

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

Dear Member:

You are requested to attend a meeting of the Executive Committee to be held on Wednesday, February 18th, at 5 P.M., at the office of Mr. Richard J. Walsh, John Day Company, 62 West 45th Street, New York City.

- AGENDA: 1 - To consider the political developments in India, in view of Mahatma Gandhi's death.  
2 - To consider plans for future activities of the League, in view of these new developments.  
3 - Election of new members  
4 - Rough financial report.

Very sincerely,  
H.K. RAKHIT, Sec'y.

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PEARL S. BUCK  
DR. LIN YUTANG

Telephone:  
PLaza 3-5087-5088

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# INDIA LEAGUE OF AMERICA

40 EAST 49th STREET

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
February 7, 1948.

The following resolution will be moved by Sirdar J. J. Singh, President of the India League of America, at a Public Memorial Meeting to be held to pay tribute to Mahatma Gandhi, on Saturday, February 7th, 1948, at 3 P.M., at the Town Hall, 123 West 43rd Street, New York, N. Y. :

"We are met together today to honor one of the greatest men of human history. The world has been aware of Mahatma Gandhi for scores of years. While he was living, people did not always understand him, nor appreciate him, but they always knew that he was a force in our times, indomitable in his high purpose, unshakable in his integrity, persistently undefeated. To some he was a saint, to others a mystery, to his own people he was as familiar and revered a figure as a father. He was many things, to each man something.

"Now Gandhi is dead. We mourn his passing, It strikes us to the heart that this great good man, who, believing in non-violence never did harm to any creature, should yet have died by violence from one of his fellow men. This death, powerful and world-shaking, crystalizes the eternal meaning of Mahatma Gandhi's life. Now we see plainly the necessity for the fundamental human truth which he spent his life to proclaim. We accept the challenge. We uphold the brotherhood of humanity, as the essence of peace, the affirmation of freedom.

"BE IT RESOLVED, THEREFORE, in honor of Mahatma Gandhi's immortal memory, that we gathered together here today, men and women of many races and creeds, do solemnly declare that we will support

by every means we have, by strength of hand and mind, those forces which today in India work for democracy and a progressive way of life. We approve of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's leadership. We put our faith in his integrity. We announce ourselves fellow-workers with those who work with him, believing that he is one of the outstanding leaders of India who can so ably fulfill the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi. We do this in the conviction that these ideals are valuable and essential for all mankind."

Among those who will speak on this occasion are the following members of the Security Council of the United Nations: Hon. Warren R. Austin, United States of America; Hon. Philip Noel-Baker, United Kingdom; Hon. Ting Fu Tsiang, China; Hon. Jean-Willy Fournier De Montousse, France; Hon. A. G. L. McNaughton, Canada; Hon. Fernand Van Langenhove, Belgium; Hon. Faris El-Khoury, Syria. And Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan, Foreign Minister of Pakistan; Sir N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Minister Without Portfolio of the Government of India; Dr. Charles Malik of Lebanon, Chairman of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations; Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo, Minister of Education of the Republic of Indonesia and Delegate to the United Nations; M. Asaf Ali, Ambassador for India to the United States; M. A. Hassan Ispahani, Ambassador for Pakistan to the United States; Congressman Emanuel Celler; Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla, Head of the Emergency Government of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and President of the All-India States' People's Conference; Dr. Stephen S. Wise, President, American Jewish Congress; Dr. Lin Yutang, Chinese Philosopher and Author; Dr. Frank Kingdon, Author and Columnist; Mr. Walter White, Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Mr. Roger N. Baldwin, Chairman, Civil Liberties Union and Mr. Norman Thomas, Socialist Leader.

Sirdar J. J. Singh will be Chairman of the meeting.

Note: A bronze bust of Mahatma Gandhi by the world famous sculptor, Jo Davidson, will be on the platform. This will be flanked by three flags, all at half-mast. The flags will be those of India, Pakistan and the old flag of the Indian National Congress with the Charkha (spinning wheel) which was so near and dear to Mahatma Gandhi and under which he fought his non-violent battles for the freedom of India.

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The India League of America was founded in 1927 for the primary purpose of helping India gain her independence. India is now relieved of domination. But neither the champions of national liberation in India nor the Americans and Indians who comprise the India League ever thought that alone the end of foreign rule would solve India's problems. To safeguard the independence of India it is necessary to work for the establishment of an effective democratic world order, the liberation of all colonial peoples, a deep, understanding sympathy between East and West, and the freedom of Indians in India. The India League, dedicated from its inception to these purposes, will now redouble its efforts to achieve them because it is completely convinced that this is the best way of contributing to the security and happiness of India and to the peace, prosperity, and morality of all mankind.

The passing of Mahatma Gandhi spurs us to further, intensified activity. His tragic death has apparently shocked the western world into a sudden realization that his teachings can guide it through the spiritual bog and moral crisis which underlies our urgent political and economic problems.

Since Gandhi's assassination many Americans have said that his life demonstrated the possibility of applying Christianity to the solution of modern problems. Believing that the way of Gandhi has a particular meaning for the western world, the India League will hereafter devote special attention to the dissemination of Gandhi's



ideas throughout America. This will forge a stronger bond between the United States and India and intensify the interest which each country has always had for the other.

The India League believes that Gandhi, Nehru, and the truly democratic elements in India never regarded national freedom as an ultimate goal but rather as the prerequisite to the full freedom of Indians. The removal of communal antagonisms, and of Untouchability, will expand individual liberty, guarantee national liberty, and perhaps ultimately lead to a voluntary reunion of the two Indias.

The India League therefore hopes to give encouragement, by its friendly concern and interest, to those forces in India which are endeavouring to shift the emphasis from religious and caste differences to the building of a new India based on economic, political and social democracy.

NOTE: Mr. Fischer is leaving town on the 26th. I request that you kindly send in your suggestions to Mr. Fischer by return of mail so that we may have the final draft before Mr. Fischer leaves town.

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

A REPORT

ON THE

MEMORIAL MEETING ✓

HELD ON FEBRUARY 7, 1948, AT THE TOWN HALL, NEW YORK, N. Y.

TO PAY TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF

MAHATMA GANDHI ✓

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A public Memorial Meeting was held by the India League of America on February 7th, 1948, at the Town Hall, New York, N.Y., to pay tribute to the Saint of India -- Mahatma Gandhi.

More than 1,200 persons of different nationalities, races and creeds were present. Twenty speakers and fifty other distinguished guests sat on the platform. A bronze bust of Mahatma Gandhi, (by Jo Davidson) surrounded by white flowers and three flags -- all at half-mast -- flooded by a spotlight, was on the right of the stage.

Before the meeting started, Sirdar J. J. Singh, President of the India League of America, who was Chairman of the meeting requested the audience to stand in silent tribute for one minute as a token of homage to Mahatma Gandhi. Mr. Singh also requested the audience not to applaud at any time.

In his opening remarks, Mr. Singh said that besides the flags of India and Pakistan, the old flag of the Indian National Congress was placed in the center of the two, because Mr. Singh explained, "This flag, with the Charkha (spinning wheel) was very near and dear to Mahatma Gandhi. It was under this flag that Mahatma Gandhi waged and won his non-violent battles. So, on this occasion, we consider it most appropriate to place that flag along with those of India and Pakistan."

S P E A K E R S

Thereafter, the chairman called upon the following speakers:

TING-FU TSIANG, Representative of China to the Security Council of the United Nations:

"Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen: In the long history of the cultures of the East, China acknowledges two great debts to India. The first debt is the religion of Buddhism, and the second great debt that China owes to India is the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi.

"We in China today lament the passing of Gandhi as much as the Indian people themselves. As we in China understand the position of Gandhi in the world, it appears to us in recent light, that we have many problems, international problems, racial problems, class problems, social problems.

"One attitude is that these problems, most of them cannot be solved. Let them alone. Let us accept the status quo. That is one attitude.

"There is another attitude: These evils should be removed. Let us take arms. Let us fight. Whatever the cost in blood, we must rid the world of these evils. That is another attitude.

"There is a third attitude. The third approach to our problem is the approach of Gandhi. We should work for the enlargement of human freedom in every sphere, but we must achieve our ends through non-violence.

"Mr. Gandhi has not achieved all the freedoms that he hoped to achieve, but he has achieved a great deal, and he has achieved what he has achieved through the method of non-violence. The methods he used will have to be studied in relation to other countries, in relation to other problems. We in China feel that the central problem of man is how to win these freedoms that we all prize through the Gandhi method of non-violence."

WALTER WHITE, Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Member, Executive Committee, India League of America:

"Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I have attended many memorial meetings, but never before have I felt so deep a sense of inadequacy



in words. You have heard many distinguished speakers here this afternoon. The time is late, so I shall confine myself to one or two very simple observations.

"The first is that I believe that there is a significance for the peoples and the nations of the world who have gone mad during recent generations over theories of racial superiority, that it was a slender brown man in far-off India who has become the greatest moral and spiritual leader of the world since the days of Jesus Christ, and he did not worship force and materialism -- not the mass murder of war, but a spirit of love and the gentleness of non-violence and peace.

"It may be that he will become even greater; in fact, I believe he will become even more powerful in death than he was in life, especially in view of the fact that he died from the very violence which he had spent his life in opposing.

"Perhaps Pakistan and India will learn the lesson that in disharmony and violence, there is the way to death; that in peace and non-violence, there is the way to lasting life for all human beings.

