

SMITH COLLEGE
NORTHAMPTON, MASSACHUSETTS
DEPARTMENT OF RELIGION AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE

March 8th, 1942

President Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Last night an Indian friend of mine received a cablegram from her father in Madras India, that the civil population of that city is now being evacuated. Three years ago my wife and I were guests in this Indian home in Madras, where he is an outstanding leader.

Need anyone emphasize to you the dire seriousness of the situation in regard to India? I have been in that land twice, and visited every part of it, living in ashrams and in palaces of native princes. Three years ago I went out as visiting professor for the Carnegie Endowment and lectured in many of the universities of India. My wife and I were guests of Nehru, with whom I had corresponded for years, and we were in the homes of a dozen leaders of the Indian National Congress.

This recent visit of Chian Kai-shek to Nehru is more significant than your visit with Mr. Churchill, and what China and India agree on will influence future millions more than the Atlantic Charter. The three hundred and eighty millions of people in India are being welded into a unit as the millions of China now are. A false step on the part of the Democracies may spell ruin for the cause we love and which concerns them as well as it does us. But the rule of the white man is over.

What is happening in Whitehall in regard to India is far more important than what is happening in Java.

Next to her own Indian Congress leaders there is no question but that you are the most beloved leader in the minds and hearts of the Indians, and that they still look to America as a land of hope and promise of any future in which decent men and women can take heart.

This being so, is it not of the utmost importance that we enter into closer bonds with India, not with a foreign government, but with the people of India? Can we not render the greatest possible service to Britain herself now by helping her to see that Dominion status for India is essential to a victory for Democracy? More than a dozen Indian leaders said to me, Nehru among them, "Independence for India is our first aim, within the Empire if possible, but independence within or outside the Empire". Nehru said to me that India needed Britain and that Britain needed India, and that is true; but ~~we~~ and Democracy will lose India at this crucial time if something is not done and done very soon to assure India that she shall be mistress in her own house.

The Moslem problem is a minor affair. In the last elections the Moslems in the Congress party won far more seats than the minority Moslem League.

Why can you not send to India a small group of men

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in whom you have confidence, but who will also have the confidence of the Indian leaders! Their presence in India today would have an electrifying effect. If Mr. Churchill means business he ought to welcome any such cooperation between the nations that want to rid the earth of the scourge of Hitlerism.

I am bold to raise such a suggestion at a time like this, but every American owes it to his country and to humanity to make the highest contribution he is able to make toward a better world.

Enclosed is a proposal worked out by my class in International Relations, eighty seniors and juniors here at Smith. These are some of the things they believe after months of study need to be included in a just and durable peace.

The last ^{time} I saw you face to face was when I was serving with the A.E.F. and France and you spoke to a group of us on the kind of world we were working for then. Because we failed miserably does not mean that men again need give their lives in vain.

May God be with you in these terrible months.

Very sincerely yours,

S. Ralph Harlow
S. Ralph Harlow

My brother-in-law cabled me the other day from Istanbul that over 2000 a day are dying in Athens. I lived for two years in Greece and that people are dear to me. What can be done?

Charge to the account of

CABLEGRAM

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
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TELEGRAM	ORDINARY
DAY LETTER	URGENT RATE
SERIAL	DEFERRED
NIGHT LETTER	NIGHT LETTER
SPECIAL SERVICE	SHIP RADIOGRAM

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206-B

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
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R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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

JNE

APR 16 1942

ALL-INDIA NATIONALIST CONGRESS
NEW DELHI, INDIA

*File copy
at Dept
(Mr. Lynch called
for it)*

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR ADVANCEMENT COLORED PEOPLE SENDS FRATERNAL

GREETINGS IN THIS HOUR OF DECISION AND PERIL FOR PEOPLE OF INDIA. PROBLEMS
ARISING FROM PREJUDICE BASED ON SKIN COLOR FACE PEOPLES THROUGHOUT THE
WORLD AND MUST BE SOLVED ^{to end permanently} ~~SOON~~ GREED OF ALL EXPLOITERS, ~~WILL BE PERMANENTLY~~
~~CHANGED~~ LET US FACE FUTURE, NOT PAST, IN STRUGGLE TOWARDS FREEDOM FOR
ALL RACES WITHOUT WHICH WARS CAN NEVER BE ENDED

WALTER WHITE, SECRETARY.

