

RAGINI DEVI

DANCER OF INDIA

INDRANI



NAMOURA



INDIA DANCE FESTIVAL

IN MEMORY OF

POET RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S BIRTHDAY

Benefit Performance for

INDIA MASS EDUCATION

NEW YORK TIMES HALL
240 West 44th Street

FRIDAY, MAY 4th
at 8:30 P. M.

HINDU MUSICIANS DANCE GROUP

INDUMATI MARATHE, Hindu Songs

A tribute to Poet Rabindranath Tagore by

MITHRAPURAM K. ALEXANDER

Master of Ceremonies

The proceeds of the India Dance Festival will be given to the Organizing Committee for
INDIA MASS EDUCATION.

ORGANIZING COMMITTEE: Miss Kate Kendig, Mrs. Shankar K. Marathe, Mrs. Henry
W. Luce, Ragini Devi, Dr. B. A. Garside, Dr. Mithrapuram K. Alexander.

Checks payable to Dr. B. A. Garside, Treasurer, 1790 Broadway, New York City.

TICKETS: \$2.40, \$1.80 and \$1.20 at New York Times Hall Box Office.

file I
Indian Affairs
Allen MAY 24 1944
Office of Indian Affairs
Merchandise Mart Building
Chicago 54, Illinois
May 22, 1944

National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City 5, New York

Gentleman:

A group of American Indians are considering the formation of a National Association of some kind that will bring about the banding together for a common purpose all Indian Tribes or Indians in the United States.

This is somewhat of a new undertaking--exclusively by Indians and we realize fully the need for the exploration of the mechanics for forming such an organization. Briefly we intend to form a National association and from that have the various Indian Tribes or Indian groups become members. Our ideas on the formulation of such an organization are very much in the preliminary stages. It occurred to me that your association, having gone through a similar undertaking, could be of help to us by furnishing literature on how your organization was formed, if you have it available. Specifically, we would like a copy of your National Constitution and a copy of the Constitution of your member organizations and a history or summary of how your organization was formed.

If you have that, and any other information you care to send available, I can assure you that I would appreciate receiving it.

I contacted the Chicago association and was referred to you.

Sincerely yours,

Allen
A. C. Allen

National Committee for India's Freedom

ROOM, 214, PORTLAND BUILDING
1129 VERMONT AVENUE

Washington 5, D. C.

TELEPHONE NATIONAL 4769

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HONORARY CHAIRMAN

JUN 15 1944

11621

June 13, 1944

Mr. Walter White
Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
New York City

Dear Mr. white:

The Nationals of India residing in the United States have organized National Committee for India's Freedom to present India's case from Washington to the government and the people of America and to the other members of the United Nations.

The British government of India is amply and ably represented in Washington, but the people of India have no voice here. This Committee shall express the sentiments of the Indians in this country, which shall reflect the dominant sentiments of the people of India. We have already enlisted the whole-hearted co-operation of the representative and influential Indians, writers, lecturers, business-men and common workers.

We are convinced that without the United Nations Victory over the Axis powers, we cannot have either peace or a democratic world order, but we are equally convinced that without an equitable solution of the colonial problem, neither peace nor democratic world order can endure. India is the crux of the colonial problem. That is why the issue of India must be kept alive.

Your liberal stand on all vital issues of the day encourages us to invite you to join the Advisory Board of our Committee and to lend India's cause your moral support. We shall be grateful for your acceptance.

We are attaching herewith a brief statement about the Committee for your information.

Sincerely,

Anup Singh
Anup Singh

AS:mh

National Committee for India's Freedom

Origin

The National Committee for India's Freedom was formally launched in Washington, D. C. at a mass meeting held on October 25, 1943 at the National Press Club Auditorium.

Objects

The objects of the Committee are:

1. To promote the cause of India's Freedom
2. " " closer relationship between India and America
3. " " the cause of Democracy and International Co-operation

Composition

The Committee is composed of influential and representative Nationals of India residing in different parts of United States.

General Membership is open to every Indian in the States who is in sympathy with the objects of the Committee.

Members are accepted at the recommendation of the officers of the Committee.

Officers

The officers of the Committee are five in number: one chairman, two vice-chairman, one secretary, and a treasurer. They are elected by the majority votes of the members of the Committee.

Finances

The Committee is supported by the voluntary contributions of its members and sympathizers.

Officers of the Committee for the Year 1944

Honorary Chairman--Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy

Internationally known scholar of India; author of many books on Indian Art and Culture; at present curator of Indian Collections, Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

Chairman--Dr. Syud Hossain

Foremost Indian Nationalist in this country; former Executive Committee Member of the Indian National Congress; author; for ten years special lecturer on Oriental Civilization at the Univ. of Southern California.