"I have listened to these distinguished representatives of the United Nations who struggled in the face of what seemed to be at times almost insuperable odds to find the kind of peace which Gandhi advocated. Perhaps we of the world, white and black, Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, believer and non-believer, may become as wise as the man who died but a few days ago, and learn that unless we can find that kind of peace that there is going to be only destruction for all of civilization.

"I stand here humbly this afternoon to pay tribute in my most simple fashion to one of the greatest leaders of mankind of all time, and I believe that his spirit would rest even more in peace if, instead of ~~merely~~ sitting here this afternoon and making and listening to speeches, we went down

from this place and tried to spread throughout the world not merely lip service to the ideals for which he lived and died, but to put them into application to avoid the horrible and devastating war which seems to be so swiftly rushing upon the world."

LIN YUTANG, Chinese Philosopher and Author; Honorary President, India League of America:

"Since Mahatma Gandhi's death, I have tried in my mind to place him. In the perspective of modern history, where does he belong? Suppose we take the ten greatest men of modern times -- or seven, or five, or three greatest. What would happen?

"Some years ago, there was an American magazine article on the big ten of the world, and Gandhi of course was one of them. I find that Gandhi does not belong to what the world called the big three, and I find myself drifting to the conclusion inevitably that he is the big one, and I say so without fear of contradiction, because without any doubt, of the great world leaders of the 20th century, living or dead -- he was the one who lived closest to God.

"If President Wilson were living today, I would call them the big two, but since President Wilson is dead, there was only one left, and he just died.

"Gandhi belongs to another category, the category of faith, and since the modern world is not in the habit of producing saints, he is the solitary example. I think we must think of Gandhi in a different light. We should rather think of him in connection with mankind, with men like Einstein or women like Madame Curie, and yet he is in a class by himself. He is not like Einstein or Madame Curie. He towers above us, in a class all by himself.

"He was even different from Tolstoy because in him and in him alone the spiritual level and religious level met and merged and became one, and that is nothing short of a miracle. For remember, he was not only a re-

we are able to grasp and appreciate the meaning of Gandhi shall he become also the life of Asia and of the world."

#### RESOLUTION

The following resolution was moved by Sirdar J. J. Singh and was unanimously adopted:

"We are met together today to honor one of the greatest men of human history. The world has been aware of Mahatma Gandhi for scores of years. While he was living, people did not always understand him, nor appreciate him, but they always knew that he was a force in our times, indomitable in his high purpose, unshakable in his integrity, persistently undefeated. To some he was a saint, to others a mystery, to his own people he was as familiar and revered a figure as a father. He was many things, to each man something.

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Mr. Singh also suggested that those assembled and their friends should write letters to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, assuring him that the people of America will stand by him and give him their full moral support in his fight for progressive and democratic ideals.

### M E S S A G E S

JOSE ARCE, Representative of the Republic of Argentine to the Security Council of the United Nations:

"I sincerely regret that a previous unbreakable engagement makes it impossible for me to be with you tomorrow, as I would like, at the Memorial Meeting to pay tribute to Mahatma Gandhi.

"I take this opportunity to express my most profound adherence to the sentiments expressed by that act."

ROGER N. BALDWIN, Director, American Civil Liberties Union; Treasurer, India League of America:

"Gandhiji belongs to the immortal company of martyrs to the highest principles to which men aspire. The universal recognition of his greatness testifies to the best in us all, and offers hope for its realization.

"My few precious hours with him on the way to the Round Table Conference revealed not only his spiritual force and his political shrewdness -- a unique combination -- but the rarely-noted gaiety of his heart and the serenity of his mind. Laughter was one of his notable qualities. Gandhi rose far above the cause of India to the universal. Our desperate civilization will move ahead by the example and teaching of one great soul."

CHESTER BOWLES, Chairman of United Nations Appeal For Children:

"I am sorry I cannot join you physically today in honoring Mahatma Gandhi.

All over the world there is insecurity, fear, hate, violence. To lose the individual who more than any other of our day lived to prove the

strength of the union of plain people in faith, and peace, and common purpose is a catastrophe not only for India, but for the whole tortured world."

LYMAN BRYSON, Counsellor on Public Affairs, Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.:

"I regret that it will be impossible for me to attend the memorial service and join in the tribute to Mahatma Gandhi. I hope, however, that you will associate my name with the deep respect that you will pay at that time to your great leader."

PEARL S. BUCK, Nobel Prize Winner, Author and Honorary President of the India League of America:

"In a strange profound way Gandhi, since his death, has become a test for India. Since his death, dramatic and symbolic of the struggle of his whole life, has lifted him, as upon a cross, far higher than he has ever been before. Those who thought lightly of him because they did not understand his faith and his teachings, are struck silent, for the moment. By his martyrdom he has thrown the final challenge to his people.

"Will India acknowledge the rightness of Gandhi or will she repudiate him? This is the question which the world now waits to see answered. If the people of India repudiate him, then they sink at once to the level of all other quarrelling, unreasoning peoples. But if they uphold non-violence, at all costs, if they demand peace first, in order to settle their differences without bloodshed, India achieves the greatness and the unique spiritual strength necessary today for world leadership.

"Never was such a challenge given in such difficult times. It will take miracles of self-control on the part of leaders and people alike. But let them be strengthened by this one fact: Gandhi was right. Only by determined non-violence can the world be saved today. Reason, arbitration, conferences, nothing is enough. Non-violence must come first. Non-violence which is deep enough and strong enough to become a faith, absolute in its

application to every human situation. Gandhi was right. That for which he lived and for which he died stands today more inexorably true than ever. Oh India, dare to follow Gandhi, that there may be left one voice in the world to speak against the violence of foolish men and foolish nations.!

ALBERT EINSTEIN:

"Everyone concerned in a better future of mankind must be deeply moved by the tragic death of Gandhi. He died as a victim of his own principle, the principle of non-violence. He died because in a time of disorder and general irritation in his country, he refused armed protection for himself. It was his unshakable belief that the use of force is an evil in itself and that therefore it must be avoided by those who are striving for supreme justice.

"To this belief he had devoted his whole life and with this belief in his heart and mind he had led a great nation on to its liberation. He has demonstrated that a powerful human following can be assembled not only through the cunning game of the usual political manoeuvres and trickeries but through the cogent example of a morally superior conduct of life.

"The admiration for Gandhi in all countries of the world rests on the recognition -- mostly a subconscious recognition, of the fact that in our time of utter moral decadence, he was the only statesman to stand for a higher level of human relationship in the political sphere. This level, we must with all our forces attempt to reach. We must learn the difficult lesson that an endurable future of humanity will be possible only if also in international relations, decisions are based on law and justice and not on self-righteous power as they have been up to now."

LOUIS FISCHER, Author; Lecturer; Vice President, India League of America:

"To many persons in the western world Gandhi was a queer figure in a loin cloth who drank goats' milk. The West resisted Gandhi; if one sug-



gested him as a creed and a cure, the answer often was, 'We already have Jesus Christ'. This actually constituted a great tribute to the Mahatma. When he was killed, America and Europe mourned. Truman, Secretary Marshall, Douglas MacArthur, Attlee, Churchill, Leon Blum, the United Nations, and thousands of editors, preachers, and laymen bowed and wept. Apparently the West sensed that Gandhi was not merely the greatest man of the twentieth century; he was the greatest Christian of twenty centuries. A Hindu, nominally not a Christian, behaved more like Christ than any Christian. The West suddenly realized this when Gandhi fell, and realizing, began to look at itself, and saw its spiritual poverty. It looked and wondered how anybody could have been Christian in a non-Christian, in an anti-Christian world. It began to ask questions. From now on, the West will look at Gandhi in order the better to understand its own deficiencies.

"The second world war is ended and there is talk of a third. The aftermath of the second world war is almost as ugly as the years that preceded it. Civil wars, violence, suffering, unsolved problems everywhere. This makes men doubt, search, and open their minds to new ideas.

"The West needs Gandhi and I think it is more receptive to his ideas than ever before."

JAMES G. FULTON, Member of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress:

"In a note so brief, I can not express too fully my shock to hear of the loss of Gandhi -- one of the greatest leaders of our time. For one who devoted his life to the people as he did for peace and betterment, I am truly sorry and realize how deeply his death has been felt."

COLONEL LOUIS JOHNSON, Former Assistant Secretary of War and Special Representative of President Roosevelt to India:

"I deeply regret that an engagement in California makes my

attendance on February seventh impossible.

"Gandhi was truly the great soul. His spirit marches on and with Nehru at the helm, all will be well."

RUFUS JONES, Honorary Chairman, American Friends Service Committee:

"I am very sorry that my health will not permit me to come to New York on Saturday.

"I loved Mahatma Gandhi and I shall be with you in spirit."

TRYGVE LIE, Secretary General of the United Nations:

As Mr. Lie was en route from Europe to the United States, he sent instructions to Mr. Jehan de Nouse, Chief of Protocol of the United Nations, to represent him.

WILLIAM O'DYWER, Mayor of the City of New York:

"The killing of Mohandas K. Gandhi was a tragedy that can be compared with the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. Both men brought the troubles of their people to the mind of the world.

"Gandhi brought patriotism to such a point, that it became in fact the highest end. His patriotism became a sacred thing because of the magnificence of his vision, concentration, undying loyalty and dedication."

WILLIAM PHILLIPS, Personal Representative of President Roosevelt to India:

"I deeply regret that my absence in Arizona prevents me from joining you in paying tribute to the memory of the great Indian leader."

MRS. HELEN ROGERS REID, President, New York Herald Tribune:

"It was a sad disappointment that I could not go to the meeting in tribute to Mahatma Gandhi this afternoon. I want you to know how sorry I was to miss your memorial service."

