact, is service to the mother-country and also service to God.

## A PUBLICIST LOOKS BACK

### SOME CONGRESS MEMORIES

By Dr. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA

BORN in November, 1871, I had just completed my 17th year when it fell to my lot to witness, for the first time, a session of the Indian National Congress. For three years before, my mind had been dominated by the rising spirit of nationalism in the country, and being at that time a school student, and the first three sessions of the Congress having been held at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, respectively, I could not attend any of them. But the fourth session was held in December 1888, at Allahabad, when I was a student in the Patna College, and I made up my mind months before it was held, that I must attend that session. Accordingly, in the last week of December, 1888, I travelled in a rickety third-class compartment to Allahabad, and reached there with a broken-down carriage. That year's session of the Congress had evoked considerable opposition not only from the British officialdom, headed by Sir Auckland Colvin the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and Chief Commissioner of Oudh, but also from some Indians of high position, the most important of whom was Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the founder of the Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, which was converted, in 1920, into the present Muslim University. The session was presided over by a well-known British merchant, Mr. George Ex-Sheriff of Calcutta, and an ex-President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce.

The number of delegates was very large, nearly 1,500, and included several eminent leaders, from the various provinces. There were on the platform, among others, Bepin Chandra Pal from Assam, Surendra Nath Banerjee from Calcutta, Pandit Ayodhya Nath, one of the leaders of the Allahabad High Court Bar, who was the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Sardar Dayal Singh Majithia (founder of the Lahore Tribune), and that rising politician, Lajpat Rai, also G. Subramaniam Aiyar of Tinian, and a group of several South Indian notabilities, and last but not least, the towering personality of Phiroze Shah Mehta, from Bombay, with another great intellectual by his side, viz., Kashinath Trim-bak Telang, who was soon after elevated to the Bench of the Bombay High Court. But though I heard all these great leaders and eminent orators, the greatest impression made on my youthful mind was by that sweet-tongued orator, then below thirty, the late lamented Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The most notable feature of that session was the appearance on the Congress platform of Raja Shiva Prasad, with the Star of India emblazoned resplendent on his breast, who was the most pronounced Hindu opponent of the Congress. He was heard patiently, but his amendment (which was no amendment) was laughed down, returned from the Congress a confirmed Congressman, which I claim to have been all these sixty years.

### CAMPAIGN IN BRITAIN

A year later, that is, in December 1889, I managed to get away stealthily from Calcutta, to prosecute my studies in England and I had to do as my desire had met with considerable opposition at the hands of my parents, and also the friends and relations of the family. I arrived in London early in February, 1890, and decided to join the Home's Society of the Middle Temple, for being called to the Bar, which status I obtained in January 1893, when I returned home. About the time I left Calcutta on board the steamer, the Bombay session of the Congress was being held under the presidency of Sir William Wedderburn, one of the greatest protagonists of India's political demands. The session was memorable for the visit of Mr. Bradlaugh, then a prominent and advanced Radical member of the House of Commons, who introduced an India Bill in Parliament, in 1890, on his return from India. To support his Bill the Congress had sent a deputation to Britain. It consisted of Mr. Yule, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee (the first President), Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, Mr. Eardly Norton, Mr. Modholkar, and young Moropant Joshi (then between 25 and 30), and now, as Sir Moropant Joshi, a venerable figure in the Central Provinces and Berar. I went round with the deputation to almost all the places they visited, and attended the various functions held in their honour. The Congress had not been able to include in the deputation any Muslim, but I managed to induce the late Mr. (later Sir) Ali Imam, who was on the eve of being called to the Bar, to go about with the deputation, which he very kindly did. His association proved very useful.

My most notable connection with the freedom movement for India in Britain was in 1892, in the election contest of Darnley North, in which I did a little bit of canvassing for him in the Central Finsbury constituency. Dadaboy was elected by a very narrow margin of votes, and his election was impeached by his opponent; but fortunately the impeachment failed and Dadaboy was declared duly elected as the first Indian member of the House of Commons. The announcement of his election evoked tremendous enthusiasm, not only throughout the length and breadth of India, but in Britain also—more particularly because during the course of his way Lord Salisbury had gone out of his way to refer to Dadaboy as "a black man". To celebrate his victory a banquet was arranged at the famous Holborn Restaurant in London, which was attended by nearly five hundred guests, representing all shades of political opinion, and over which Sir Muncharjee Bhow-nagaree presided. The speeches delivered were highly enthusiastic. The large youthful section of the gathering shouted themselves hoarse with slogans, and very nearly broke the glass-ware on the table with their thumpings. As THE HINDU I understand, supports the prohibition movement, I shall not refer to anything which might hurt the feelings of its readers, and so I shall give no details of how much spirit the guests consumed to keep themselves in good spirits!

In 1893, I went to Lahore, not as a delegate but as a visitor, to witness the session held in that year under the presidency of Dadaboy Naoroji. The next two years I could not attend the Congress sessions as they were held at distant places. But I joined the Calcutta session in 1896, as a delegate from Allahabad, at which place I had settled down, by that time, after getting myself enrolled in the High Court as an Advocate. Since 1894 till the Amritsar session held in 1919, for about a quarter of a century, I was intimately associated with the Congress movement and its activities; and attended regularly almost every session that was held in this fairly long interval of time. For many years I was Secretary of the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee, and afterwards its President. Of the sessions held during this fairly long period, perhaps the most notable was the one held in Calcutta in 1906, under the presidency of Dadaboy Naoroji, who came especially from London to give the destinies of the country and who, for the first time in the political annals of modern India, introduced the term

"Swaraj", which after a period of over four decades has at last dawned on India.