Vice-Chairman--Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar

M. A., Ph. D. (Wisconsin); author, "Ghandi versus the Empire" "United Nations of the World", Lecturer.

Vice-Chairman--Dr. Krishnalal Shridharani

M. A., Ph. D. (Columbia); author, "My India, My America", "Warning to the West", Lecturer.

Secretary--Dr. Anup Singh

M. A., Ph. D. (Harvard), author, "Nehru, the rising Star of India" Director, India Research; Lecturer.

Treasurer--Dr. Kamala Kosambi

M. A., Ph. D. (Michigan); Lecturer for the East and West Association.

There are forty-five other Indians on the Committee who represent the local Indian Communities in different parts of the United States.

THE ORIENT & U. S. A.
INCORPORATING INDIA & U. S. A.
140 CLAREMONT AVENUE
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

PASUPULETI GOPALA KRISHNAYYA
EDITOR AND PUBLISHER

July 18, '44

Special Delivery

To

Mr. Walter White
Secretary
National Association For Advancement of
Colored People
New York, N. Y.

JUL 19 1944

14776

Dear Mr. White;

I am sending to important
newspapers in India, ^{a dispatch} about the American Negro,
the war and the future.

I would like to base the
article on your Association and you its ^{artistic} Secretary. This is to make the article interesting
and colorful.

I would appreciate very much
if you could send me the following:—

(1) Any matter you have regarding
my central theme — "American Negro, the
war and the future". Newspaper and magazine
clippings about this will be helpful to me.

(2) Something regarding your
Association...

(3) A biographical sketch of you.

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PABUPULETI GOPALA KRISHNAYYA
EDITOR AND PUBLISHER

(4) Any other matter which you think would be of value to me regarding the writing of the article.

In India there is a extraordinary and genuine interest regarding the Negro people at large and especially in this country.

Mahatma Gandhi's interest in this problem has not been as widely publicized as some of his other interests and activities. He has had first hand and intimate knowledge of the Negro people and their problem while he was resident of South Africa in the early part of this century.

Your co-operation in this project of mine would prove invaluable.

Yours Sincerely

P. G. Krishnayya

November
22nd
1944

*Celler
re: India*

My dear Congressman Celler:

You were magnificent last night on the radio in the debate on India. I am sure even those who may not be too well informed on India will agree that you and Norman Thomas won the debate by overwhelming odds. Certainly there can be no lasting peace in the world until the evil of imperialism, particularly that based upon skin color, is wiped off the face of the earth.

You made a very distinct contribution and I want you to know how much I admired what you did.

Ever sincerely,

Secretary.

Hon. Emanuel Celler
303 McDonough Street
Brooklyn, New York

WW{el}

*Mrs. FDR
re: Mrs. Pandit.*

November 28, 1944

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I have just heard that Nehru's sister, Mrs. Pandit, is en route to the United States to visit her two delightful daughters, who are studying at Wellesley, and to pay a visit to friends in the United States.

The suggestion has been made that nothing would do more to hearten the people of India and to offset anti-American propaganda in India than an invitation to Mrs. Pandit to be the over-night guest of yourself and the President at the White House. May I suggest consideration of this?

Respectfully,

Secretary.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
The White House
Washington,
D. C.

WW:DW

November 28, 1944

Dear J. J.:

Here are self-explanatory copies of letters I have sent Mrs. Roosevelt regarding Mrs. Pandit, and to HARPER's Magazine regarding an article by yourself.

Cordially,

WALTER WHITE.

Mr. J. J. Singh
14 East 56th Street
New York, N. Y.

WW:DW

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DR. LIN YUTANG

Telephone:
PLaza 3-5088

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INDIA LEAGUE OF AMERICA

40 EAST 49th STREET

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

January 12, 1945

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New York, N. Y.
THOMAS YAMKUB
Boston, Mass.

Dear Friend:

You have been glad, I am sure, to hear that Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Nationalist leader and sister of Jawaharlal Nehru, has just arrived in this country. She is the most distinguished visitor to us from India since Tagore.

To begin its new program for better understanding and friendly relations between the people of India and our own people, the India League of America is arranging a dinner in Mrs. Pandit's honor on January 26th, India's historic Independence Day. This dinner will be held in the Grand Ballroom of the Commodore Hotel. Mrs. Pandit brings us messages from her people, and we hope will take our messages back.

The speakers will include, too, Dr. Lin Yutang, Miss Elsa Maxwell, and Bishop Francis J. McConnell.

It is so important we have a capacity attendance that I urge you to attend with a number of your friends, possibly enough to fill a table of ten. For your convenience I am enclosing a form for you to indicate the number of reservations you will require.

Very sincerely yours,

Pearl S. Buck

Honorary President and Chairman
of Sponsoring Committee

P. S. Several organizations have been kind enough to let us use their mailing lists. Time does not permit us to check, hence you may receive more than one invitation. Please forgive us.

No speech for the collection of funds will be made at this dinner.

*India League of America
Singh*

July 19, 1945

My dear Dr. Singh:

I shall be very happy to attend the luncheon
on August 6 to meet the group mentioned in your
letter of July 18.

Ever sincerely,

Secretary

Dr. J. J. Singh
India League of America
40 East 49th Street
New York City

WW:RR

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PEARL S. BUCK
DR. LIN YUTANG

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THOMAS YAHKUB
Boston, Mass.