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT:

"I am sorry I cannot be present at the memorial meeting to pay tribute to Mahatma Gandhi because of absence from New York City.

"Mr. Gandhi was a force for good in the world and the world is poorer because of his death. It is shocking that a man who spent his life working for peace should die by an act of violence."

FERNAND VAN LANGENHOVE, Representative of Belgium to the Security Council of the United Nations:

"I deeply regret that an unexpected impediment prevents me from attending the memorial meeting.

"I wish to pay tribute with you to Mahatma Gandhi whose memory will remain one of the greatest symbols of the fundamental principle which inspires the United Nations."

HENRY A. WALLACE, Former Vice President of the United States of America:

"I regret I am unable to be with you as you pay tribute to one of the greatest men of the ages.

"Mahatma Gandhi devoted his life to the supreme cause of our times—the uniting of peoples in comradeship and peace. He stood above the leaders of the peoples of the world in his long struggle against the imperialism that crushes the body and the spirit. India's new born independence is his triumph.

"I share your grief at his death. We who believe in peace, honor his memory and take solace in the proud knowledge that his highest honor is not only that he fought for and won freedom for millions of peoples, but that he has inspired other millions who will now carry on that cause, until its fruits are shared by mankind."

RICHARD J. WALSH, President, John Day & Company; Chairman, India League of America:

"Praises of Gandhi have come from many who knew him, had talked with him or seen him. These are best. Yet there is value also in the testimony of those of us who never had any direct touch with him except that of the



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Dr. Lin Yutang

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## INDIAN NATIONALS OVERSEAS CONGRESS

70 St. GEORGE'S ROAD, LONDON, S.E.

President

P. D. SAGGI

Walter White Esq.  
Secretary's Office,  
National-Association for the  
Advancement of Coloured People.  
20 West 40th Street,  
New York. 18. U.S.A.

Telephone: WATERLOO 4594

Secretary:

Mr. D. V. TARRANT

14th June 1948.

Dear Sirs,

Mr. PD. Saggi, President INDIAN NATIONALS OVERSEAS CONGRESS, and Chairman -COMMITTEE FOR INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING, proposes to undertake a goodwill tour of the U.S.A. to promote Indo-American friendship, which he thinks if the basis of peace throughout the World.

So far, he has visited the Continent of Europe, Burma, Malaya, Far East, and certain other parts of South East Asia. His lectures created considerable interest, and Indian -National Leaders, like the late Mr. Ghandi, Pandit Nehru, the popular Premier, and Sardar Patel, the Vice-premier, supported him. Besides India, Mr. Saggi speaks on subjects of International and topical interest.

He is visiting America after the 15th August, and I would be glad to know whether you can undertake to arrange a tour for him. A leaflet giving his brief biography is enclosed, and I would be glad to supply any additional information, which you may require.

Yours faithfully,

D. Tarrant.

D. Tarrant.

Secretary.

*Very sorry unable to undertake India tour as I am going to America asking if there is any chance of considering it.*  
*14th June 1948*  
*Send to D. Tarrant*

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DR. LIN YUTANG

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**INDIA LEAGUE OF AMERICA**

40 EAST 49th STREET

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.



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June 29, 1948

1948 JUN 30 48

Mr. Walter White  
National Association for the  
Advancement of Colored People  
20 West 40th Street  
New York, N. Y.

Dear Walter:

Congratulations on the successful  
Conference you have had. I have been  
following it with the newspapers.

We are planning to celebrate the  
first anniversary of the independence  
of India and Pakistan on August 15, 1948,  
at a public meeting at Hotel Commodore,  
at 8:15 P.M.

I know that August 15 is a Sunday  
and also that it will be in the midst of  
summer. But I am hoping against hope  
that you can join us on this occasion and  
address the gathering.

Do let me know at your earliest. And  
when are we going to have a real heart-  
to-heart talk?

Yours sincerely,

J. J. Singh

JJS:fr



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INDIA'S PUBLICITY ABROAD

by J. J. Singh

I have been asked to write an article on "India's Publicity Abroad". I am afraid that would be covering a lot of territory with which I am not very familiar. So I will restrict myself to the question of India's publicity, past and present, in the United States. I will also refer to some of the misconceptions that seem to be prevalent these days in India.

I restrict myself to the United States, because I know something about this country, and because it is about the most important country in the world today. Until recently, our eyes were always turned toward Great Britain, but today it is more important that the aspirations of the Indian people be correctly understood by Americans than Englishmen, Russians, or any other people.

I assume that the British newspapers, even now, carry more news about India than American papers do. I read at least one London newspaper every day. It is worth while reading London newspapers now because one can get them here the morning after they are published. I think America and Great Britain are the only two countries that carry frequent stories about India.

American newspapers, especially those having their own representatives in India, do give a fair amount of coverage to events in India.

I know that visiting Indians in this country are greatly disappointed and very much annoyed to see that so little about India appears in the American press. It is natural that they would feel

that way. After all, many of them fly from India to New York in three, or four days. Only four days earlier, they were reading practically nothing but Indian news in Indian newspapers. Then suddenly, they are transplanted into a country where India is rarely on the front page. Subconsciously they expect the New York Times to be like the Hindustan Times of New Delhi, or the New York Herald Tribune to be like the Leader of Allahabad. This is of course unreasonable. I think that careful analysis would show that India, on the whole, gets a fair break in American newspapers, magazines, radio and television.

There is one thing that critics of America must understand. It is that not India alone, but the whole world wants to be mentioned, talked about and written up in America. The Venezuelans, Greeks, Turks, Belgians, Chinese and the Indonesians want -- and are entitled to -- their share of attention. Everyone particularly wants his story to appear in the New York press, and more especially in the two leading morning newspapers, the New York Times and the New York Herald Tribune. Now, how are these newspapers going to satisfy this world demand? All they can do is to print stories from all parts of the world on as fair a basis as possible. Of course, any newsworthy story which helps to sell the newspapers gets precedence over anything else. That is true of the press all over the world.

I recall an incident, I think in 1942, some time after the arrest of the Indian leaders, when a real "Iron Curtain" -- and perhaps the first "Iron Curtain" -- was drawn between India and the United States of America, and when we, that is, my colleagues

and I in the India League of America, somehow managed to get news from India which we tried to get published in this country. (Incidentally, the British Embassy and British Consulates in the United States which at that time were zealously engaged in carrying on anti-Indian propaganda and were trying to combat our efforts, used to be staggered at some of the news we got from India despite the strict censorship. Do you know how we secured some of this important news? We would get American soldiers to send us clippings and other material in their letters to this country. American soldiers' letters were handled by the American Army Post Office and were not subject to censorship by the British.)

Reverting back to the incident which I wanted to quote above, this is what happened. We had sent a news story, which we had managed to receive by these devious methods, to the New York Times and felt that the story was important and timely enough to be published. But the New York Times did not print it. Well, I was quite mad. I called up Arthur H. Sulzberger, the publisher of the New York Times, whom I had met several times before, to make an appointment for the intended protest. Mr. Sulzberger was out-of-town, but his secretary suggested that I see Mr. Nicholas Roosevelt, a distant relative of President Roosevelt who was then the administrative assistant to Mr. Sulzberger.

I saw Mr. Roosevelt the same afternoon. After he had heard my complaint, he said, "Mr. Singh, do you think we keep news about India out of our paper because we do not want to print

India news? Do you think we are prejudiced against India? Do you think the British run this newspaper?" Then Mr. Roosevelt made most emphatic denials to all these questions and led me down to the Foreign Cable Desk where all foreign news is received. He asked the editor in charge to show us the cables that had been received that very morning, and how much of that material was being used. The editor of the Foreign Cable Desk showed us that more than half of the cabled material received was being thrown into the waste paper basket -- this meant thousands and thousands of words.

Mr. Roosevelt looked at me and said, "Mr. Singh, ninety per cent of these cables are from our own correspondents, who are well paid and have liberal expense accounts, and the cable charges for all these stories were borne by us. These are not news agency stories. We just cannot print all we get. There is a shortage of paper, as you know." Then Mr. Roosevelt added, "Now do you believe me when I say that there is no question of prejudice, there is no question of bias? It is just a question of not being able to use everything we receive."

I have had similar experiences with other publishers, and I, for one, am convinced that there is no bias, no prejudice, and no desire to kill Indian stories in most of the American press.

Recently, large numbers of visitors from India have said to me with great concern, "Mr. Singh, what is wrong with the American press? Why is the American press against India? Why are the American people against India?" Why is the American Government against India?"



Let me categorically state that the American press is not against India, the American people are not against India, and the American Government is not against India.

Ever since the Kashmir question was brought before the United Nations, many editorials have been written in the Indian press, more or less suggesting that India was completely friendless in this wide world. Others have suggested that an Anglo-American bloc is being created to crush India economically, politically and otherwise. That is just bunk! I do not know of any Anglo-American bloc in this country which is out to crush India. And I make bold to state that if there were any such moves afoot in this country, my colleagues and I would know before either the Government of India, or the Government of India's representatives in this country. This is a bold statement to make. But you should know that we are constantly in touch with all kinds of people and especially with people "behind the scenes". These people we have known for years and years. They are our friends. They trust us and we trust them. It is one thing to meet a person once, or twice, and shake hands - as a visitor or even an Ambassador does, and it is another thing to know a person. We know people in this country.

As a result of our knowledge, let me restate that the Government of the United States is not against India. The American press is not against India. And there is no Anglo-American bloc, as of today, working against India.