1224
122
1346

April 24, 1942

Confidential Office Memorandum on conversation with Lord Halifax by the Secretary, at the residence of Mr. Thomas W. Lamont, 107 East 70th Street, New York City.

The interview began at 10.50 and lasted until 11:40, despite reminders from time to time by Lord Halifax's Secretary of appointments.

Lord Halifax opened the interview by saying that he had wanted to meet the Secretary for some time and the present interview had been requested by Lord Halifax at the suggestion of Mr. Wendell Willkie.

Lord Halifax stated that he and his government were concerned about the attitude of colored people in the United States and elsewhere towards the War and wanted the Secretary to tell him if the morale of Negroes in the United States is as low as reported and the causes for that state of mind. The Secretary cited discrimination in employment, segregation and discrimination in the armed forces, attacks upon Negro soldiers by southern police officers and white civilians with little corrective action taken by the War Department, and the discouragement amounting to bitterness and defeatism on the part of many Negroes who were very aware of the fact that they are not included when appeals are made to defend democracy. The Secretary cited the attitude of the Burmese and of the Indians as part of this attitude of colored peoples throughout the world. He pointed out that thoughtful Negroes were well aware of the fact that conditions would be worse if Germany and Japan won, but that many were so despondent and so skeptical that white people could ever practice democracy they find difficulty in differentiating between the prejudices of Nazi Germany and that which, for example, Negroes encounter in Mississippi.

Lord Halifax asked a number of questions about specific discriminations such as inequality in education, disfranchisement, segregation in the Army and Navy, and similar disabilities. He stated that he had found it difficult to comprehend the American attitude towards colored people. He cited criticism or amazement on the part of some distinguished white Americans who, visiting India at the time that Lord Halifax was Viceroy of India, had been astonished when at formal dinners Lord Halifax had, as Viceroy, conducted an Indian woman in to dinner, she thus outranking many white women. Lord Halifax stated that some of the American whites had expressed bewilderment and even some resentment that any Indian woman, however high born or important, should outrank a white person.

The Secretary told the Ambassador of the idea which had

occurred to him of suggesting to President Roosevelt that he send a commission to India consisting of Wendell Willkie, Justice Frankfurter and a distinguished American Negro who was manifestly a Negro, the purpose of the commission being to assure the Indians that the United States, despite its own shortcomings, would stand as guarantee that the pledges of independence made to India by Great Britain would be lived up to not only after but during the war. Lord Halifax told the Secretary in confidence that a similar idea had occurred to him and to the British government, their idea being to send a group of university men to make an objective, factual study of the situation in India. When asked by the Ambassador to comment upon this the Secretary stated that he thought the situation in India and its repercussions upon the war were of such importance and immediacy that time would not permit an objective study; and that the academic approach might be desirable in peace time but would not be sufficient now.

Lord Halifax told the Secretary that he hoped the Secretary would as quickly as possible make this proposal to President Roosevelt, possibly combining the ideas of the British government and of the Secretary by enlarging the commission to four or five and including upon it one or two distinguished educators. The Secretary stated that the mere presence of a distinguished Negro on the commission would do more good than many words, even though the race problem itself might not be mentioned at all.

Lord Halifax asked the Secretary to send him factual material and to come to see him at the Embassy in Washington.

WW:RR

*Mrs. F. D. R. re: appointment
F. D. R.
re: India*

April 24th
1942

PERSONAL AND
CONFIDENTIAL

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I have, unsuccessfully, been trying to reach General Watson on the telephone today and thus regretfully have to impose on you again. When I first called this morning I was told that he could not talk at that time, and repeated calls since then have also been unavailing in reaching him.