INDIA LEAGUE OF AMERICA

40 EAST 49th STREET

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.



Telephone:
PLaza 3-5087-5088

July 18, 1945

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Mr. White:

As you know, a group of India's most prominent industrialists is visiting the United States. They are:

Mr. J. R. D. Tata, Mr. G. D. Birla,
Sir Sultan Chinoy, Mr. N. R. Sarker,
Mr. S. Ajaib Singh, Mr. Liak Ali, Mr.
J. D. Schroff, and Dr. P. S. Lokanathon.

The India League is arranging a small luncheon at which members of our Advisory Board and a few other friends may meet them.

The luncheon will be held on Monday, August 6th, at 1 P.M., at the Stockholm Restaurant, 27 West 51st Street, New York City.

We would very much like you to join us. May we have your reply at the earliest possible moment?

Very sincerely yours,

Richard J. Walsh
Richard J. Walsh
Chairman, Exec. Com.

J. J. Singh
J. J. Singh
President

JJ/RB
S

*India League of America
Singh.*

April 9, 1945

Dear Sirdar Singh:

Thank you for sending us the memorandum on proposed legislation to authorize the naturalization and admission into the United States under a quota of eastern hemisphere Indians of India.

We have passed this on to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, our Director of Special Research, for his information and comment, and it will be brought to the attention of Mr. Walter White, our Secretary, when he returns to New York shortly from a four-months' trip to the Pacific war theatres.

In the meantime, do you have any request for specific action by this Association on the legislation introduced? If so, you might refer your request to our Washington Bureau at 100 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C., which handles our legislative activities.

Very sincerely yours,

Acting Secretary.

Sirdar J. J. Singh, President
India League of America
40 East 49th Street
New York 17, N. Y.

RW:DW

MAR 12 1945

INDIA LEAGUE OF AMERICA
40 East 49th Street
New York 17, N.Y.

FINANCIAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1944

Audited by the Cooperative
League Accounting Bureau

RECEIPTS:

* Membership Dues	\$ 999.00
**Subscriptions to "India Today" (from other sources)	410.60
Donations:	
Designated for citizenship work	5,412.29
General	4,981.50
Sale of Literature	386.06
Telephone and Cable Refunds	31.36
Withholding & Old Age Taxes	289.36

TOTAL RECEIPTS

12,510.17

DISBURSEMENTS:

Postage & Mailing-"India Today" and other literature	2,809.57
***Clerical Salaries	2,260.38
Dinners and Meetings	1,452.72
Printing and Mimeographing of general literature and "India Today", (monthly bulletin)	1,438.78
Rent and Electricity	896.99
Telephone and Telegraph cables	483.11
Stationery and Office Expense	431.23
Advertising	393.25
Various Government Taxes--Withholding, etc.	386.21
Research Fees	115.00
Purchase of Literature	122.61
Miscellaneous Expenses:	
Accounting Service	40.00
Bank Charges	9.59
Petty Cash & Miscellaneous	572.82

TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS

11,412.26

EXCESS OF RECEIPTS (Carried Forward)

1,097.91

*Members paying \$5. and \$10. Membership Fees receive "India Today" free.

**Clubs, Associations, Libraries, Newspaper Columnists, and Radio Commentators receive free subscriptions to "India Today". Many newspapers and periodicals exchange publications with us.

***The services of all Executives are on an honorary basis.

A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE MAIN ACTIVITIES OF THE INDIA LEAGUE OF AMERICA
DURING THE YEAR 1944--INCLUDING THE MONTH OF JANUARY, 1945.

1. India Independence Day Meeting, Jan. 26th, 1944, at Caravan Hall, New York City.
2. India Independence Day Dinner Celebration in honor of Mrs. Pandit, Jan. 26th, 1945, at the Hotel Commodore, N.Y.C., attended by approximately one thousand persons -- programs of this event are being sent to all members. (Extra copies may be had at 15¢ each).
3. India Citizenship Bill now pending in the House of Representatives and in the Senate. The House hearing begins on March 7th. A memorandum of about forty pages containing important materials for submission to the House Committee will be sent to all members. For further details, see February issue of "India Today".
4. Special meetings in Washington, D.C., on August 13th, and at Town Hall, N.Y.C., on May 4th, to favor the enactment of the Citizenship Bill in Congress.
5. Meeting at Town Hall, N. Y.C., on Oct. 3rd, to celebrate Mahatma Gandhi's seventy-fifth birthday.
6. Appeal to Lord Halifax on August 9th for the release of Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and all other political prisoners in India.
7. Radio programs such as the "Chicago Round Table" broadcast of September 24th, "Other Peoples' Business" on September 29th, "The American Forum of the Air" on November 21st, "Liberty Forum of World Peaceways" on August 6th, and the radio broadcast by Mrs. Pandit on the Blue Network on Jan. 28th, 1945.
8. A general meeting for members and their friends on December 6th to report and discuss the activities of the League.
9. A get-to-gether meeting on Jan. 2nd to which members of the Indian community of Greater New York were invited to hear and meet Mrs. Pandit who spoke on "What Is Happening In India".
10. Publication of various materials to further the objects of the League. These have been sought after by various institutions, schools, colleges, and organizations. The League pamphlet, "Basic Facts About India" (25¢ per copy) has been much in demand.
11. Publication of the monthly bulletin, "India Today".
12. Reprints of special articles.
13. The supplying of speakers to meet the ever growing demands from schools, colleges, organizations, clubs, and radio.