Though I do not wish to talk about the Kashmir dispute and the way it was handled before the Security Council, I do wish to

ridiculous. Do not forget that there are about sixty ambassadors in Washington, representing different countries.

I think we should not show any immodest and undue haste in trying to publicize India in this country. I think we should go about it in a dignified and systematic manner.

It will take us years and years to undo about a hundred years of anti-Indian propaganda that had been carried on in this country by the British imperialists right up to the time when the Churchill Government was overthrown by the present British Labor Government.

There is no doubt in my mind that much misinformation has been spread by the British. Not yesterday, not ten or even twenty years ago, but perhaps fifty or sixty years ago, a smart Englishman, one with foresight, sitting in England said to himself that some day England will have to justify to an awakened world her subjugation of the people of India and her continued rule of them. And this Englishman set the machinery in motion. He started subtle propaganda against the people of India through means which, to an average reader, appeared to be ordinary, unbiased and factual newspaper reporting. As we all know, the British, through the Reuters News Agency, have had until recently, a strangle-hold on incoming and outgoing news in India. Therefore, it was within their power to send out exactly the kind of Indian news they wanted. They kept on, year in and year out, telling the world that there were different factions in India, that there were deep-rooted religious animosities, that there were the miserable Untouchables, that there were the Maharajahs

with their fabulous wealth and scores of wives or concubines, that if the British were not there, the Hindus and Moslems would massacre each other -- and so on and so forth. The "misinformation", no doubt, was spread by the British.

However, some way should have been found to counteract this kind of vicious propaganda, but practically nothing was done. The fact is that Indian leaders are partly to be blamed for the ignorance of the Americans.

Let me give you a few facts and figures:

Before the Second World War, hardly any Indian businessmen, tourists, political leaders, or students, ever came to the United States. Few students came because they found living expenses too high. The tourists also found America a little too expensive and a little too far. Our political leaders considered it more essential to visit England to confer with important Britishers. The business men had more business relations with England than with the United States of America. Before the last war, England was the "mecca" of Indians of all types, but unfortunately few came to this country. So, India's contacts with the United States were few and insignificant.

With regard to Indians living in the United States, at no time have there been more than 6,000. (The first "immigrant" came in 1899. Until 1907, there was very little immigration from India. In 1907, 1072 came in -- most of them from Canada.) The figure today is in the vicinity of 4,000.

Almost 95% of the 4,000 odd Indians are illiterate. There are about 3,000 on the Pacific Coast (2,000 Sikhs, 1,000 Moslems and Hindus), mostly farmers (some of them very well-to-do). Then

we have about 500 in Greater New York, which includes Brooklyn and parts of New Jersey, most of whom work in factories, restaurants, or garages (large numbers of them are lascars who jumped ships). And there are about 300 in Detroit, Michigan, most of whom work in automobile factories. There are not more than 30 to 40 Indian businessmen in the whole of the United States. We have a few swamis, and we used to have a few professional lecturers and writers. (Recently, several hundred Indian students and a score, or more, of business men have come.)

Everyone has to earn his living, which means that besides the professional lecturers and writers (I am referring to those who had to earn their living by writing and lecturing on India and who now have Government jobs) there are not many among us who can afford to devote time or energy toward educating the American public. There is not a single Indian who is a newspaper publisher, radio commentator, or columnist.

We were not eligible for citizenship until the passage in 1946 of the India Immigration and Naturalization Bill which was introduced and piloted to the statute books by the India League of America. Therefore, we did not have any voting power and so did not have any Congressmen, or Senators, whom we could approach for support of our cause.

In short, there are only a handful of Indians in this country, and they do not hold positions which enable them to make much of a dent on 140 million Americans.

In my humble opinion, the job of removing the misinformation and ignorance rightly belonged to the Government of India -- as in the case of other countries, or to the Indian National Congress which was the chief spokesman for India's independence.



But the old "Government of India" was not the Government of the people of India. Quite the contrary. The then Government of India (in the past I have always referred to it as the "British" Government of India), spent its resources in carrying on anti-Indian propaganda.

And the Indian National Congress never considered it important to educate the American people -- or anyone else outside India. As I understand it, the Indian National Congress, perhaps rightly, had always maintained that its energies should necessarily be concentrated in India because the freedom of India had to be won from within India and by the Indians, and not by the help of America, or any other foreign country.

As long as we did not do anything to keep the Americans informed about the true state of affairs in India, why should we get so angry and disturbed when we find them so ill-informed? We cannot have our cake and eat it too. India decided not to carry on any kind of political or educational propaganda outside India. If the results are not quite palatable, why blame the Americans, or others?

If we had made any effort to "sell" our side of the story to the American people, and if they had decided to accept the British version and not ours, then we would have a just cause for complaint -- but not when we did not think it worth our while, or important enough, to bother about what Americans thought.

But Americans must be blamed too. They must be blamed for having swallowed the British propaganda.

Because, as a great power and as leaders of the world, it was their duty to sift into the Indian situation. And as a people believing in the principles of democracy, however

difficult and complicated the Indian problem might have appeared to them, they should not have neglected it.

Here are my conclusions:

A. The "misinformation" about India, the "ignorance" about India which has existed in the past and still exists, is very largely due to the past anti-Indian propaganda by the British.

B. The Indian leaders, preoccupied with the heroic fight against foreign rule, were unable to counteract this poisonous propaganda.

C. The nationals of India living in the United States were not by themselves strong enough to influence American opinion. Parenthetically, I may mention here that between 1942 and 1945 when our leaders were in jail and when the voice of India had been throttled, a small band of Indians here, against great odds, kept the flag of India's freedom flying in this country."

D. Official anti-Indian propaganda by the British has been stopped in this country, though there are still personal prejudices against India among individual Britishers in the British Information Services, British Consulates and British Embassy. And when news of the disorders between Hindus and Moslems are reported in the press, they always say, "We told you so". But these people are not the "policy makers". They express their views only in their individual capacity.

E. There are no Indians employed by the British Information Services, or any other British agencies in the United States. As a matter of fact, the British Information Services never had any Indian openly employed by them. Yes, there were two, or

three, who "operated" through the British Information Services, but they were never on its payroll.

F. The American people, the American press, the American Government, all of them are sincerely desirous of learning about India and understanding India.

G. Large numbers of American people have been disgusted with our communal riotings, but by and large, the American people feel that a too hasty judgment of free India should not be made.

H. The Government of India representatives in this country have a job to perform. The task is not easy. It will take time to make friends. Do not expect miracles. Slowly, and gradually, the star of India will shine in all its glory all over the world.

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

September 10, 1948.

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PROPOSED AMENDED CONSTITUTION OF THE  
INDIA LEAGUE OF AMERICA

ARTICLE I

NAME AND ADDRESS

Section 1. Name:

The name of this organization shall be INDIA LEAGUE OF AMERICA.

Section 2. Officers:

The League shall maintain its headquarters in the City of New York. It may maintain or charter branches in any part of the United States of America, and such branches shall be under the supervision and control of the Executive Committee of the League, and shall only carry out the objectives of the League, subject to the consent and approval of the Executive Committee.

Section 3. Objects:

The objects of the League shall be:

1. Development of a closer relationship between India and the United States of America as a means of achieving better understanding between the East and the West.
2. The ultimate freedom of all colonial peoples within a democratic world order.
3. Fervour of the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi as a spiritual guide and solution for political and economic problems of both East and West.
4. Full freedom and unity of India by removal of communal antagonism and extension of individual liberties.
5. Maintenance of publications, research bureau, speakers bureau, trade development bureau, public meetings, exhibitions, recitals and any other medium to enhance the development of cultural understanding between East and West, as well as trade development between India and the United States of America.
6. The ultimate lifting of all bars to complete travel and communication between India and the United States of America, and the ultimate extension of immigration and citizenship to Indians in increased numbers.
7. The League shall have no affiliation, either directly or indirectly, with any club, agency or body in any foreign country, and shall not, directly or indirectly, represent any foreign group, agency or body.



## ARTICLE II

### MEMBERSHIP

#### Section 1.

##### Memberships

- (a) Applications for membership in the League shall be invited from all persons living in the Western Hemisphere, who are in sympathy with the objects of the League.
- (b) A person desiring to be a member of the League shall fill out a membership application form prescribed by the Executive Committee, accompanied by one year's dues, and upon approval and acceptance by the Executive Committee, shall become a member.
- (c) The Executive Committee shall have sole power and authority, in its discretion, to reject any applicant for membership.
- (d) Any member may be expelled for just cause, after a hearing in person or by mail by a majority vote of all the members of the Executive Committee.
- (e) There shall be three classes of memberships:

Regular  
Associate  
Contributing

#### Section 2.

##### Dues:

##### Regular

The dues for a regular member shall be \$2.00 per year.

##### Associate

The dues for an associate member shall be \$5.00 per year.

##### Contributing

The dues for a contributing member shall be \$25.00 or more a year.

These three types of membership shall be entitled to the rendition of such services by the League as the Executive Committee may in its discretion determine for each type.

### ARTICLE III

#### VOTING

##### Section 1.

All members of the League shall vote by mail ballot for the Executive Committee as provided in Article IV, Section 1. All members whose dues are not over two months in arrears and who have been members at least three months prior to election shall be qualified to vote.

##### Section 2.

Any fifteen members may by petition submit a proposition to the Executive Committee which, if rejected, shall be submitted upon the request of the petitioners, to the general membership for a vote by mail. A majority of those votes received within thirty days of the mailing of the ballots shall determine the question; provided that returns are received from at least one-third of the members.