I had a long talk with Lord Halifax this morning and a matter dealing with India which we discussed and which I wish to discuss with the President at the earliest possible time was the reason for my call to General Watson.

The matter is not only very immediate but it is of such delicate nature that I do not think it wise for me to put it in writing.

Would you, therefore, be good enough to take this up with the President and ask him to let me see him at the earliest possible time?

With cordial personal regards, I am

Ever sincerely,

Secretary.

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

WW:CTF

*Harlow
W. Indian*

April 28th
1942

Dear Ralph:

That is a swell letter you wrote to the President. Did you get a reply, other than mere acknowledgment?

And I assume you would have no objection to my referring to it when I talk with him about the matter I discussed with you when you were in the office.

The date of my return to Hollywood is still unsettled but I should know within the next day or two. I am hoping that it will not interfere with my coming to Northampton on the 17th.

Cordially,

Secretary.

Prof. Ralph Harlow
Smith College
Northampton,
Massachusetts.

WW:CTF

VERY CONFIDENTIAL:

April 28, 1942

Dear Dean Lanier:

At his invitation I had a long talk last week with Lord Halifax who asked me a number of questions regarding the race problem in the United States and regarding the effect on Negro morale of the situation in the Far East, Africa and the West Indies. During the course of our conversation I told Lord Halifax of an idea which had occurred to me which might be of some value to the cause of the United Nations in assuring to colored peoples throughout the world that in the post war world they would share in the benefits of the struggle now being made. The idea, briefly, is this:

That President Roosevelt be asked to appoint immediately a commission of from three to five persons who would go to India immediately. As a preliminary to their departure and as proof of the sincerity of the United States on the matter of color, President Roosevelt would take a sweeping and unequivocal stand against discrimination on the basis of color in the United States. The commission I had in mind was one made up of three persons, as follows: Wendell Willkie, Mr. Justice Frankfurter, and a distinguished American Negro who is unmistakably Negro. This commission would talk with Nehru, Gandhi and other Indian leaders and attempt to work out a formula for independence which would be acceptable to India and to Great Britain.

By implication, the sending of such a commission by President Roosevelt would cause the United States to serve as guarantor of the carrying out of whatever pledges great Britain may make to India, concerning which pledges there is, as you of course know, great skepticism among the leaders of India.

Lord Halifax informed me, in confidence, that he and the government of Great Britain had had a somewhat similar idea - for a delegation of distinguished

Dean R. O'Hara Lanier - 2

American college presidents and educators to make an objective, factual study of the situation. When he asked me for comment on this plan I told him that I believed the situation was too dangerous and immediate for a study of this sort and that it would be preferable during this crisis for the commission to be made up of men of affairs as well as those connected with education. He, therefore, proposed the enlarging of the commission from three to four or five, the added persons to be distinguished educators. He further stated that the situation is so critical that he hoped I would make this proposal to the President as soon as possible. I have requested an appointment with the President for this purpose.

My purpose in writing to you is three-fold: First, I would like to have your comments about the wisdom and feasibility of this plan. What in your opinion would be the position such a commission could take, if you believe that the sending of such a commission would be desirable?

Second: What form and what details would you suggest for the sweeping and dramatic action with respect to the Negro-white situation in the United States the President could take as a preliminary to the sending of such a commission to India?

Third: Should I be asked by the President to suggest a list of Negroes from which he could select one to be invited, may I include your name in the list?

As I may see the President at almost any time, would you be good enough to let me hear from you by return air mail? Will you be good enough to mark the envelope "Personal". And may I very strongly urge that this be treated with the strictest confidence as any preliminary publicity might be most unfortunate?

Ever sincerely,

Secretary

Dean R. O'Hara Lanier
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

WW/GS

7911



WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE

INSTITUTE, W. VA.