The last session of the Congress I attended, as a delegate, was that held at Amritsar in December, 1919, under the presidency of Pandit Motilal Nehru. A special session held in Calcutta in September, 1920, the resolution on non-co-operation, moved under Mahatma Gandhi's inspiration, was declared by the President, Lala Lajpat Rai, to have been indecisive; but it was carried almost unanimously at the annual session held at Nagpur in December of the same year, and I found myself at variance in regard to the methods embodied in it for the attainment of Swaraj.

### LIBERALS BREAK AWAY

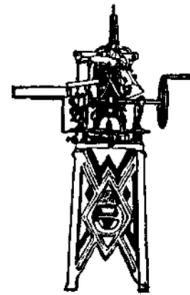
Immediately on the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report in 1918, a number of Congress veterans conceived the idea of seceding from the Congress, and forming another political body, to be known as the National Liberal Federation. At the suggestion of Mr. Chintamani, the then Editor of the Leader (of Allahabad), Sir Surendra Nath sent me a long telegram asking me to join the new party. I had a consultation with Syed Hasan Imam, who also had received a similar telegram. We decided at that time to stick to the Congress, and I sent a long reply to Sir Surendra, on behalf of both of us, declining to accept his invitation. A little later, Hasan Imam presided over the special session of the Congress, held in Bombay in September of that year, and I stood by him. It was only after the adoption of the Nagpur resolution in 1920, that both Hasan Imam and I decided not to be actively associated with the Congress. But I have always claimed to be a Congressman, as I have never identified myself with any other political party or organisation in the country. When the Golden Jubilee of the Congress was celebrated in Bihar, in 1935, I had the unique privilege of being unanimously elected the President of the Celebrations Committee.

During the period of over a quarter of a century which has elapsed since, I have done my little bit as a Congressman in various ways in the press and on the platform, and also as Jails Member of the Government of the Province, and my humble efforts have been duly appreciated by one of the great Congress leaders, Dr. Rajendra Prasad. In the course of a sketch of my career, which he contributed as an Introduction to the collection of my writings and speeches, published in 1942, he wrote amongst many complimentary things as follows: "But he has never ceased to associate cordially with Congressmen and his house and hospitality have been always available to them." The result is that almost every Congressman, who has come into prominence as a public man, during this period has been known to me, and I have been intimately associated with many of them, and any difference between me and them in regard to the method of work for the attainment of India's freedom has never stood in the way of our close friendship, since we recognised that our ideals being absolutely the same, viz., the complete economic and political freedom of India differences in regard to the method of work did not matter, and should not matter.

As I recall these few reminiscences of my long career in the public life of the country, I am naturally reminded of the large number of my leaders, friends and comrades, who have fallen in their march to the goal of victory. But it must be recorded that but for their sacrifice of health, money, and even of life itself, the four hundred millions of us should not have lived to see the day of India's independence. As truth, I would like to pay a tribute of regard, esteem, and love, to the memory of all those men and women who, during the last sixty years, had played their part, on the stage of Indian public life, in the cause, the great cause, of Indian independence, which had been achieved at last, and the fruition of which I hope to witness—if I am alive till then—at Delhi, on the 15th of this month, in the Constituent Assembly Chamber, when power will be formally transferred from British to Indian hands, and India will have attained Swaraj at long last. It is a long march for me from the 1888 session of the Congress to the 15th August, 1947, ceremonial, and I am thankful to Providence for granting me this great and rare privilege to see the dream of my life realised.

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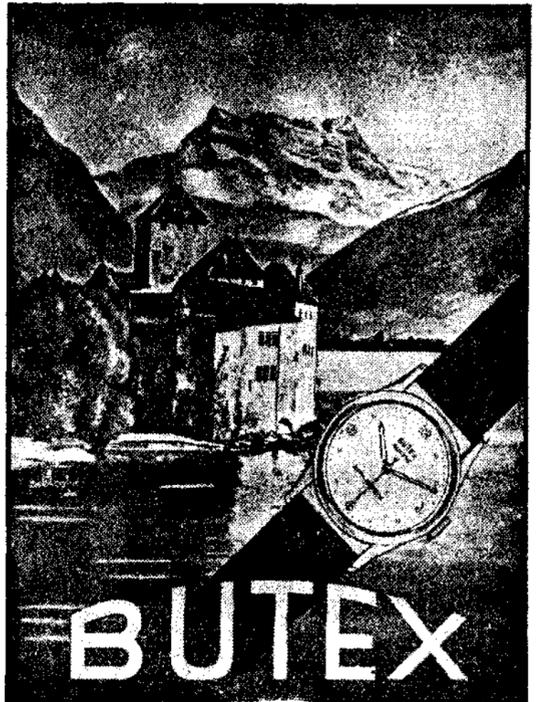


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# RENAISSANCE OF INDIAN CULTURE

By ANANDA GOOMARASWAMY

OUR problem is not so much one of re-birth of an Indian culture as it is one of preserving what remains of it. This culture is not Indian as much as it is Indian as because it is culture. At the same time its special forms are adapted to the specifically Indian nature and inheritance and they are appropriate to us in the same way that national costume is appropriate to those who have the right to wear it. We cut a sorry figure in our foreign or hybrid clothes and only invite the ridicule of foreign musicians by playing the harmonium.