### ARTICLE IV

#### ANNUAL ELECTION

##### Section 1.

The Annual Election shall take place in the month of March of each year, at which time the members shall elect by mail ballot one-half of the members of the Executive Committee, which shall number fifteen and whose members shall serve terms of two years and who shall be residents of the area accessible to National Headquarters; and also one-half of the members of the National Advisory Committee, whose number shall not exceed fifty, and whose members shall also serve terms of two years.

##### Section 2.

The members of the Executive Committee serving at the time of the adoption of this Constitution shall fix their terms in one or two year classes by the drawing of lots. The terms of the members of the National Advisory Committee shall likewise be divided by the Executive Committee.

##### Section 3.

Four months before the election (November 1st), the Executive Committee shall appoint from among the members a Nominating Committee of five persons, not more than two of whom shall be members of the Executive Committee. Any member desiring to suggest nominees shall make them known to the Nominating Committee three months before the election (December 1st). Two months before the election (January 1st), the Nominating Committee shall report its nominees to the Executive Committee and to the membership. The Executive Committee may add by majority vote of all its members other nominees; and members may also add nominees by petitions signed by not less than

fifteen members; provided these nominations are made at least one month (February 1st) before the sending out of the ballots on the first of March. The ballots shall show the nominees in groups designated by the source of nomination. Thirty days shall be allowed for the return of the ballots. Those receiving the highest votes shall be declared elected. The Nominating Committee shall supervise the mailing and the counting of the ballots and shall certify the results to the Executive Committee. The new members elected shall take office at the meeting following the certification of the election.

#### Section 1.

Vacancies occurring in the Executive Committee or in the National Advisory Committee between elections shall be filled by majority vote of all members of the Executive Committee.

*the*

#### ARTICLE V

#### OFFICERS

#### Section 1.

The officers of the League shall be a president, one or more vice-presidents, a secretary, a treasurer, a chairman of the Executive Committee, and such active or honorary officers as the Executive Committee may create. The active officers shall be elected from among the members of the Executive Committee by majority vote of all its members. They shall hold office for one year or until their successors are elected.

#### Section 2.

The Executive Committee shall appoint a director of the Research Bureau and such other assistants as may be necessary, who may or may not be members of the Executive Committee.

#### Section 3.

The officers shall perform the duties usually pertaining to their offices, and in the event of confusion as to their duties, the Executive Committee shall determine their respective responsibilities.

#### ARTICLE VI

#### EXECUTIVE AND ADVISORY COMMITTEES

#### Section 1.

The Executive Committee shall conduct the affairs of the League as fixed in this Constitution and shall determine its policies and program subject to such action as may be taken by the membership under Article III, Section 2.

## Section 2.

The Executive Committee shall endeavor to meet at least once a month at a time and place fixed by the Committee. Special meetings may be called on written application to the Secretary by any three members of the Executive Committee, or by the President or Chairman of the Executive Committee. At all meetings, seven members shall constitute a quorum.

## Section 3.

The National Advisory Committee shall be composed of persons throughout the country supporting the purposes of the League, and elected as provided in Article IV, Sections 1 & 2. Members of the Advisory Committee shall be entitled to receive the minutes of the Executive Committee and may give their advice by mail on any matters concerning the League.

## ARTICLE VII

This Constitution may be amended by a majority vote of the members voting by mail on any proposed changes submitted either by the Executive Committee, or by petition as provided in Article III, Section 2.

## ARTICLE VIII

League proceedings shall be guided by "Robert's Rules of Order" where not in conflict with the Constitution of the League.



DRAFT STATEMENT FOR CONSIDERATION AT THE INDIA LEAGUE OF AMERICA EXECUTIVE  
COMMITTEE MEETING ON TUESDAY, DECEMBER 7th, 1948, (4:30 P.M.)

DEC 7-1948

ANNUAL STATEMENT OF THE INDIA LEAGUE OF AMERICA

The functions of the India League of America following the achievement of India's independence have become increasingly clear during the past year. When the League was formed in 1937, its primary purpose was to help India gain her independence. This aim has now been won. However, the League has never believed that the end of alien rule alone would solve India's problems.

We have always believed in the necessity of the liberation of all colonial peoples and the establishment of an effective democratic world order. By the natural extension of this position, the League now feels that it must especially emphasize the liberation of the people of Indonesia and Viet Nam.

Since the form in which India's freedom came involved a division of the sub-continent, it is also particularly important now to emphasize the interdependence of the people of the world. India as an independent nation must come into closer relationship with the rest of the world and particularly with her immediate neighbors. Believing that the sum total of the world's nations can be no better than the individual nations which make it up, the India League of America will strive to encourage the solution of India's internal problems on the basis of economic, political and social democracy.

In the field of general understanding between the people of India and the United States, the League continues to have a crucial role. The League has never had any connection with the old Government of India or with any political group in India and it will now remain free of any governmental, or political connections. For this reason, it will have the kind of freedom of action which is essential to achieve understanding based on the facts as they are.

Dinner in honor of  
**HIS EXCELLENCY JAWAHARLAL NEHRU**  
Prime Minister of India

October 19, 1949

THE WALDORF-ASTORIA  
NEW YORK

•  
PROGRAM  
•

**BROOKS EMENY**  
President, Foreign Policy Association  
presiding

★  
**SIRDAR J. J. SINGH**  
President, India League of America

★  
**THE HONORABLE PHILIP C. JESSUP**  
Ambassador-at-Large; United States Representative to  
the Fourth Regular Session of the General Assembly

★  
**THE HONORABLE MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT**  
United States Representative to the Fourth Regular  
Session of the General Assembly

★  
**HIS EXCELLENCY JAWAHARLAL NEHRU**  
Prime Minister of India

## Nehru Honored By N.A.A.C.P., Gets Life Card

Visits Einstein 2 Hours at  
Princeton, Is Luncheon  
Guest of Oppenheimer

Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, received a citation and a life membership in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for his "leadership in the struggle of human beings everywhere to win freedom, security and happiness," in a brief ceremony at the Waldorf-Astoria yesterday afternoon.

Earlier in the day Mr. Nehru visited Princeton University, where he passed two hours conferring with Dr. Albert Einstein, the noted physicist. He was a luncheon guest of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, atomic scientist, and was welcomed to Princeton University by its president, Dr. Harold W. Dodds.

Sponsored by Mrs. Robert L. Vann, publisher of "The Pittsburgh Courier," the award of N. A. A. C. P. membership and medal was made to Mr. Nehru "as one of the patient, wise and persistent leaders to win the utmost from this historical process . . . the new spirit of freedom fermenting in the breasts of the Asiatic and African peoples."

Among those present at the ceremony were Mme. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Indian Ambassador to

Washington; Mrs. Indira Gandhi, daughter of the Prime Minister; Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, director of the United Nations Department of Trusteeship, and Walter White, executive secretary of the N. A. A. C. P.

During his stay in Princeton, Mr. Nehru mentioned to his hosts, that "the one thing in particular I wanted to see in America is the universities."

After talking with Dr. Einstein, the Prime Minister posed with the noted physicist for photographers on the front steps of the latter's modest home at 112 Merchant Avenue. Dr. Einstein, wearing a blue jersey, slack trousers and puffing on a pipe, joked with the immaculately clad Prime Minister while neighbors watched from nearby yards.

Dr. Dodds and members of the Princeton faculty received Mr. Nehru and his party in the faculty room in Nassau Hall. There he met seven Indian graduate students who bedecked the Prime Minister and Mme. Pandit with golden garlands.

Following his visit, the Prime

Minister was driven to the Institute for Advanced Studies, where Dr. Oppenheimer was host to a luncheon and conference. Later in the afternoon Mr. Nehru returned to New York.

He is scheduled to depart Monday for India after a whirlwind four weeks visit in the United States and Canada.

Picture on Page 1.

2318 JAN 26 49

DRAFT DRAFT

PROPOSED AMENDED CONSTITUTION OF  
THE INDIA LEAGUE OF AMERICA

ARTICLE I

NAME AND OBJECTS

Section 1. Name:

The name of this organization shall be:

INDIA LEAGUE OF AMERICA

Section 2. Offices:

The League shall maintain its headquarters in the City of New York. It may maintain or charter branches in any part of the United States of America, and such branches shall be under the supervision and control of the Executive Committee of the League, and shall only carry out the objectives of the League, subject to the consent and approval of the Executive Committee.

Section 3. Objects:

The Objects of the League shall be:

1. To act as liaison between the people of India and the people of the United States of America, so as to develop a closer relationship between India and the United States of America, and as a means of achieving better understanding between the East and the West.
2. Encouragement to those movements and tendencies in India seeking cooperation with other Asian countries in extending regional, political and economic cooperation, and in advancing the national independence of Asian peoples, within a democratic, non-totalitarian world order.
3. To espouse the maximum freedom of movement and communication between India and the United States of America.
4. Encouragement to movements and tendencies in India promoting the principles of political, economic and social democracy, either within India or in the relation of India to the United Nations, or to any country.

Section 4. Functions of the League:

The functions of the League shall be:

1. Issuance of publications
2. Operation of Research Bureau
3. Maintenance of a Speakers Bureau
4. Operation of a Trade Development Bureau
5. Holding of public meetings, exhibitions and recitals.



6. Generally to avail itself of any medium to enhance the development of cultural understanding between the East and the West, as well as trade development between India and the United States of America, and generally carry out the stated objects of the League.