From the above it will be seen that the League, apart from its daily activities, has been able to arrange on the average of one major function per month.

It is also worthy of notice that demands for research information on India have been increasing in volume along with the other activities of the League. The Executive Committee has met on an average of once a month to supervise activities and to determine the policies and programs of the League.

JUN 27 1945

India League of America
40 East 49th Street
New York 17, N. Y.

FOR RELEASE
4 P.M., June 25, 1945

Speaking this afternoon at the invitation of the India League of America, Louis Fischer, foreign correspondent and author of two recent books on India, made the following statement on Great Britain's latest offer to the Indian political leaders:

Britain's new offer stands a much better chance of being accepted by the Indian parties than the written proposals which Sir Stafford Cripps brought to India on behalf of the British Government in March, 1942. At the conference opening today in Simla, (the summer capital of India) between Indian political leaders and Lord Wavell, British Viceroy, the subject of discussion and negotiation will be the White Paper presented to the British Parliament on June 14, 1945. This outlines a scheme for the Government of India during the war only. It is thus an interim arrangement and its acceptance by the Indians would not commit them to any post-war plan. The Cripps Proposal, on the other hand, included both a war-time settlement and a post-war, permanent settlement. But the post-war settlement was based on principles to which all the Indian parties objected for various reasons. And the Cripps Plan was so framed that in rejecting its post-war features the Indians had to reject the whole offer. That was the main reason for the failure of the Cripps Mission.

Today, however, the Simla Conference is dealing only with an immediate arrangement for the duration of the war. The Indian parties can approve of it without committing themselves to any ideas about a long-range peace-time settlement. The British Government states that the Cripps offer of 1942 retains its validity, but it need not, and almost

certainly will not, come up before the Simla Conference. This simplifies the task of the meeting and should be a factor for success.

The new Wavell-Amery Offer has other, additional advantages over the Cripps Proposal. The Cripps Offer consisted of five articles, four of which were devoted to the post-war settlement and the fifth of which (Article E) merely said vaguely that "His Majesty's Government desire and invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the councils of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations." The new offer is much more precise. It declares that there will be only two Britons in the Viceroy's Executive Council, the Viceroy himself and the War Member in the person of the British Commander-in-Chief in India. All other members would be Indians. For the first time in history, accordingly, Indians would take over the management of India's Finance Department, Home or Internal Affairs Department (Police) and, notably the Foreign Affairs Department. Among the functions of the External Affairs Department would be the appointment of fully-accredited Indian diplomatic representatives abroad.

The Viceroy would appoint the Indian members of his Executive Council and he could dismiss them at will. The White Paper of June 14th provides, however, that these appointments shall be made from among Indian National and Provincial Leaders. The Viceroy expects the Simla Conference to draw up a list of candidates for his Executive Council, but under the terms of the White Paper his choice "remains unrestricted" and he may go outside the lists for appointees.

When Cripps was in India in 1942, the question of the Viceroy's

Executive Council was likewise debated, and one of the issues on which the negotiations broke down was the question of the Viceroy's veto. Under the new offer the Viceroy retains his full veto power. Lord Wavell, however, in a speech broadcast from New Delhi on June 14th promised that the veto power "will of course not be exercised unreasonably". There would seem to be logical justification for expecting that Lord Wavell will, in practice, abide by this pledge since, if he did not, the Indian political leaders in the Council would probably resign and the parties might very well refuse to allow their members to participate in a re-organized Council.

Lord Wavell announced on June 14th that "a further step proposed by his Majesty's Government is the appointment of a British High Commissioner in India, as in the Dominions, to represent Great Britain's commercial and other such interests in India". This has been interpreted both here and in India as another move in the direction of the granting of Dominion status to India. Presumably the Viceroy remains as a representative of the Crown both in relation to British India and in relation to the five hundred or more native states ruled by maharajas and other princes. The White Paper applies only to British India, which is approximately three-fourths of India, and delegates to the Simla Conference may object to it on that ground for they may fear that their acceptance of the White Paper will be construed as implying acquiescence in this permanent division of India.