The younger generation of poets and that which will largely shape the course of India's social and educational policies in the immediate future is, for the most part, as ignorant of India's traditions and cultural values as any European might be and sometimes even more so; and just because of this lack of background cannot grasp the American and European problems that confront it. Freedom is the opportunity to act in accordance with one's own nature. But our leaders are already de-natured, quite as much as Lord Macaulay could have wished them to be "a class of persons Indian in blood and colour but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect". Because they have yet to "discover" India they have not realised that the modern world is no longer an integrated culture but "an organised barbarism and a political pandemonium". They have no more moral courage "to be themselves" without which they can be of little use to themselves or anyone else than had their predecessors on whom a so-called Western education had been more forcibly imposed in missionary colleges or Government-controlled Universities. It will take many a long year yet for Indians to recover their spontaneity. For the present most of our "educated" men are just as much as Americans, dominated by current catchwords of "Equality", "Democracy", "Progress", "Literacy" and so forth. In the past and still to-day Indians have earned and deserved much of the contempt of Europeans whom they have flattered so sincerely by imitation of all their habits and ways of thinking. We too are on our way to become a nation of slaves, at the same time industrious and ignorant. Notwithstanding that all the precepts of philosophy refer to life we have learnt from the modern world to despise the lover of wisdom and to leap before we look.

On the other side of the Indian picture are great figures and great Indian philosophies as Mahatma Gandhi and Sri Aurobindo. Both are advocates of forces of human association unfavourable to war and both are significant as much for the rest of the world as for India in this age of violence. Unlike the Utopians of the modern West neither of these men suppose that the life of the world can be cured by planning or economic means alone without a change of heart. Both seeking to restore the forms of social organisation wherein human values shall predominate over those of "success" evaluated only in terms of money. Particularly, Shri Aurobindo has masterly work "Capitalism, Socialism or Villagism?" is a reasoned argument for decentralisation, local self-sufficiency, small-scale manufacture and restoration of a direct personal relation between producers and consumers of the necessities of life and that invokes the whole of our culture since it is the natural and proper function of the artist to provide for all the needs of the whole man, as a physical and metaphysical person, at one and the same time.

Again, throughout the ages, India has been a land of profound religious convictions and of equally generous religious tolerance. Here at least it is nowhere else it is still possible for men to think of their own faith as the friend and ally of all others in a common sense. It has been said that in the West religion is fast becoming an archaic and impossible refuge. But in India it still

provides for both the hearts and minds of men, and gives them an inalienable dignity; and because of this, the natural connection of religion with sociology and politics has never been broken. There is no such opposition of sacred to profane as is taken for granted in the West; in our experience culture and religion have been indivisible; and that in our inheritance, is what we can least of all afford to abandon.

Indian women at the present day and so far as they have not yet been "brought up to date", are our best conservators of Indian culture. And let us not forget that in a country like India any judgment of standards of culture in terms of statistics of literacy would be ridiculous; literacy in the modern world of magazines and newspapers, is no guarantee of culture whatever; and it is far better not to know how to read than not to know what to read. In the meantime also there is an immediate and desperate need for the establishment of cultural and not merely economic and political contacts with the rest of the world. No doubt the West is very largely to be blamed for its own cultural isolation which amounts to a very real provincialism; but blame is also ours, for our students and other aspirants of culture and not merely engineers or physicists and politicians than men of culture—where they ought to have been both at once, able to contribute something more than their fees to those from whom they come to learn the newest techniques. When the culture that we know and profess to restore was alive, learned men of foreign countries came from far away to study in India. The measure of our culture is not that of our ability to learn new tricks but that of what we have to give.

## INDIA AND BRITAIN

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, Aug. 15.

Mr. Godfrey Nicholson, M.P. (Conservative), who visited India in 1934-35 and again last year as a member of the Parliamentary Delegation, has sent a message to India on the Independence Day.

As Conservative member of Parliament and as the Vice-President of the Conservative India Committee, it gives me the greatest pleasure to be asked to send fraternal greetings to the people of India on this great and historic occasion. Indian affairs are not matters of Party controversy in Great Britain and I know I am telling the literal truth when I say without exception every man and woman in this country prays that happiness and prosperity may be the lot of India in future. We pray too that links that have so closely knit together the peoples of our two countries in the past may not only remain as strong but will become still stronger and closer as the years pass, now that they are existing bonds of affection and common interest; now that no element of compulsion or domination remains.

I am convinced from my own knowledge of India and my own country that although we are divided by many thousands of miles of land and sea and although there are profound differences of race and creed, there is yet in common between us a similar approach to the great problems of life and politics. In India and in Great Britain, I find the same kindness of heart, the same respect for simple and homely virtues that form the basis of all human happiness and progress and the same belief in the freedom and rights and value of the individual. Providence has decreed that for many generations in the past, our fortunes should be closely linked together. It is my deep conviction that we have a common destiny and that the peoples of India and Great Britain will continue to march together hand in hand to face the heavy problems that confront mankind. It is with this faith in my heart that I send a message of sincerest congratulations and affection to India to-day.