30 April 1942

JOHN W. DAVIS
PRESIDENTOFFICE OF THE
PRESIDENT

Special Delivery

Mr. Walter White, Secretary
N A A C P, 69 Fifth Avenue
New York City

My dear Mr. White:

The proposal of your letter of April 28th, just received, is of world-wide significance. I am glad that you have had an opportunity to talk with Lord Halifax on the subject of factual and spiritual inclusion of darker peoples in the democratic concept of government. The failure to include people of color, whether in America; Australia or India realistically in the democratic concept of government is partially responsible for the present world turmoil.

I sincerely hope that you, Lord Halifax and President Roosevelt may agree upon a bold stroke which would administer such a blow against discrimination on the basis of color in the world that the cause of democracy would get a new lease on life. The statesmanship of your proposal, if put into operation, would bring immediate results along the lines of unity of action among democratic countries. Naturally, the first step is for President Roosevelt to make a far-reaching declaration against discrimination on the basis of color here in America. Unless this is done, a Commission of men or women going from America to India would not be able to get any worthwhile result. As a matter of fact, such Commission, under such circumstances, would do harm.

I am giving attention now to the three questions of your letter. Without repeating the questions, my answers are as follows:

I

I have indicated above my comment about the wisdom of the proposal which you and Lord Halifax have made. There is but one position on which the proposed Commission might predicate its hope for success, and that is the realization that one of the results of the present war must be the inclusion of people of color (Indians and Negroes everywhere) in the world-wide democratic benefits which must accrue from the war. If this is not done, the present war will serve as the springboard for the next world war. World prestige will suffer unless the darker people everywhere are admitted to post-war benefits of an expanded democracy.



WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE
INSTITUTE, W. VA.

OFFICE OF THE
PRESIDENT

JOHN W. DAVIS
PRESIDENT

Mr. White
April 30, 1942

#2

II

Naturally, any presidential statement which might be made against discrimination in the United States on account of color would be more or less general. However, I believe that President Roosevelt at this time would be justified in pointing out rather specifically that the situation in America demands that the country shall be more realistically democratic than it has ever been. The omission of thirteen million Negroes in much of the democratic thinking of America harms the possibility for unity among the democratic nations of the world. On this basis, the President might declare war at home against those practices which prevent Jews and Negroes from being fully part and parcel of American democratic life. Such statement should be followed with orders or laws which would contain teeth to make the statement valuable and effective. Evading difficult issues or temporizing in this connection would only make it more difficult to reach the world-wide aims and objectives which you and Lord Halifax have in mind.

III

In case the President asks you to suggest a list of Negroes from which he might select one or more to be invited to be a part of the proposed Commission, it will be all right for you to include my name, if you so desire. I believe, however, that there are many outstanding men in the United States who are more capable than I for the task which you proposed. The proposition is so big that the best man or men must be chosen for it. Be sure to get a strong man for the job.

As indicated above, your letter has just come. I am responding inadequately to the issues mentioned in same because of my desire to get an answer to you without delay as per your request.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. DAVIS
President

May 2nd
1942

*Mrs. Roosevelt
W. Indian*

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I am sorry I couldn't get near enough to you after the broadcast yesterday to finish our conversation. I wanted also to discuss with you the idea growing out of my conference with Lord Halifax. I was particularly anxious to get your reaction to this before talking with Mr. Sumner Welles. I telegraphed him yesterday for an appointment immediately upon receipt of your letter.

If you have a free five minutes any time today please let me know by the bearer and I will be glad to meet you at whatever time is convenient for you.

Ever sincerely,

Secretary.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
29 Washington Square
New York, N. Y.

WW:CTF

*John Davis
W. Indiv*

PERSONAL

May 2, 1942

Dear John:

There is but one word to describe your letter of April 30--magnificent! I assume it is agreeable to you for me to give the President and Lord Halifax a copy of it.