Section 5. Affiliations:

The League shall have no affiliation, either directly or indirectly, with any group, agency or body in any foreign country, and shall not, directly or indirectly represent any foreign group, agency or body.

ARTICLE II

MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. Membership:

- (a) Applications for membership in the League shall be invited from all persons living in the Eastern Hemisphere, who are in sympathy with the objects of the League.
- (b) A person desiring to be a member of the League shall fill out a membership application form prescribed by the Executive Committee, accompanied by one year's dues, and upon approval and acceptance by the Executive Committee, shall become a member.
- (c) The Executive Committee shall have sole power and authority, in its discretion, to reject any application for membership.
- (d) Any member may be expelled for just cause, after a hearing in person or by mail by a majority vote of all the members of the Executive Committee.
- (e) There shall be five classes of membership:
  - 1. Regular
  - 2. Associate
  - 3. Contributing
  - 4. Sustaining
  - 5. Life

Section 2. Dues:

The dues for various classes of membership shall be fixed by the Executive Committee. The various types of membership designated by the Executive Committee shall be entitled to the rendition of such services by the League as the Executive Committee may in its discretion determine for each type.

## ARTICLE III

### VOTING

#### Section 1.

All members of the League shall vote by mail ballot for the Executive Committee as provided in Article IV, Section 1. All members whose dues are not over two months in arrears and who have been members at least three months prior to election shall be qualified to vote.

#### Section 2.

Any fifteen members may by petition submit a proposition to the Executive Committee which, if rejected, shall be submitted upon the request of the petitioners, to the general membership for a vote by mail. A majority of those votes received within thirty days of the mailing of the ballots shall determine the question, provided that returns are received from at least one-third of the members.

## ARTICLE IV

### ANNUAL ELECTION

#### Section 1.

The Annual Election shall take place in the month of March of each year, at which time the members shall elect by mail ballot one-half of the members of the Executive Committee, which shall number fifteen and whose members shall serve terms of two years and who shall be residents of the area accessible to National Headquarters; and also one-half of the members of the National Advisory Committee, whose number shall not exceed fifty, and whose members shall also serve terms of two years.

#### Section 2.

The members of the Executive Committee serving at the time of the adoption of this Constitution shall fix their terms in one or two year classes by the drawing of lots. The terms of the members of the National Advisory Committee shall likewise be divided by the Executive Committee.

### Section 3.

Four months before the election (November 1st), the Executive Committee shall appoint from among the members a Nominating Committee of five persons, not more than two of whom shall be members of the Executive Committee. Any member desiring to suggest nominees shall make them known to the Nominating Committee three months before the election (December 1st). Two months before the election (January 1st), the Nominating Committee shall report its nominees to the Executive Committee and to the membership. The Executive Committee may add by majority vote of all its members other nominees and members may also add nominees by petitions signed by not less than fifteen members; provided these nominations are made at least one month (February 1st) before the sending out of the ballots on the first of March. The ballots shall show the nominees in groups designated by the source of nomination. Thirty days shall be allowed for the return of the ballots. Those receiving the highest votes shall be declared elected. The Nominating Committee shall supervise the mailing and the counting of the ballots and shall certify the results to the Executive Committee. The new members elected shall take office at the meeting following the certification of the election.

### Section 4.

Vacancies occurring in the Executive Committee or in the National Advisory Committee between elections shall be filled by majority vote of all the members of the Executive Committee.

## ARTICLE V

### OFFICERS

### Section 1.

The officers of the League shall be a president, one or more vice-presidents, a secretary, a treasurer, a chairman of the Executive Committee, and such active or honorary officers as the Executive Committee may create. The active officers shall be elected from among the members of the Executive Committee by majority vote of all its members. They shall hold office for one year or until their successors are elected.

### Section 2.

The Executive Committee shall appoint a director of the Research Bureau and such other assistants as may be necessary, who may or may not be members of the Executive Committee.

### Section 3.

The officers shall perform the duties usually pertaining to

their offices, and in the event of confusion as to their duties, the Executive Committee shall determine their respective responsibilities.

#### ARTICLE VI

##### EXECUTIVE AND ADVISORY COMMITTEES

#### Section 1.

The Executive Committee shall conduct the affairs of the League as fixed in this Constitution and shall determine its policies and program subject to such action as may be taken by the membership under Article III, Section 2.

#### Section 2.

The Executive Committee shall endeavor to meet at least once a month at a time and place fixed by the Committee. Special meetings may be called on written application to the Secretary by any three members of the Executive Committee or by the President or Chairman of the Executive Committee. At all meetings, seven members shall constitute a quorum.

#### Section 3.

The National Advisory Committee shall be composed of persons throughout the country supporting the purposes of the League, and elected as provided in Article IV, Sections 1 & 2. Members of the Advisory Committee shall be entitled to receive the minutes of the Executive Committee and may give their advice by mail on any matters concerning the League.

#### ARTICLE VII

This Constitution may be amended by a majority vote of the members voting by mail on any proposed changes submitted either by the Executive Committee, or by petition as provided in Article III, Section 2.

#### ARTICLE VIII

League proceedings shall be guided by "Robert's Rules of Order" where not in conflict with the Constitution of the League.



May 5, 1953

*India League  
of America*

TO: Members of the Executive Committee

Dear Colleague:

First, I wish to give you the good news that Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt has accepted our invitation to become an honorary President of the India League.

Second, I want to write to you about the question of my continuing as President of the League.

It will be recalled that at the time of the annual elections in 1951, both Dick Walsh and I served notice that we would resign from our respective offices in 1952. The reason why we gave such a long notice was that we were hopeful that the members of the Committee would give this matter serious consideration and find others to replace us.

As you know, I was away from this country from October 1951 to April 1952. Upon my return, I was quite disturbed to find that no one had been considered seriously for the Presidency and Chairmanship of the Executive Committee. So once again, both of us emphatically re-stated our desire to resign.

It was only then that others were approached, such as Dorothy Norman and Louis Fischer. Unfortunately, both of them declined to take this responsibility. And, let this fact be recognized, that the Presidency and the Chairmanship of the Executive Committee do entail a good deal of responsibility.

All through 1952 Dick Walsh and I have carried on as "caretaker" officers, hoping against hope that new people will come forward to take up these offices.

Well, it has not happened. And I do not have the heart to just walk out with no assurance that the India League will even continue to remain in existence. After all, in a way, this is my baby. I nursed the League from thirteen members to what it is today. Every one of the American members of the Executive Committee was brought in by me, and the same is true of practically all of the American members of the National Advisory Board.

So, I have no alternative but to accept the recommendation of the Special Nominating Committee that "Mr. J. J. Singh be urged to reconsider and to accept election as President for another year."

To: Members of the Executive Committee

page 2

However, I must make a few points clear: as I have repeatedly stated at all meetings, my colleagues should not expect the same zeal and energetic work from me from now on. Nor should they expect the kind of financial assistance I was able to give the League in the past.

Also, let it be recognized that until and unless something big happens, and we can involve new people and new interests who may bring in substantial financial support for the League, the League must lie low and pare its expenses down to the very bone, and not indulge in any dreams of grandeur or big work.

I know that in the past, some members have suggested that if the League had a "program", it could raise funds. The members know that we requested all the members of the Executive Committee to make their suggestions as to what kind of program the League should have. We had all kinds of statements and suggestions, but nothing resulted in getting funds. I have, as yet, to hear a member say, "This is a good program and if we adopt this program, I will go and get the necessary funds". I would, in fact, welcome any program, big or small, for the League, provided the person who suggests the program also takes upon himself to raise the necessary funds to carry out such a program.

If any of the members of the Executive Committee would feel that in view of this, they are wasting their time in the India League, and would like to resign from the Executive Committee, frankly, I would not have the heart to ask them to continue. In the past, whenever anyone wanted to resign, I begged them and cajoled them to stay on because we were active in performing very useful functions. Now, mostly because of the lack of finances, we have to lie low, and that is very frustrating.

Whether or not the League does big work, Mr. Rakhit and I have to continue on. With us it is an emotional tie that cannot be severed easily. We will continue to plug along and go with hat in hand and beg for financial assistance, as we did last month when our finances were so low that there was a question in my mind whether or not we could keep the doors of the League open.

This is a sad story and I feel very dejected, but facts have to be faced. I would like to hear from you, and please be very frank in your answer.

Sincerely,

J. J. Singh

14 East 56th Street  
New York 22, New York

The following is the full text of the speech delivered by Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, leader of the Indian Delegation, at the General Assembly of the United Nations, on Friday, October 25, 1946:

---

Mr. President and fellow delegates -

I stand before this great assembly - unique in the annals of human history where representatives of freedom-loving countries of the world are gathered together, not only to proclaim the adherence of my country to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Organisation embodied in its Charter, but the determination of our people to help to make it a reality.

We in India have pursued steadfastly, often at great cost, the goal of the freedom of peoples to which this great organisation is dedicated. We have yet to achieve our independence but we have travelled so far along the road of freedom that today, for the first time, India's delegate to an international assembly is briefed and accredited by a National Government, and speaks with a full sense of responsibility and authority vested in that government by the confidence and sanctions of our people.

The head of our national government and our Minister for foreign affairs, Jawaharlal Nehru, has proclaimed our stand in relation to the United Nations Organisation - in these words -

"Towards the United Nations Organisation, India's attitude is whole-hearted cooperation and unreserved adherence in both spirit and letter to the Charter governing it - to that end India will participate fully in its varied activities and endeavour and assume that role in its councils to which her geographical position, population and contribution towards peaceful progress entitle her - in particular, the Indian delegation will make it clear that India stands for the independence of all



colonial and dependant peoples and their full right to self-determination."