## Unknown Warriors of Freedom

By KHASA SUBBA RAU

ON this, India's Day of Independence, it is meet and proper that we recollect with gratitude the contribution to the present state of the countless unknown warriors that laid down their lives in the battle for freedom. This has been unlike any other battle. Struggles for the collective political liberty of a people, have to be fought on the physical plane, since as national consciousness increases, the ruling power is left with nothing else except its over-riding physical resources, for maintaining itself in possession. It may be that the atom bomb, with its potentiality of wholesale death to the exclusion of a maimed or surviving population to rule over, influenced British imperialists more than any physical inconvenience caused to them by the Indian challenge of freedom, to realise that superiority in inflicting destruction had passed on to other hands, and with their brilliant talent for improvisation, to switch on to other methods of preserving their imperialist pre-eminence. But the fighters for freedom in India could have foreseen neither the atom bomb nor the swift change that has taken place since its advent, in the British treatment of India. Their fight was not made easy by any calculations in advance of certain, proximate victory. Theirs was a long and unrelenting fight, that by no process of sane calculation could the weaker side ever hope for mastery in any trial of physical strength over the other. Judged by ordinary standards, there was an element of insanity in the mad and desperate fight of the unknown warriors of freedom. They were unarmed and disarmed people to contend for their freedom with the organised might of what had been till the other day, the mightiest empire on earth.

In national affairs, what is adjudged madness by the commonsense standards of the work-a-day world is the core of faith, self-dependent and impervious to outside terror, that is at the bottom of the self-immolation of heroes for great causes, is responsible for the miracles of history and is spoken of as capable of moving mountains. Of all the mad people engaged in India's freedom fight, the unknown warriors were the maddest—and the most heroic. They were prompted by hopes of gaining nothing in return for what they gave—and they gave all that men could give for a cause. Perhaps they felt warmed by the glow of a common adventure, shared with the nation's leaders, men like Gandhi and Nehru. Intuitively they must have felt impelled by a sense of personal participation in the work and fortunes of their country and they were sustained in their standards of judgment on human values by no thought of income, position or power or other form of personal benefit and no vanity for self-advertisement.

These unknown warriors of freedom did not think of defeat or of their own lives and safety. All that they were aware of was of hope for the future and confidence in that future and were excited and interested about it. They died that the world they knew and had lived in may be made better for those who survived and came after. What have we, the living, to such as these dead whom we owe so much in attainment of the present freedom? Something more is due to them than spasmodic exhibitions of emotion exhausting itself in getting exhibited. It is being unfaithful to the grand purpose of the unknown warriors of freedom who laid with their lives the foundations of the State inherited by India's present leaders on Independence Day, to seek, as some of the vulgar profane of patriotism have been seeking to do in our midst, to split those foundations by opposing class against class and developing cleavage perpetually—for if the cleavage is forced into deep ruts, there will be no remedy left except a dictatorship of force and loss of freedom for all. "If you wish to preserve a free democracy," wrote Sayers, "you must base it not on classes and categories, for this will lead you to the totalitarian State, where no one may act or think except as the member of a category... but upon the individual Tom, Dick and Harry—upon you and me." A timely warning this, fit for the conscience of every true votary of freedom, to serve as stimulus for the soul's discipline on Independence Day.

## OUTLOOK FOR NEW DOMINIONS

Mutual Tolerance Necessary

By T. R. VENKATARAMA SASTRI

AUGUST 15 starts a new epoch in our Country's history. It is the Independence Day which we shall celebrate every year as the Day of our Liberation. But every one's mind, every one's literally, has a lingering thought of regret in different ways we spell it to silence that regret.

You tell yourself that the regret is vain, that great men, be it Mr. Jinnah or Gandhiji or the other high-placed Congress leaders, are your fate and what they have agreed to becomes binding on you willingly. The great scriptures of your land keeps on whispering: "Despicable is faint-heartedness. Shake it off and gird up to the task now facing you." But even while you reflect thus persists the regret that generations of ardent patriots laboured for Liberation of One Undivided India and—all that to end thus in the defeat of a divided India. But it is for ever true that it is no use recalling to mind past incidents and saying to yourself: Had our great leaders done this and this and this and not done that and that, we should not have been in this predicament to-day. The unification of India and its ultimate freedom is still pursuing us. However pessimistic one feels about the achievement of this unity, one must work all one can with intelligence and discrimination and with steady strenuous effort.

### NATIONALISM AND RELIGION

Tolerance and mutual goodwill and collaboration on the many tasks both internal and external will be needed. In the matter of succour to Indonesia both have acted in agreement. In the matter of South Africa, I doubt not that they will act together. If the declarations now made in regard to the partition of minorities in India and Pakistan are carried out faithfully, it will be a great step to the future that we envisage. Apart from the oft-repeated statement that the test of a well-governed State is in the treatment given to the minorities, we have here two divisions of a country with the majority community in the one and the minority community in the other. It is one of the errors noticed in the politics of the "middle east" that nationalism is not ethnic but religious and the same error is repeated in the Indian Nationalism. People of diverse creeds and castes who profess different political opinions in the country co-operated in the execution of their many common tasks in villages and towns for their common benefit are being exhorted to-day to treat each other as adversaries. Fortunately the co-operation has not wholly disappeared because community that exist in needs and life demand is not overruled by the slogans that the politicians teach the people. Fortunately even the politicians do not always follow their own slogans in life.