The chief stumbling block in the way of agreement at Simla is the provision in the White Paper that the Viceroy's Executive Council shall include "equal proportions of Moslems and Caste Hindus" It is con-

ceivable that the Simla Conference will break up in failure unless this provision is dropped or modified. For the provision makes a religious distinction, first, between Moslems and Hindus and, second, between Caste Hindus and the so-called Outcaste Hindus or Untouchables. There has been and is nothing more fundamental in the philosophy of Gandhi, Azad, and Nehru, and of the Congress Party which they lead, than the principle that religious differences shall not be introduced into Indian political life. Gandhi has fought fiercely for the elimination of the cruel gulf between Caste Hindus and Untouchables and some progress has been achieved. As an example to other Hindus he has lived in daily and intimate contact with Untouchables. The Congress Party, moreover, is a political party including a considerable number of Moslems. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the president of the Congress Party today, is, in fact, an outstanding Moslem.

When the British Government first issued the invitations to the Simla Conference, Azad was not invited and this unfortunately aroused a suspicion that the authorities wished to convey the impression that the Congress Party represented only Caste Hindus, whereas in truth it represents Caste and Outcaste Hindus as well as Moslems. Azad is so prominent in Indian political life (he was one of the eight released simultaneously with Nehru a few days ago) that he could no more be accidentally overlooked than Nehru or Gandhi.

It has long been a profound conviction among Indian Nationalists that the British Government in 1909 divided the Indian electorate according to religious communities and has since on numerous occasions sought to maintain and widen the gap between the communities in order to rule

by dividing. The injection, therefore, of this same religious division into the White Paper is sure to create serious difficulties at the Simla Conference.

It would have been much simpler and much more conducive to agreement if the White Paper had provided for representation in the Viceroy's Executive Council by political parties and groups instead of by religious communities. The political parties in India are well-known: the Congress Party led by Azad, Nehru and Gandhi, the Moslem League led by Jinnah, other Moslem associations not affiliated with the Moslem League, the Sikhs, the Liberals, the Hindu Mahasabha, etc. If the White Paper is amended at Simla in this sense there can be no doubt that India will soon have a largely-Indian government ready to prosecute the war against Japan with vigor.

The White Paper states frankly that the present Indian administration has been put under an extra strain "by the political tension that exists" and that has existed since the beginning of the war. The alacrity with which the Indian political leaders have accepted the invitation to Simla, although some of them had just been released from three years of imprisonment without trial and might therefore have been embittered, testifies to the eagerness of Indians to cooperate with Great Britain and other United Nations in fighting the Pacific War to a successful conclusion. An additional incentive towards agreement is the widespread feeling among Indians that the Bengal famine which cost at least a million lives, and probably close to two million, was the result of British official bungling and corruption. To prevent similar catastrophes Indians of many political opinions are willing and eager

page 6

to participate in the governments of their country and its provinces. But they may refuse to do so if they believe that the acceptance of the principle of religious divisions would prejudice the achievement of full independence for an undivided India.

Indians generally have greater trust in Lord Wavell than they had in his predecessor Lord Linlithgow, and it is likely that Wavell's personality will create an informal, friendly atmosphere for the Simla discussions.

*India
Madame Pandit*

May 16, 1945

Madame V. L. Pandit
Park Lane Apartments
Nob Hill
San Francisco, California

My dear Madame Pandit:

Thank you very much indeed for your graciousness in including me among the guests at that lovely cocktail party. I do hope it will bring all the results you wish from it.

Under separate cover I am sending you the inscribed copy of "The Rising Wind" which I promised.

Don't forget to let me know as far in advance as possible when you are going to be in New York, and when it will be possible for us to arrange either a luncheon or tea or dinner for you. I have in mind a very small group but very select and influential people. We need to hear from your lips the story of India.

Sincerely yours,

Walter White

PEARL S. BUCK

*File India
re: Mrs Pandit*
40 EAST 49TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.

December 11, 1944

Dear Mrs. White:

I should be glad if you could come to a small reception I am giving for Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Thursday, December 14th, at 4:30 P.M. in the reception room of the Gotham Hotel at 55th Street and Fifth Avenue.

Mrs. Pandit, who as you know is one of the foremost women leaders of India and the sister of Jawaharlal Nehru, has arrived in New York by plane from India. She is the first Indian leader who has been allowed to visit this country since the war. This will be her first opportunity to meet some of the leaders of our American community.

She will discuss informally some of the world issues as seen in India today. I hope you will be able to attend.

Please telephone your acceptance to Miss Taft at Eldorado 5-4000.

Sincerely yours,

Pearl S. Buck

Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit
cordially invites you to a
Cocktail Party
Monday, the fourteenth of May
from six to seven-thirty in the evening
Room of the Dons
Mark Hopkins Hotel

R. s. v. p.
Room 255, 268 Market Street
Phone DOuglas 6936

POST

*Daily Magazine
and Comic SECTION*
NEW YORK POST

First Lady of India

By DOROTHY NORMAN

For the first time since the beginning of the war an Indian leader has been permitted to come to America directly from India. That this leader should be India's "first lady"—Mrs. Vijaya Lakshma Pandit—can be of the greatest consequence not only to India, but to everyone who believes in the "Four Freedoms" everywhere.