Confidentially, I received a request from the President this morning asking me to talk first with Sumner Wells of the State Department. I, therefore, have telegraphed Mr. Wells to ask when he can see me.

I'll keep you advised as to developments.

Ever sincerely,

WALTER WHITE

Dr. John W. Davis, President
West Virginia State College
Institute, West Virginia

WW p

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

69 Fifth Avenue - New York City

WALTER WHITE, Secretary

May 4, 1942

HON. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

To prevent the possibility of leaving out in my conversation with Mr. Sumner Welles any of the pertinent details of the proposal with respect to India, which grew out of my conversation with Lord Halifax on April 24th, I am presenting this memorandum through the courtesy of Mr. Welles.

It would be both superfluous and impertinent for me to suggest to you or the State Department the seriousness of the situation of the United Nations should India be taken by the Japanese government. The fall of Rangoon and Lashio and the consequent shutting off of the Burma Road have made the transportation of needed war materials to the forces of Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese government almost impossible. Capture of India and the encroaching of China which that unhappy circumstance would create would make the Far Eastern situation so terrible now and in the years to come that we could contemplate such a situation only with tragedy and horror. According to one of the greatest authorities on the Far East, this would mean loss of the war by the United Nations.

It is conceivable that it may be too late to do anything about the Indian situation. But we should not fail to take any possible step which might do good. It would appear to me that we have everything to gain and nothing to lose.

The idea which had occurred to me and which I discussed with Lord Halifax was the sending by yourself to India, by the fastest mode of travel at the earliest possible date, of a commission of three (3) American citizens distinguished enough to demonstrate to the people of India the seriousness with which the government of the United States considers this situation. The individuals I suggested and whose choice appeared to meet Lord Halifax's approval are: Mr. Wendell L. Willkie, Mr. Justice Felix Frankfurter, and a distinguished American Negro whose complexion unmistakably identifies him as being a colored man.

The objective of this commission would be obviously that of trying to work out a formula with respect to the war and the relations between India and Great Britain which would be acceptable to India and Great Britain.

You will doubtless ask why an American Negro is included. I am informed by those who know India well and also by those who have very

May 4, 1942

recently been in India that the treatment of Negroes in the United States is among the most frequently publicized and mentioned topics of discussion in India regarding the United States. While the people of India do not think of themselves as Negroes, they are keenly aware of the inequality of races based on skin color from which they too have suffered. As you, of course, know, the Japanese are industriously broadcasting to the people of India such episodes as the recent lynching at Sikston, Missouri; the rioting in connection with Sojourner Truth housing project in Detroit; the attacks on Negro soldiers; and other such occurrences as being characteristic of what the colored peoples of the Far East may expect in the event of a United Nations' victory. This is utterly fantastic, as you and I know. But it does not lessen the effect, as has been seen in Burma, India and other parts of the Far East.

The presence of a distinguished and distinguishable Negro American on the commission would be more effective than any words of explanation to the colored peoples of the Far East and of the world, that discrimination based on race is not the sole manifestation of the attitude of the United Nations.

Lord Halifax authorized me to say to you that his government would be pleased to see such a commission sent by yourself and would facilitate in any way possible arrangements for such a commission. He suggested enlargement of the commission to four (4) or five (5) persons through the addition of a distinguished educator or educators.

I am informed by a distinguished writer who has just returned from India and China, that one of the reasons for the failure of Sir Stafford Cripps's mission is that the people of India resent the apparent omission of the present and future status of India and of the Far East in the drafting by yourself and Mr. Winston Churchill of the Atlantic Charter. Your sending of the commission to India might conceivably lead to the drafting of a Pacific Charter which will assure to all the peoples of the world that the era of white domination of colored peoples is ended and that the peoples of these countries can be assured that there will be no post-war economic or other penetration. Bold and forthright action by yourself at this critical stage of the history of the world may conceivably turn the tide. It is for this purpose that I presume to make this proposal to you.