Here is Mr. Ghazanfarali Khan saying that a State according to the ideals of Islam will be established in Pakistan. I wished to put him the question, "In what respects does your Pakistan State differ from a modern democratic State? It is in explicit terms without any mutual reservation." Before I could put that question down on paper came the declaration of our Mahasabha friends that the Indian State should be a Hindu State. Both what we wish to see in a Muslim State and in what respects they would differ from a modern State, and what it would mean to the Hindus at any rate were not thinking of going back on the established equal laws and the system of administration now in vogue. Neither the one declaration nor the other can make for peace or promote the union of the two parts ever again. While I am sure that in India the cry is futile and will never prevail, I am not so sure of Pakistan. It is after the change definitely made that Pakistan intends to set up a medieval government that this declaration is made by so important a personage of Pakistan as Mr. Ghazanfarali Khan.

Many times have I myself and many others said that we cannot be divided without harm to the divided parts and I am not going again to refer to the many aspects that demand a Federation of all parts of India so as to reconcile the States' autonomy with the need for a central agency to co-ordinate their activities for their common benefit. U.S.A., Canada, and Australia to mention a few only, all these bigger than India, set us an example. One has only to examine their constitutions to see how much it has been considered necessary to entrust to the Federal Agency for the benefit of the component States. New States are desirous of joining them. That marks off our unwisdom and short-sightedness from the far-sighted wisdom of those lands.

### STATES' ATTITUDE

As if this division has not done enough to injure our lasting interests, we have States struggling to all they can to inflict further harm on the country in pursuit of their short-sighted selfish interests. They retain uncontrolled authority in their own hands over their own State affairs.

I should suggest to the State authorities that it would be wise to set up Popular Governments with one reservation that if the Ruler thought that a grave mistake is being committed he should be entitled to withhold assent and refer the matter back for reconsideration and if the legislature persists, the Ruler can dissolve and convolve a new legislature for a final decision of the question. Such a step will assure the people that the Ruler is not out for autocratic rule and people will be more readily heed his advice and accept his guidance. It may never become necessary to use the power.

Such a step will give an opportunity for the good people in the community to come forward and take the helm of affairs. Resistance and the agitation upon which they must in many cases bring up only the disorderly elements in society and place them in power when the authorities have finally yielded to popular clamour.

If our Rulers are prepared to take wise steps in internal administration they will find no difficulty in assenting to the invitation to join the Indian Union. Fear always precipitates what it apprehends. If the Ruler sheds the fear that he will lose power and influence he may be able to retain both. Autocracy's day is coming to an end. There is no need to apprehend trouble from the Centre. They have seen the need to drop their threats and assume more conciliatory attitude. Where there is trouble they will be of help in the case of Rampur now shows. That is the element of paramountcy that is still required by the Rulers. With that will naturally go the duty to see that the aid is not invoked in aid of autocratic suppression of the people.

"The more we advance in true knowledge the better we shall understand that we need not be at war with those whose religion we may not follow."—Mahatma Gandhi

## FREEDOM HAS ITS RESPONSIBILITIES

By ALLADI KRISHNASWAMI AIYAR

IF the 15th August 1947 is the date when India passes from foreign tutelage to independence, it has also to be realised that freedom carries with it its own responsibilities to the Government, to the people, and to the world. No longer will it be possible for the statesmen and administrators engaged in the governance of this country to plead foreign rule and the shackles imposed by it as a reason for the poverty and distress in the country. The consequences flowing from infaction the food situation in the country and in the world at large, the fall in the industrial output due to various causes, the clash between capital and labour, the difficulty experienced in the import of capital goods and the dollar exchange, have all raised problems of great and increasing complexity which will tax the entire resources of the new Government. At the same time, the average citizen will have to realise that it will not be possible for the National Government to bring in a new heaven and earth overnight. Every citizen must feel it as a bounden duty to the new administration with well-instructed and informed criticism as it is the duty of the Government to seek enlightenment from every quarter.

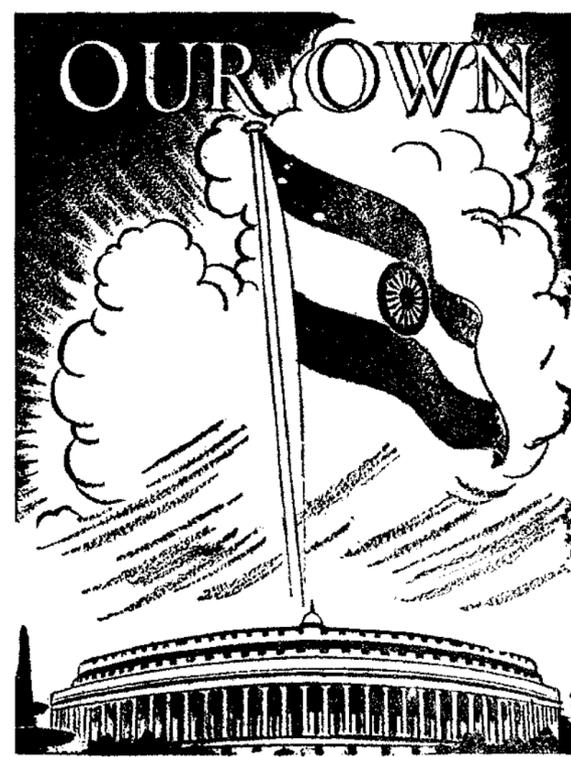
The next few years will be eventful years in the history of our country. Some of the older generation might not be able to realise the magnitude of the changes that are coming on and there may be a tendency to still think in terms of the past and of a by-gone age. The lawyer, the judge, the Government servant, the commercial man and the average citizen will have to tune themselves to new conditions and learn to think and speak in a different language and terms. Questions which assumed considerable importance under a foreign administration would naturally lose their importance in the new dispensation. The police force, the civil service and the military arms of Government which the people were prone to regard with distrust and suspicion as instruments of foreign rule, will have to turn themselves into efficient instruments of national service and the citizen must be trained to regard them as such.