For although Mrs. Pandit came here to see her daughters, Chandrakha and Nayantara, who are attending Wellesley College, and not on any official mission, it would be well if everyone would listen carefully to what this extraordinary woman had to say as a private citizen of the world.

Like her brother, Jawaharlal Nehru — outstanding leader of India today — and in common with most of India, Mrs. Pandit was deeply influenced by Gandhi in her youth. But just as Gandhi's philosophy was a product of his own time, so her philosophy and that of her brother mirrors the dream of present-day India.

For one thing, Mrs. Pandit wishes it clearly understood that "the desire for independence in India is not the result of the work of any political party or of any super-imposed propaganda. It is the natural result of world conditions. Gandhi did not create the desire for independence," she explained.

Whole Issue of Freedom Is at Stake, She Declares

"If only people would realize that India's desire for independence is more than a matter of

self released from jail during the past year, also only because of health reasons.

During the period when the Indian National Congress came into power in 1937, Mrs. Pandit was the first woman in India to obtain the rank of Minister. When war was declared by the Viceroy of India in 1939, without consulting the Indian people, the entire Ministry resigned in protest, and since then, of course, none of the Congress leaders has held any official position.

Thwarted in Efforts to Fight Fascism in Its Early Days

"The meaning of that resignation cannot be clearly understood," Mrs. Pandit notes, "unless one understands the background of events leading up to the outbreak of war. Granted that Gandhi is a pacifist by tradition and conviction. But the truth of the matter is that the Congress Party—including such individuals as my brother and myself, as well as others of our co-workers—had made repeated requests to combat fascism—not only as early as Japan's attack upon Manchuria in 1931, but as far back as the beginning of the rise of fascism in Italy, in the



MRS. VIJAYA PANDIT believes in the "Four Freedoms" everywhere.

Post Photo by Calvaca

we know that he is watching. "In fact," Mrs. Pandit could not help but laugh at this point, "we often help the poor fellow out, and tell him where we are going. He knows it is all absurd, too, but he will merely shrug and say, 'What can I do?'"

Mrs. Pandit was educated at home. She had an English gov-

ernment and received instruction of the All-India Women's Conference.

"India is begging for no one's sympathy," Mrs. Pandit states quietly and firmly. "I am not here to propagandize. India's case needs no cheap propaganda. I am not here to answer cheap propaganda with cheap propaganda. To those who say that the differences in India among

solution either for conditions in India, or for the world at large. If the four freedoms are to have any meaning at all, certainly they must have a meaning for those who are supposed to fight for them. And India, after all, represents one-fifth of the human race! If promises are constantly broken, how can one believe in those who make the promises.

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Whole Issue of Freedom Is at Stake, She Declares

"If only people would realize that India's desire for independence is more than a matter of merely wishing to become a 'nation.' What is actually at stake is the whole question of freedom itself."

That "freedom itself" is at stake can scarcely be denied when one considers the fact that virtually every important leader in India continues to be detained in jail without trial; without having been accused of a single crime — and for an indefinite period.

Mrs. Pandit, her brother Nehru, her husband and her children were all cast into prison in August, 1942, along with Gandhi, and other working members of the Indian National Congress. Gandhi was finally released last spring, but only because of ill health. Mrs. Pandit's husband, who also became ill as a result of being in prison, was released on grounds of "ill health" too last winter, only to die a few days later! This needless tragedy would have embittered a less great person than Mrs. Pandit. But she merely continues her uninterrupted fight for freedom with quiet dignity. She was her-

dian National Congress came into power in 1937, Mrs. Pandit was the first woman in India to obtain the rank of Minister. When war was declared by the Viceroy of India in 1939, without consulting the Indian people, the entire Ministry resigned in protest, and since then, of course, none of the Congress leaders has held any official position.

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"But at every step our efforts were thwarted. Is it any wonder then, that having been consistently denied the opportunity to fight for the larger issues at stake, India should have been thrown back into fighting for what one might call the smaller issue — namely, its own independence?"

"It is difficult for those who live in a part of the world where civil liberties are respected, to understand the nature of the censorship that exists in India. There has always been censorship in India, but it has become infinitely worse since the war. Press, speech, association, letters, student organizations, business and professional groups — all suffer alike from censorship.

Says Even Watchers Know Their Task Is Ludicrous

"Searches are made without any warrants whatsoever. We are all followed by plainclothes men. They sit at our gate. It is preposterous. We know we are being watched. The man who watches our family knows that



MRS. VIJAYA PANDIT believes in the "Four Freedoms" everywhere.

Post. Photo by Calvaca

we know that he is watching. "In fact," Mrs. Pandit could not help but laugh at this point, "we often help the poor fellow out, and tell him where we are going. He knows it is all absurd, too, but he will merely shrug and say, 'What can I do?'"

Mrs. Pandit was educated at home. She had an English governess, and received instruction from various tutors. During that early period — at the beginning of the century — her family was not particularly interested in politics, although her father was a progressive and, among other things, believed in giving his daughters the same educational opportunities as his son.