An even bolder proposal I submit for your consideration would be for you to arrange as dramatic and far-reaching a conference as was yours in the Atlantic with Mr. Churchill, in some place in the Pacific at which the conferees would be yourself, Mr. Azad as President of the All-India Nationalist Congress, Mr. Nehru, Mr. Gandhi, and General Chiang Kai-shek. Perhaps you would deem it wise to invite also Mr. Rajagopalachariar.

Such a conference would electrify the billion people of Asia through the creation of a Pacific Charter which, according to Ta Kung Pao, Chungking's leading newspaper, would end the present situation where "many nations (of the Orient) are of a colonial or quasi-colonial status."

#3 - President Roosevelt

May 4, 1942

The Roosevelt-Churchill declaration is applicable to independent nations which were overrun by the Axis powers. It has made no provisions concerning the post-war positions of such countries as India and Burma." Ta Kung Pao, in speaking for the peoples of the Far East, declares that a Pacific Charter should aim at the liberation of Korea, the Liuchu island and Formosa from Japanese domination and the freedom from allied control of India, the Dutch East Indies, Malaya and China. Such a Pacific Charter could perhaps achieve a miracle in stiffening determination among the peoples of the Far East against Japan and Germany through convincing them that they, to quote Ta Kung Pao again, "are not helping one imperialism fight against another imperialism".

But either of the above courses of action should be preceded by a sweeping declaration, perhaps in the form of a fireside chat, to be translated into specific action against discriminations from which colored peoples now suffer within the United States. This could be treated from the world as well as the national point of view on the importance of the problem of color. Not only would this have its effect upon the colored peoples of the world, who constitute four-fifths of the world's population, through its demonstration that no longer will black, brown and yellow peoples be treated as inferior or exploited by white people, but it would also have profoundly salutary effect upon the very serious domestic situation with respect to Negro-white relations.

Should you wish me to do so I will be pleased to transmit the names of distinguished American Negroes in which list you might find one to be invited to serve on such a commission.

Respectfully,

Secretary

May 4, 1942

Letters sent on April 28, 1942, by Walter White to the following persons asking their personal and confidential comments about wisdom and feasibility of plan re India and their permission to include their names on list should WW be invited by the President to suggest names of Negroes from which one would be selected for commission to India.

*List of Negroes
W. Indian*

Elmer Anderson Carter
Editor, Opportunity (Journal of the National Urban League)
Member, Unemployment Insurance Appeal Board,
New York State Department of Labor
342 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Dr. John W. Davis
President, West Virginia State College
Institute, West Virginia.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Author; lecturer; Professor, Department of Sociology
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia.

R. O'Hara Lanier
Dean of Instruction
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia.

Dr. Rayford W. Logan
President, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity.
Professor at Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Carl Murphy
President, The Afro-American Newspaper Company
628 North Eutaw Street
Baltimore, Maryland.

A. Philip Randolph
International President,
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, N. Y.

Roy Wilkins
Assistant Secretary, National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People;
Editor of The Crisis (organ of the NAACP)
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

*Hastie
W. India*

May 4, 1942

Dear Bill:

Here is self-explanatory copy of letter I have written to several persons regarding an idea that came out of a conference with Lord Halifax.

I did not include your name because I felt that there would be certain advantages in not doing so-- among them that I did not want the White House to feel that any time I recommend any one it was yourself. And it seemed to me that right now you were too valuable to have out of the United States. But if I am in error and you want to go, let me know and I'll gladly include your name.

Mrs. Roosevelt wrote me that the President wants me to talk with Sumner Wells and I am right now awaiting a reply to a telegram I sent him last Friday asking him when he could see me. I am hoping that it will be on Wednesday since Prattis and Ira Lewis are coming to New York tomorrow for a conference with Roy, Daisy and myself, and I have to speak Tuesday night at a dinner for Adam Powell.