The medium of knowledge and communication of ideas may undergo a radical change in the course of the next generation. The popular Government will have to think in big terms and shed narrow prejudices. While every impetus will have to be given to indigenous culture the country will have to realise that it cannot afford to neglect the new currents of world thought or the advance of scientific knowledge if India is to keep pace with the rest of the world and deserve a place of honour and distinction in the comity of nations. The best intellects in the country irrespective of caste, creed or class will have to be harnessed to the service of the nation and of the State. May this great country of ours gain fresh vitality and strength with the ushering in of freedom.

## Dr. SHARIR'S MESSAGE

Dr. Sharir, the Indonesian leader, has sent the following special message to THE HINDU on the occasion of the Independence Day:

"In these moments of great need Indonesia has found in India a real friend. We never been so close to each other at heart before in history."



Today India comes into her inheritance. The 15th of August marks the achievement of independence by one of the great nations of the world.

How the history of this land shall be written, how the history books of the future speak of us, is the concern of every patriot celebrating today his country's freedom.

It is, however, especially the responsibility of large industrial and commercial organizations, upon which depend so much India's future prosperity and prestige.

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# 15th August '47

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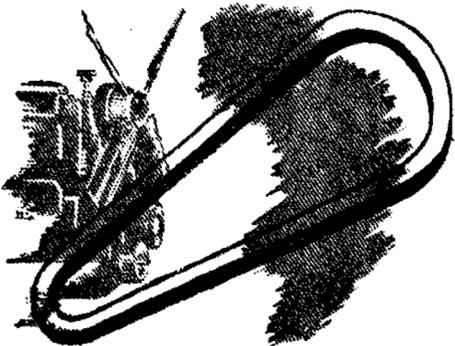
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We look forward to serve the Community and Country in the prosperous and the affluent days to come, with greater zeal. Let the lucid, Starlike loveliness of Diamonds shine with the highest expression of human happiness — Freedom — undimmed through the ages.

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### EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

By (Mrs.) S. MUTHULAKSHMI REDDI

Is there any woman or man who does not love freedom? Freedom is the birthright of every human being; even beasts and birds love freedom. All live and thrive best when they are free. Freedom and responsibility bring out the best from the individual and the race. Therefore, did we, Indians do penance all these years to free India from foreign yoke. We welcome the day of independence for India. Because freedom for India means freedom of every man and woman and child. The emancipation of women has always been closely bound up with the struggle for political freedom.

In the early history of India the women walked the earth the equals of men. But the foreign invasion, a thousand years ago, drove them into a long exile. They had to face men who neither spared life nor honour. And in adapting themselves to a changing environment they passed into Purdah and the burning pyre, into seclusion and the backyard of history. But the fire smouldered all the same—witness Padmi of Chitor, Chand Bibi and the Rani of Jhansi.

World history moved on. Britain came into India bringing with it western thoughts and ideals. Western contact began to influence Indian thought. Men like Raja Rammohan Roy arose who took up the cause of women's reforms and emancipation. He fought for the abolition of Sati in 1828, and the Brahmo Samaj, which he established taught absolute equality of men and women. Raja Rammohan Roy was followed by men like Dayanand Saraswati, Ishwara Chandra Vidyasagar, D. K. Kharve, Veerasingalingam Panthulu, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Her Bilas Sarda and Subramania Bharati who have been freeing women from the bonds and customs and conventions that hampered their growth physically and mentally.

The service of the Christian missions in India to the cause of women's education and reform cannot but be remembered with gratitude.

#### WOMEN'S INDIAN ASSOCIATION

Dr. Annie Besant and her band of women workers who came to India, attracted by Indian religion and philosophy have made a valuable contribution towards the advancement of women in every field of human activity. The Women's Indian Association, founded in 1917 in Madras (with Dr. Annie Besant as its first President) was the premier women's organisation which banded women together for their self-development and for the service of others. It was the first body which demanded civic and political equality for women, and its branches spread throughout India, did valuable service by arousing women to a sense of their duties and responsibilities. Mrs. Cousins with Dr. Annie Besant and Srimathi Sarojini Naidu led the deputation to Mr. Montagu during his visit to India, demanding franchise for women on equal terms with men. Madras led the other provinces in granting votes to women. It was women's organisations like the Women's Indian Association and the A. I. W. which prepared women to share with men all the ordeals of public life. Again it was these bodies that have promoted women's education and have worked for the abolition of certain social evils.

The political and social emancipation movements of the women of India lacked the drama and struggle of the western suffragets. And why was it so? "Because it was not the coming for the first time to a new consciousness of the ideals of service, but only a re-awakening and rekindling of that consciousness. It was re-awakening and re-kindling of consciousness in the minds of men. India who had reached by word of deed put any difficulties in the way of the women of India, or obstacles in the way of their claims for advancement and emancipation."