With the end of World War I, however, the placid existence of such a family as the Nehrus was suddenly changed. The influence of Gandhi played a great role. But, in addition, everyone had suddenly been jarred out of an attitude of complacency.

When Mrs. Pandit married she was still quite young. Her husband came from a family of scholars. He himself had studied in Europe, knew half a dozen European languages thoroughly, and was to become a notable Sanskrit scholar.

In addition to being Minister for Local Self-Government and Medical and Public Health in the Congress Ministry, in the United Provinces, from 1937 to 1939, Mrs. Pandit was also elected president

of the All-India Women's Conference.

"India is begging for no one's sympathy," Mrs. Pandit states quietly and firmly. "I am not here to propagandize. India's case needs no cheap propaganda. I am not here to answer cheap propaganda with cheap propaganda. To those who say that the 'differences' in India among various factions must be wiped out before we deserve independence — one can only reply that whatever differences there may be cannot be ironed out until English domination is removed. First Moslems and Hindus were played one against the other by the British, in order to create so-called differences. Now the depressed classes are being used for the same end.

"One can only ask who is being 'democratic' under such circumstances? How can the Indian leaders who believe in democracy for everyone in the world, 'get together' when they are in jail? And of what is England so afraid that she keeps these men in jail? Gandhi has certainly stirred up no trouble whatsoever since his release. And as for Nehru and those who represent his attitude — how are such men to be looked upon as anything but the most sincere anti-fascists — or as anything save victims of tyranny? Only such a man as Nehru, who stood up against fascism long before the British, can offer a

solution either for conditions in India, or for the world at large. If the four freedoms are to have any meaning at all, certainly they must have a meaning for those who are supposed to fight for them. And India, after all, represents one-fifth of the human race! If promises are constantly broken, how can one believe in those who make the promises, when in the next breath, the promises are again shifted?"

MAR 6 1945

From the SATURDAY REVIEW
February 17, 1945

VERDICT FOR WHOM?

IN the past few years, several books have criticized the attempt of the Western world to dominate the Orient—Quaritch Wales's "Years of Blindness," General Carlos P. Romulo's "Mother America," Edgar Snow's "Red Star Over China" and later his "The Battle for Asia." They have championed the desire and the right of the Asiatic peoples to command their own destinies. When the attitude of the world swings to the East with Germany's defeat, the problem of imperialism, economic or political, will become a burning issue.

Most Americans today who have given any thought to the question are anti-imperialist. We have had the good fortune to have taken over a vast and empty continent, and so, not having to worry about supporting ourselves at the expense of other peoples, we are perhaps inclined to believe that the quicker the Dutch, the Portuguese, the French, the Belgians, the Spanish (and so forth), and the British, give up trying to rule the brown, black, and yellow people thousands of miles away from them, the better it will be for them and the whole world. But at the same time we are informed that if the "white" folk (who turn out to be not so white when the sociologist gets to work on them) let go of these chromatic natives in Asia, Africa, or the East Indies, they will burst into fragments and have bloody revolutions which will annoy us whites for a long time and cause us to lose our markets.

If you belonged to an island off the coast of Europe, with a population today of some forty-eight million people, about the same number as live on the Island of Java, you might be cool to the desire for freedom of any colored race on the other side of the world. You might thank your lucky stars that you had all those darker folks to work for you in one way or

another. You wouldn't go out of your way to insult them since they labor from dawn to dark. Or would you?

Well, yes, you would! Or at least it must have been considered good policy by the British recently to allow Mr. Beverley Nichols to spend a year of physical and spiritual suffering in India so he could emerge with a book. His "Verdict on India" has been somewhat neglected by most of the American press as, I presume, "too hot to handle," but it deserves our attention. There has been only one other on the same subject in recent times that approached it in savagery and malice, Katherine Mayo's "Mother India," written twenty years ago, which Mr. Nichols quotes at length. Nobody was, theoretically, interested in India in those days but it sold several hundreds of thousands of copies, including reprints, and was a sensational success in Great Britain. In a way, it deserved this success. However wildly it traduced the people of India, it was written with the deepest sincerity and the most passionate conviction. Its author was a well-to-do maiden lady who had crusaded for "causes" in this country; a woman who was so ardent an Anglophile that she deplored the fact that we did not have Dukes and Lords and other titles in this country, and regretted that we had even been so deluded as to have a revolution that destroyed our connection with the British Crown. Katherine Mayo went to India with the blessings of the British government, or its India Office. Her Rolls Royce was transported from America to India, she was shown everything that could inflame the susceptibilities of a virtuous old maid, and presented with examples of everything that could arouse her ardor for a British cause. She said a great many things that were true about the work of the Britisher in the India Civil Service, the public workers living an exhausting and nerve wracking life in a horrible climate and among ap-

parently irresponsible natives. She hated the Hindus, their religion, sexual habits, and child marriages. In one sense the work blew up in the British Government's face; it so disturbed the prosperous middle class in England that I have been told that a great sum had to be spent on hospitals and clinics for women that might have been saved for more imperial causes.