I would like to talk to you about this and one or two other things before seeing Sumner Wells. Could you meet me for breakfast at the station Wednesday morning as I shall leave here midnight Tuesday.

Ever sincerely,

Judge William H. Hastie
1707 S Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Secretary

Ww p

COPY

THE AFRO AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS
Executive Offices, Baltimore, Md.
628 N. Eutaw St.

May 4, 1942.

PERSONAL

Dear Walter:

This is a reply to your letter of April 28.

1. I approve the proposal to send a commission of five persons to India to work on a formula for independence suitable to India and Great Britain.

This commission should set down the minimum program upon which India is willing to cooperate on an all-out war program and once this is obtained should seek to sell it to Great Britain.

2. (a) -- As to Federal Government:

Henceforth, there shall be no designations as to race, creed or color for any purposes of the Federal Government.

(b) -- The Fourteenth Amendment (privileges and immunities clause) and The Civil Rights Acts of 1866 and 1875 are still on the statute books and will be enforced as a war measure.

3. I have no objection to the use of my name but I believe that Hastie, Houston, Charles S. Johnson, Charles Wesley or yourself would do a much better job.

Very truly yours,

(Signed)

Carl Murphy,
President.

Mr. Walter White, Secy.,
The N.A.A.C.P.,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York, N.Y.

*Pearl Buck
N. India*

May 4th
1942

PERSONAL AND
CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Pearl Buck:

The President has asked me to talk first with Sumner Welles which I am doing on Wednesday at 12:30.

Lest I forget any pertinent details, I tried to put the idea I discussed with you last Thursday in a letter to the President which I shall turn over to Mr. Welles for delivery. Because of my own very limited knowledge and because so much hinges on the Far Eastern situation, I am sending you herewith a copy of the letter and asking you to write me Tuesday by special delivery at Washington, D. C., in care of Judge William H. Hastie, 1707 S Street, N. W., giving me your frank criticisms of the plan as presented. If you would permit me to share what you say with the President and Mr. Welles I would be grateful.

You will note that the idea has grown to the extent of an alternative suggestion-- namely, a meeting between Chiang Kai-shek, Nehru and the President to draft a Pacific Charter.

Cordially,

Secretary.

Miss Pearl S. Buck
R. D. 3
Perkasie, Buck's County,
Pennsylvania.

WW:CTF

COUCH FOR BUREAU

NEW YORK

Miss Buck:

I very much need your advice on an immediate matter relating to India which grew out of a talk I had last Friday with Lord Halifax. I expect to see the President any day and want to talk with you before seeing him. Could I see you at any time tomorrow?

Walter White

I am very glad to see you about India - but I am out of town tomorrow - only here Wednesday. Have you any time today? ~~I am~~ I am free at 6:30 - or a little time after this.

W

THE DAYTON HERALD

Editorial Page

An Independent Newspaper

PUBLICATION OFFICES: No. 111 EAST FOURTH STREET, DAYTON, OHIO

THE ESSENTIALS OF RIGHT LIVING ARE CLEAR: For to be carnally minded is life and peace.—Romans 8:9.

REFLECTION IN A MIRROR

As word comes out of New Delhi that the All-India congress has rejected the British proposal to enlist India in the war for freedom by promising her dominion status when peace comes, few Americans are surprised. They realize that the time has passed when a subject people will fight for their masters against another would-be conqueror. Some of them rather sympathize with the Indian leaders who are twisting the tail of the British lion in an hour of dire emergency. Human nature delights in seeing high and mighty folk get what they have coming to them.

But while the American people look with more indifference than is justified upon Britain's attempt to solve the knotty Indian problem, they are given the opportunity to see that they have a somewhat similar problem of their own. In the mail which came to our desk one day this week were two letters asking what status America is prepared to give her own "inferior" race as she fights a hard war for freedom and democracy.