#### WOMEN IN GANDHIAN ERA

Gandhiji worked a revolution in our hearts as he had wrought it in the hearts of men. His quiet but firm demand for Indian Independence found an echo in our hearts, his vindication of Indian dignity and self-respect stirred us into vindicating our own. His ahimsa and concept of Satyagraha appealed to our hearts as nothing had ever appealed before. It was the Indian political struggle for freedom that has advanced women to their present status rather than any other single factor. The yearning for freedom could not be the sole monopoly of men. And the yearning was strong. The cry of freedom stirred us as nothing had stirred us before. The spirit was strong within us and Indian women plunged into the freedom fight with all the ardour and perhaps with greater courage than men. Between comrades struggling towards a common goal, between friends facing a common danger no thought of inequality could ever exist. Equality and fraternity were born at the same time as liberty on the Satyagraha fields of our country. There was no need for a fight, no necessity for words; debate; it was a silent, spontaneous rebirth. Political freedom meant social and economic freedom too.

And now, freedom's battle has been won. Women are in the forefront in every field. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu leads the way as always and in her wake follow a brilliant galaxy—Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Vijayalakshmi Pandit and a host of others, as worthy of the highest honour or the greatest responsibility as any man to-day.

Indian women have a great role to play in the modern world, with its chaos and rumblings of another war. With their background of philosophy and religion, with their apprenticeship under Gandhian leadership, with the sense of motherhood strong in them, they can be and should be the ambassadors of love, peace and unity. It is the Gandhian concept of non-violence alone that can save the world from a cataclysm. And it is the women of India alone who can carry the message best so that the world may come together in unity and peace.



LORD RIPON

### India should Pursue Path's of Peace

(Continued from page XIII)

aligned against Russia, if unfortunately for the world such a camp were to come into being.

What are the prospects of a good understanding with Russia? A strong point is the Soviets' encouragement of nationality. Ever since the Oriental Conference at Baku in 1921 it has been a settled policy of the Bolsheviks to encourage national movements in Asia. In 1942, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the revolution, Stalin stated his ideals and war aims: "Abolition of racial exclusiveness; equality of nations and integrity of their territory; liberation of enslaved nations and restoration of sovereign rights; the right of every nation to arrange its affairs as it wishes."

Observe the emphasis on sovereignty. And to-day at every international conference the Soviet delegates invoke the principle of national sovereignty to veto proposals for common action by the nations. But there is a contradiction here: because Russia's respect for the sovereignty of other nations is not sufficient to prevent her from dictating the foreign policy of her neighbours, Czechoslovakia

accepted France's invitation to consider the Marshall Plan, but had to withdraw because of Russia's displeasure. Finland, Hungary and the Balkan countries have also had to debar themselves from the prospect of American aid in reconstruction, because of Russian opposition. Even Sweden made her attendance at the Paris Conference conditional on avoidance of offence to Russia.

Despite this paradox, it is clear that Russia will invoke to the utmost the principle of absolute national sovereignty. Wendell Wilkie made the shrewd comment on Stalin's statement of policy which I have quoted that it and the Atlantic Charter had a common fallacy; they both forecast the re-creation of Europe in its old divisions of small nations, each with its own political, economic and military sovereignty. He advocated the re-creation of the separate nations as political units, but not as economic and military units. Indeed, the pressure that Russia is able to exert on the nations of Eastern Europe and that America is able to exert on the nations of Western Europe proves that sovereignty has forced limitations and that no nation can stand alone.

Does this mean that India must choose between Russia and the West? By no means. All the evidence goes to show that Russia's admiration for nationality is not entirely lip-service. She has nowhere been

militarily aggressive, and she is responsible for the creation of numbers of new Republics on none of which has she imposed economic imperialism. The new wealth of Central Asia gives local prosperity to Turkomans and Tartars and is not drained in dividends to Moscow. The subservience of war-ravaged Eastern Europe to Russian foreign policy is easily understood, but were there more spirit left in the Czechs and Hungarians this subservience might not be required. It is in marked contrast to the former fronts maintained by Asiatic countries, Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan, militarily weaker though they be, have so far kept the reins of foreign policy in their own hands, and Russia has recognised their national right. There is no reason to doubt that the Indian Union and Pakistan can do the same, and that Russia, if she is convinced that they are not in a hostile camp, will accept that position.

And beyond this horizon, India has a far higher mission. It is for her to convince the Soviets that this doctrine of unbridled sovereignty is the seed of all wars, and will no longer serve. The world is one, and the nations can only find their peace by delegating some of their sovereign powers to a Federal World Government deriving its authority from the citizens of the world.

Pleasant are the ways of peace. Let us pursue her paths in all things. Now is the appointed time.



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## A GREAT DAY

In this great hour of India's destiny we offer our homage to those who fought and suffered so that she may be free.

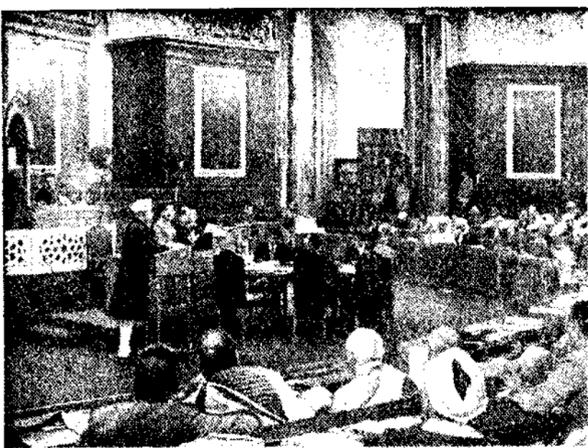
With freedom's battle won, let us dedicate ourselves to the task of creating a happier and fuller life for the people of India and building a land in which, as the Poet has sung, "the mind is without fear and the head is held high." Then alone shall we be worthy of our great heritage.