But to return to Beverley Nichols and his "Verdict on India." When he went to India there were still thousands of the leaders of India in jail, and many of them are still there, including one of the greatest statesmen in the world, Nehru. He found a sullen hatred of the white man everywhere. He was violently attacked by the Indian press for being what he appears to be from this book; in turn, he has labeled the Indian press the most venal in the world. He found nothing praiseworthy in Indian art, music, medicine, religion, politics, or the theatre. He thought their imprisoned saint, Gandhi, a Fascist. He, too, hated the Hindu; but this esthete who wrote of himself once, "I am always posing," is no zealot like Miss Mayo, who would have been willing to be grilled alive for a cause she believed in. Mr. Nichols was acutely uncomfortable in India, and I dare say got prickly heat even in the Viceroy's incredible marble palace. But he has done his work superbly. As a result of "Verdict on India," there may be, sad to say, a few thousands of Americans who, when the test comes, and when the conscience of the world looks hard some day at India's revolution, will say, "I know that dreadful country; it is not worth the freedom it is crying for."

So far as Americans are concerned, the whole question is one requiring continuing information and continuing tact. While we are in no position to dictate the political complexion of the entire world, we can't help thinking. Nor should we.

H. S.

From COMMON SENSE
February 1945

Verdict on Beverley Nichols

VERDICT ON INDIA by Beverley Nichols. (Harcourt Brace, \$2.50.) Mr. Nichols' verdict is: India has no culture, the British have done all they could, Jawaharlal Nehru is a fascist. Mr. Nichols is an English author with a slick style and a sly mind.

Readers may arrive at a verdict on the value of Mr. Nichols' judgment on crucial issues by referring to a book he wrote in 1938 entitled, "News of England."

Discussing the British reaction to Italian aggression in Italy, he wrote:

Those few realists who pointed out that Italy was only doing, on a somewhat larger and more efficient scale, what we ourselves had done, time and again, in the past, and that a thorough conquest by a Western power would perhaps in the long run make life safer, healthier and more agreeable for the Abyssinians themselves, were regarded as brutal 'Fascists'. (Page 20)

Mr. Nichols explains he is not an anti-Semite:

The ivy is a parasite. The Jew is a parasite. But the ivy, on an ancient structure, is not only a parasite but a support. And the Jew, in an ancient structure like the British Empire, is not only an alien but an asset. (Page 299)

Mr. Nichols on Britain's fascist leader, Oswald Mosley:

Mosley, through an ironic twist of circumstances, has been compelled by the powerful forces of Jewry, to adopt a modified form of anti-Semitism. (Page 297)

... if he were ever to come to power, there would be no pogroms. He might even have the genius to find a solution to this problem ... which, remember, has baffled the ingenuity of mankind since the beginnings of history.

At the moment, however, the fact that he has been forced by his enemies into a position where he must either be anti-Semitic or perish, seems to me to be one of the major tragedies of our time. For he is the only man I know who has in him the qualities of that hero for whom this country has waited so long, and waited in vain! (Page 302-3)

Distributed by
INDIA LEAGUE OF AMERICA

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NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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Voice of India



ONLY THEY SHOULD SPEAK FOR INDIA

MAY, 1945



WASHINGTON, D. C.

*File India
Singh*

August 14, 1945

Dear Dr. Singh:

I am happy to enclose herewith a picture and biographical sketch of Mr. White. The sketch, as you will note, contains a partial list of his writings.

Ever sincerely,

Secretary to Mr. White.

Dr. Anup Singh
National Committee for India's Freedom
Room 214 Portland Building
1129 Vermont Avenue
Washington, D. C.

DW

National Committee for India's Freedom

ROOM 214 PORTLAND BUILDING
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August 1, 1945.

21133

AUG 9 1945

Dear Friend:

Very soon there is going to be an exposition in Bombay. The sponsors are devoting one section to the friends of India's Freedom in America. I have been requested to collect the necessary data. Will you please send me before August the 15th, your photo (size 8 x 10) and a brief biographical note.

Please send also a list of your writings and mention any of your public activities that would be of interest to the Indian people, naturally, any of your activities in the furtherance of the cause of India's freedom should be particularly mentioned.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Anup Singh

Anup Singh

P.S. The sponsors of the Bombay Exposition would like to have you put down a few of the things you have said about India on various occasions. They would also like to have you autograph your photograph.

A.S.

*Chicago Defender
columns re Pandit*

*Singh - India
re: Chicago Defender article*

July 2, 1945

Dear J. J.:

I thought you might be interested in reading this and then sending it on to Madame Pandit. I want to talk with you soon to find out all the things that happened in San Francisco after I left.

Cordially,

Secretary.

Mr. J. J. Singh
14 East 56th Street
New York, New York

WW:DW

TO
FREEDOM FOR ALL PEOPLES

A Dinner

ON
THE OCCASION OF
INDIA INDEPENDENCE DAY
BY THE
INDIA LEAGUE, OF AMERICA



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President, India League of America

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