India does not yet play a sufficiently effective part in this assembly. She desires and intends to do so. As a major country, geographically in a strategic position in the Indian Ocean, with significant relations and cultural ties with her neighbors in Asia, the contribution she has made in resistance to aggression and the cause of human freedom and her role in world economy entitle her to a place in the important organs of the United Nations Organisation. I would mention the Security and Trusteeship Councils and an adequate share in the administration of the organisation. We are confident that this Assembly will readily recognise and respond adequately to these desires.

Hitherto as a dependant country, our relations with the rest of the world were perforce not of our choice or making. Today the Government of India has announced the outlines of an independent foreign policy. We believe that peace and freedom are indivisible and the denial of freedom anywhere must lead to conflict and war. We repudiate utterly the Nazi doctrine of racialism wheresoever and in whatever form it may be practised. We seek no dominion over others - we claim no privileged position over other peoples, but we do claim equal and honourable treatment for our people wherever they may go and we cannot accept any discrimination against them."

We have for this reason and as a demonstration that we look to the United Nations to implement in practice the principles and basis of civilized life which has been embodied in the Charter, brought before this Assembly the treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa, a Member State and a signatory to the Charter.



The issue is one where we have appealed to world public opinion and to this tribunal - the United Nations. We could do no better, and we could do no less. The way this Assembly treats and disposes this issue is open to the gaze not only of those gathered here but to millions in the world - the progressive peoples of all countries, more particularly the non-European peoples of the world - who, let it not be forgotten, are an overwhelming section of the human race.

The issue we have brought before you is by no means a narrow or local one, nor can we accept any contention that a gross and continuing outrage of this kind against the fundamental principles of the Charter can be claimed by anyone and least of all by a member State, to be a matter of no concern to this Assembly of the world's peoples.

The bitter memories of racial doctrines in the practice of States and Governments are still fresh in the minds of all of us. Their evil and tragic consequences are part of the problems with which we are called upon to deal with on our agenda.

India firmly believes that imperialism, political economic or social and in whatever part of the world it may exist and by whosoever it may be established and perpetuated, is totally inconsistent with the objects and purposes of the United Nations, and of its Charter. The sufferings, the frustration, the violation of human dignity and the challenge to world peace, freedom and security that Empire represents must be one of the prime concerns of this parliament of the world's people. Millions look to us to resist and end imperialism in all its forms, even as they rely upon us to crush the last vestiges of fascism and nazism,

India holds that the independence of all colonial peoples is the vital concern of freedom-loving peoples everywhere. She looks with confidence to the United Nations to give to the exploited millions of the world faith and hope and the promise that their liberation is at hand.

India is concerned about the use of armed power of member States for purposes other than preventing aggression on behalf of the United Nations.

The use of troops against the national aspirations of people for the protection of Imperial vested interests and virtually as armies of occupation threatening both weaker peoples and world peace as a whole, call for unreserved condemnation by the United Nations - and for the demand that all such troops shall be withdrawn.

The Assembly is no doubt aware of the strength and unity of feeling in India on the use of Indian troops in Indonesia and elsewhere. Surely with the Great War ended in victory for freedom, it is time to end these lesser wars waged for Empire.

Another question on which India will place its considered views before this Assembly is the much discussed question of what is called the veto. No one will lay at India's door the charge that she is oblivious or unconcerned about the rights of weaker and smaller nations. No one can say of her that she would willingly accept the dictation of stronger powers just because they are strong - but we are here as a country first and foremost to help the United Nations Organisation to establish itself in strength so that it might implement the purposes which we all have at heart. The unity of the great powers is imperative for this purpose.

We approach this question of the veto with an earnest anxiety

to help maintain and strengthen the machinery of collective organisation of peace and security for all. We would protest as sharply as anyone the abuse of the veto as of any other power. I would myself prefer to look upon the so-called veto in a positive way and as the necessary device for securing that vital decisions by the Great Powers rest on unanimity and not in disregard of the total opposition to any proposal by one of them.

The Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organisation proclaims the enormity of the tasks which face us. We feel bound to express our regret that none of the major political issues examined by the Security Council, with the exception of the Syrian and Lebanese questions, have been satisfactorily or conclusively disposed of. We equally express our regret that not all mandatory powers have offered to place territories for which they hold mandates under United Nations' trusteeship. We are gravely concerned that the Union of South Africa has proposed that the mandated territory of South West Africa should be incorporated with it.

I am sure this Assembly will permit me to say a word expressing my own hopes and those of my country about the greater participation of women. Indian women are now taking part in all nation-building activities. We do not recognise caste, creed or sex as a barrier to progress and our women have equality of opportunity with men. Two of our leading women have already taken a worthy part in Committees connected with the United Nations Organisation. Believing as we do that in building the future the effort and responsibility must be shared jointly by men and women, we earnestly hope that women of all countries will have the occasion to

participate more fully with men in all departments of life, including the work of this Assembly, thus helping to create a better and more balanced world.

We move, in spite of difficulties, toward a closer cooperation and the building of a world commonwealth. Let us do this with more deliberation and speed. The peoples of the world are well aware of our sentiments and look with expectation to their fulfilment. Let us recognise that human emotions and the needs of the world will not wait for an indefinite period. To this end let us direct our energies and remind ourselves that in our unity of purpose and action lies the hope of the world.



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# WESTERN UNION

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A. N. WILLIAMS  
PRESIDENT

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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

JNE 2 STRAIGHT WIRE OCTOBER 26, 1946

Madame UNAYA LAKSHMI Pandit  
Hampshire House  
New York City

MY WARM CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR SUPERB SPEECH TO UN YESTERDAY. WOULD LIKE VERY MUCH TO HAVE COPY OF FULL TEXT AND TO TALK WITH YOU SOON. WISH TO DO SPECIAL SYNDICATED COLUMN ON THE FIGHT YOU ARE LEADING. WARMEST PERSONAL REGARDS IN WHICH MRS. WHITE JOINS ME.

Walter White

MME. PANDIT, WALTER  
WHITE SPEAK AT  
NEW YORK RALLY

November 27, 1946

New York, Nov 27th--Making one of the rare public appearances that her duties as head of the Indian delegation to the United Nations permit Mrs. Vijaya L. Pandit, talented sister of the brilliant Jawaharlal Nehru, spoke last Sunday at the Golden Gate Ballroom here. Sharing the platform with Mrs. Pandit was Walter White, NAACP secretary. The meeting, under the auspices of the New York Branch NAACP, climaxed the Gotham drive for 10,000 new members.

Mrs. Pandit, acclaimed one of her country's great leaders as well as among the world's truly beautiful women, has recently been making headlines because of her frequent sharp clashes at Lake Success, Long Island, where the United Nations General Assembly is convening, with Gen. Jan Christian Smuts and other members of the delegation from the Union of South Africa which arbitrarily demands annexation of Southwest

(Continued)

Press Release, Nov 27

-3-

Africa, a source of much mineral and material wealth.

Her consistent championing of the rights of colored peoples in general and of Indians specifically has moulded a career of extreme interest. Born into luxury forty-six years ago as a daughter of one of India's most powerful lawyers, she nevertheless has devoted her life to the arduous and sometimes thankless task of seeking India's freedom through work with the Congress party. Twice, in 1930 and again in 1932, she was jailed by the British for her activity. Yet in 1937 she emerged as the first woman Cabinet minister when the Congress party formed a government in the United Provinces, and now she is the first and only woman to head a delegation to the United Nations General Assembly. Last year she made an extensive tour of the United States pleading the cause of Indian independence.

December  
9th  
1946

Dear Mr. Nehru:

I am taking advantage of your distinguished sister's kindness to send you on her return to India tomorrow this personal note of greeting. I am sure you already know that all my associates join me in forming a part of your large number of admirers. We follow with deep sympathy and give whatever aid we can towards the gallant struggle of the people of India and their long deferred freedom.

I do hope you will soon be coming to America. As a matter of fact, your sister has made so distinguished a record here in her fight against annexation of Southwest Africa by the Union of South Africa as well as for racial equality in the United Nations that it will be necessary for you to come to preserve your laurels.

A few days ago I was honored to share the platform at a meeting in Harlem of the NAACP with Madame Pandit and also to introduce her. To the amusement of herself and her daughters, I reversed the usual procedure of introducing her as your sister.

Seriously though, she has done a magnificent job and we regret to see her leave. That regret is greatly tempered by the exciting news that she may



2--Honorable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

December 9, 1946

return soon as Ambassador.

With warm personal greetings, I am

Ever sincerely,

Secretary.

Honorable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

VW: RJW

December  
30th  
1946

*Pandit  
Pearl S. Buck*

Dear Miss Buck:

Would it be possible for you to permit Mrs. Poppy Cannon and me to talk with you briefly some time after January 6th about an article we are writing jointly on Madame Pandit? We plan to write of her not so much as an individual but as a symbol of the awakening of the women of Asia.

In talking with Madame Pandit recently, she made an observation which startled and interested us. Namely--that with all the talk about the subjection of women in Asia, few people in India thought it at all unusual that women should participate on a basis of absolute equality with men in the struggle for freedom and in the deliberations and activities of the All-India Nationalist Congress. This was exceedingly interesting in that it is still a matter of considerable news value when a woman is elected to Congress or Parliament or given a Cabinet post. Mrs. Cannon and I want to talk with you because you can help us enormously in getting the proper perspective and information on this and other phases of the article as we now see it.