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# FREEDOM'S PROGRESS THROUGH THE YEARS



1946: The Constituent Assembly to draft India's future constitution met for the first time on December 9th under the presidency of Dr. Rajendra Prasad.



1947: Lord Mountbatten took up the Viceroyalty from Lord Wavel.



1947: For the first time in the history of Asia a Conference of Asian delegates was held in New Delhi.



1947: The Viceroy held consultations with the Provincial Governors and this picture is a record of the occasion.



1947: Lord Mountbatten met the Leaders on June 2nd and announced the British Government's plans for the transfer of power.



1947: On June 3rd the Viceroy, Mr. Nehru and Mr. Jinnah, broadcast to the Nation.



1947: The question of the States after the end of Paramountcy became a knotty one. But the problems eased greatly after the Viceroy met the Princes.



THE SYMBOL OF FREEDOM: The new Flag of the Nation as approved by the Assembly.



MR. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU



MAHATMA GANDHI



SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL



SIR C. R. ATLEE



LORD FETHICK-LAWRENCE



LORD SINHA



Members of the Labour Delegation of the League of Nations, who visited India in 1932.



DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD



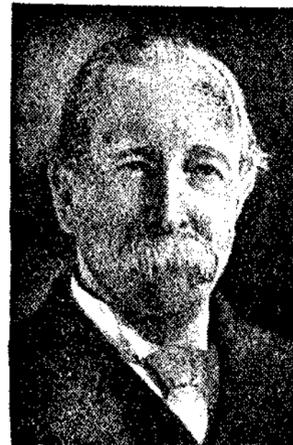
MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD



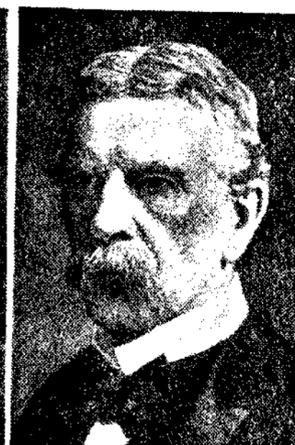
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Challapalli	Jeypore (Orissa)	Tenali
(Kistna Dt.)	Masulipatam	Tiluru
Chirala	Narasaraopet	Tuni
Chicacole	Nellore	Vizagapatam
Cocanada	Ongole	Vizianagram
Duggirala	Palakot	Vinukonda
	Maharanipet (Vizag)	

\* Pay Offices

AUTHORISED CAPITAL .. Rs. 1,00,00,000  
Issued Capital .. Rs. 50,00,000  
PAID UP CAPITAL .. Rs. 24,78,600  
RESERVE FUND .. Rs. 8,30,500  
DEPOSITS exceed .. Rs. 4,00,00,000

TOTAL WORKING FUNDS EXCEED FIVE CRORES

CURRENT ACCOUNTS: Opened and interest allowed on daily balances at 1/2 per cent per annum.

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BACK

to look  
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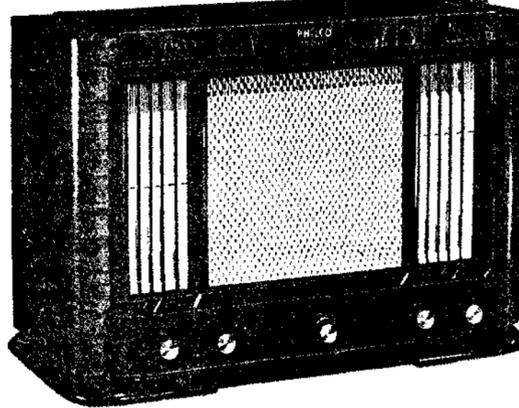


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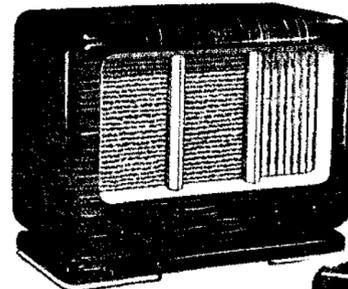


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TUNE IN LONG-DISTANCE SHORT-WAVE STATIONS AS EASILY AS A LOCAL!

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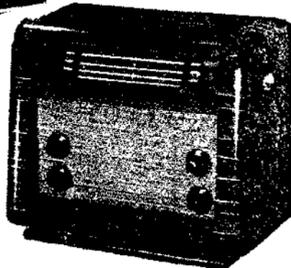
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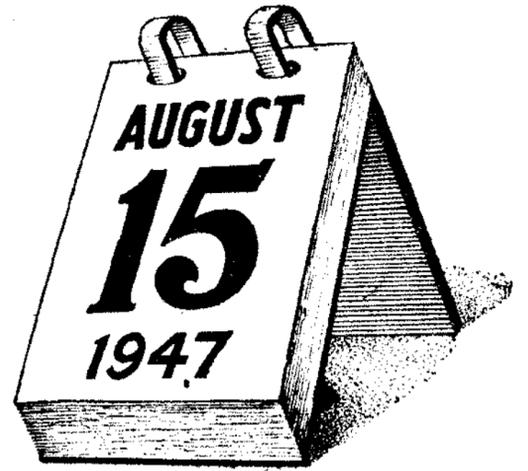
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