Perhaps the three of us could have luncheon together.

Ever sincerely,

Secretary.

Miss Pearl S. Buck  
India League of America  
40 East 49th Street  
New York 17, New York

WW:RJW

apt. 1410

# Hampshire House

NEW YORK CITY

30. 10. 46.

Dear Mr White.

30007 OCT 31 46

I was so touched by your message of congratulations. Thank you for sending it & for the beautiful roses which are making my room fragrant.

I hope you were at the Herald Tribune Forum on Monday night. I wish I had known. I should so much like to meet you & Mrs White while I am here & have a quiet talk. Perhaps you could lunch or dine with me one day?

Yours & with sincere

Greetings

*P. S.*

Vijayalakshmi Pandit

I am sending you the text of my speech separately.

*Indian League etc.*

August 14, 1947

Gentlemen:

I am profoundly sorry it will be impossible for me to get back to New York in time to participate in the celebration of August 15th upon the occasion of the granting of freedom to India.

This is one of the historic occasions of modern time and what has been achieved today in the face of almost insuperable obstacles cannot fail to have profound effect upon the future of mankind. Not only does it mark the beginning of the end of imperialism and colonialism which even the Dutch will be forced to recognize in Indonesia, but the event will have lasting effect upon the attitude of white towards non-white races and non-white towards white. This in turn may prevent bitterness which could result in bloodshed, substituting therefor mutual respect among all the peoples of the earth.

[ But the job is far from being complete. To avert catastrophe we must continue our effort until not only the half billion peoples of India have gained their freedom but also the other peoples of Asia, Africa and the Western World. ]

On behalf of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People we have cabled Messrs. Gandhi and Nehru our congratulations which we want to share with you. To the



India League of America -2- August 14, 1947

great Mahatma Gandhi we have said:

"To you who despite opposition of every variety have led India to her freedom, we send you our sincerest congratulations."

To the brilliant Jawaharlal Nehru we have cabled:

"Negroes and whites of America united in National Association for the Advancement of Colored People send their warmest congratulations to India on attainment of her freedom."

Ever sincerely,

Secretary.

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

ww/mdj

*India League etc.*

August 14, 1947

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On behalf of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People we have cabled Messrs. Gandhi and Nehru our congratulations which we want to share with you. To the

*Madame Pandit*

23rd  
October  
1947

Dear Madame Pandit:

Here is copy of the letter which I sent to President Truman which I promised to send to you.

I would like very much indeed to have your comments and criticisms either official or confidential. As you well know, what I am deeply interested in is doing what I can for India. I most certainly would not want to see any aid given to which strings would be attached which would limit the right of free action by India.

That was an excellent speech you made Saturday at the Foreign Policy Association luncheon. Don't forget to have one of your secretaries send me copy of it and the cables which you offered to let Mrs. Cannon and me see.

Ever sincerely

Secretary

Madame Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit  
Hampshire House  
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Honorable Harry S. Truman  
President of the United States  
White House  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

I have read with deep interest your expression of best wishes to the two new dominions, India and Pakistan.

Because it is possible, and even probable, that the success or failure of India may play a considerable role in determining future relations between Asia and Russia on the one hand and the Western World on the other, I would like to make a suggestion for your consideration. It is that you as President send the Secretary of State to India to offer the resources and experience of our government to assist in the establishment of a sound economy in the new nations, dependent, of course, upon the wishes of India and Pakistan.

It is recognized that this would be a somewhat new departure in diplomacy. But such a gesture of good will might possibly have three valuable effects: First, it would be heartening to the new governments. Second, it would have a most beneficial effect throughout Asia. Third, it might speed up a union of Hindustan and Pakistan into a single and stronger nation.

An additional possible benefit would be that the efforts now being made by another



power to influence the governments of Asia would be offset by practical demonstration that the United States is desirous of helping the new nations without thought of political or other aggrandizement to itself.

In the event that General Marshall's other duties make it impossible for him to go to India at an early date, I would like to make the alternative suggestion that a small but very distinguished economic mission be sent to India. I think it might be exceedingly valuable if a member of such a mission, say of three, were a distinguished American Negro whose skin color would clearly indicate his racial identity. I believe that such a selection would do a great deal toward negating the propaganda of Japan during the war and of other nations since the war based upon lynching and other forms of racial discrimination in the United States and our country's vote in the U.N. on the Southwest Africa annexation issue.

I made a similar suggestion in 1942 which aroused considerable enthusiasm in President Roosevelt and Lord Halifax which was vetoed, however, by Mr. Churchill. I believe the sending of such a mission to India to offer our help at this critical juncture of world history would have considerable and beneficial repercussions in Asia and in other parts of the world.

I do not need to add if there is any help that I can render in the implementation of this suggestion, should you see fit to act upon it, will be gladly rendered.

Respectfully,

WALTER WHITE  
Secretary

WM:bh

*Mme Pandit*

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

November 17, 1947

Dear Nan:

Here is about the tenth draft of the letter we discussed which was one of the most difficult to write I have ever undertaken. Please look this over with your most critical eye so that we may discuss it when I see you Tuesday evening at 6:30 P. M.

That was a beautiful picture of Lehka and Tara on your birthday. Why didn't you tell me it was your birthday?

Incidentally, before you leave the country I hope you can pay us a visit here at the office to permit our staff and as many of our Board members as I can reach to have the privilege of meeting you. It will be a great privilege to them to know you as well as I have had the privilege of learning to know you. It will inevitably increase interest in and support of India's fight for freedom.

And while I am at the business of making requests, I would like ever so much to have an autographed picture of yourself to add to a very distinguished gallery on my wall which includes Wendell Willkie, General Eisenhower, George Washington Carver, Governor Hastie, Paul Robeson, Henry Wallace and Marian Anderson among others.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White.

Mme. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit  
Hampshire House  
New York City

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*Lile*

My dear Pandit Nehru;

It is with considerable diffidence that I address this communication to you because I am reluctant to interfere in a situation which you as Prime Minister of India may quite properly consider to be one which is not my concern. If I am guilty of bad taste in writing it, I sincerely trust you will attribute my action to a very sincere interest in India.

As you perhaps know my interest in and support of the gallant struggle you, Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders ~~of~~ ~~the~~ is not a newly-born one. But that interest has been greatly increased recently due to my good fortune in meeting and talking frequently with your distinguished sister and in the research which a fellow writer, Mrs. Poppy Cannon, and I have done in writing an article for The Readers Digest, which as you know has the largest circulation of any magazine in the world. In that article we have sought to point out the great significance of the job Madame Pandit has done so effectively on the Southwest Africa issue and in portrayal of the role which India may possibly play as arbiter between Russia and the Western World upon which the peace of the world hangs.

From the point of view of the internal struggle now going on in India, it was probably wise of you to select

a Muslim as the first ambassador from India to the United States. But I wish to say with blunt frankness that his impact upon the United States has been less fortunate than would have been desirable and necessary at this critical stage of India's history. It is not that his work has been so much harmful as that it has been negative in character. India needs now the impact upon the Western World of a positive character who understands the psychology of the Western World. Mr. Asaf Ali has not caused that kind of impact to be felt. I am certain, as are other American friends of India, that he possesses ability far beyond that which he has demonstrated. But it is India's loss that there has been no marked demonstration of that ability.

I trust you will permit me to make a further suggestion. By her ability, courage, and personal charm your sister has won more friends and created more respect for India than any other representative of India has made to date or who could influence American opinion with the exception of yourself and Mahatma Gandhi. I know and respect your reluctance to appear to favor a member of your own family. But please permit me to be presumptuous enough to say that one who has exhibited the possession of the varied abilities which are so sorely needed at this critical stage of the world's history should not be penalized because through no fault of yours or hers happened to be born a member of the same distinguished family. to which you belong.



Finally, the United States is addicted, as you know, to a passion for publicity. Madame Pandit has demonstrated her ability both in diplomacy and fighting ability to that of any man. But the fact that she is a woman would bring to her appointment as the first woman ambassador to the United States an infinitely greater opportunity to create favorable ~~and~~ publicity for India through the press, radio and cinema, than would be the case with any man except yourself and Mahatma Gandhi.

May I again in closing assure you that the suggestions contained in this letter are born of a very genuine and lasting concern for the well-being of the great nation and people you represent. I do not mean to imply that American public opinion is the most important factor in India's welfare. But I have been gravely disturbed, as you have been, by the disorders which have occurred in India recently. Many Americans, both white and Negro, who have ardent advocates of Indian freedom have been disturbed by the disorders. Not even the most eloquent Ambassador can wholly repair the damage which has been done to India's good name. But more adequate and convincing explanation of the causes of the present difficulties could be made by one more widely known and more skillful in appraising and influencing public opinion. I am convinced as are many other with whom I have talked that Madame Pandit is the ideal person to interpret India to America and America to India during this crucial period.

Respectfully,

*Pandit*

December 9th, 1947

Dear Nan:

I have taken the liberty of writing to Pandit Nehru a letter with respect to yourself, copy of which I enclose for your information. I am sending copy of this confidentially to Pearl Buck and Dick Walsh to ask them if they see fit to join me.

Our Research Department has begun work on the quite large task of gathering material on American public reaction as represented in news stories, editorials and other ways about the Southwest Africa, the Union of South Africa and the other fights which you so brilliantly made in the UN. Because the material is so voluminous, it will take about one month to do this job. I shall send this to you by air mail in Moscow as soon as it is completed.

Ever sincerely,

Secretary.

Madame Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit  
Indian Embassy  
Moscow, Russia

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