One of them, unsigned, was tossed in the wastebasket in keeping with our policy of not printing anonymous communications. The other, from Dr. James E. Shepard, president of the North Carolina College for Negroes, appears in The Letterbox on this page today. Neither of them mentioned the negotiations now going on in New Delhi. Both made it clear that similar negotiations are going on at this moment in every city, town, and village in the United States.

Though the anonymous letter was tossed in the wastebasket, the treasonable sentiments it expressed kept popping out. The man who signed himself "A Negro, Not a Monkey" expressed the hope that Japan would win this war. The letter was crudely phrased. The writing was almost illegible. But there was no mistaking its meaning. This Negro had heard somewhere that the Japanese were promising his people a squarer deal if they dictated terms in Washington. Speaking for himself, he thought the Japanese might do more for the Negro race than democratic America has done.

Dr. Shepard does not think so; but he agrees that America, which is fighting for democracy, should give a larger share of the blessings of liberty to the Negro. He is a respected citizen even in a southern city; he is a credible witness; he is a loyal American. When he says that after visiting many of the large cities on the Atlantic coast he found "a large number of hopeless and despairing people," he is describing what he saw.

When he says Negroes are discriminated against in war industries, in labor unions, in the army and navy, he is saying what all informed Americans know to be true. When he says that "our foes know dangerously much about our interior life and know best of all the wrongs against minorities," he is explaining where the man who is "A Negro, Not a Monkey" got his idea that he would be better off if his own country lost the war to Japan.

Sometimes well-meaning citizens call us up or write in to ask why The Herald does not drop this exasperating subject. "What good does it do?" they want to know, always pointing out that they favor treating Negroes fairly and believe everything would be all right if people and newspapers would stop talking about it. Perhaps the same kind of well-meaning citizens called up to say the same thing to the editors of those English newspapers which long ago suggested that the British government practice the democracy it preached in India. Now, with British soldiers being driven back from Burma upon an India which may or may not help them in their fight for freedom, the people in England have discovered that everything was not all right. And any Americans who think the hypocritical British are only getting what they deserve had better take a good, long look at the reflection to be seen in a mirror.

Not that our armies are as hard-pressed as the British forces being beaten back in Burma. Those weary Tommies would be glad to accept any help they could get from the Indians without looking too closely at the color of their skin, and our army is still mighty choosy about what it does with Negro soldiers. Not that our navy has taken the pounding the Mistress of the Seas has suffered. The British navy is using all the sailors it can get, and our navy still keeps Negroes waiting on tables. Not that our war industries are yet facing a shortage of manpower while the color line is still drawn in employment offices. But before this thing is done, before this war is won, America may have to throw everything she has into the battle to save American freedom.

When that time comes, if that time comes, it is to be hoped Dr. Shepard will still speak for his race when he says "the Negro is instinctively and incurably American" rather than the anonymous letter-writer who wants Japan to win the war. Even so, many Americans would feel better about accepting the help of their fellow Americans if they had ever treated them as such.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1230

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter
NT=Overnight Telegram
LC=Deferred Cable
NLT=Cable Night Letter
Sbtp Radiogram

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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WK294 178 DL=PERKASIE PENN 5 138P

1942 MAY 5 PM 3 04

WALTER WHITE=

CARE JUDGE WILLIAM H HASTIE 1707 S ST NORTHWEST=

I ANSWER BY TELEGRAM YOUR LETTER RECEIVED TODAY BECAUSE A LETTER WOULD NOT REACH YOU IN TIME STOP YOUR ENCLOSURE VERY FINE BUT PLEASE OMIT MY NAME AS QUOTE IS NOT WHOLLY CORRECT STOP I MAKE THREE SUGGESTIONS IN ADDITION STOP FIRST SUGGEST YOU MAKE CLEAR THAT YOUR CHIEF CONCERN IS IN WORLD ISSUE BECAUSE PRESENT EMPHASIS ON HOME SITUATION WHILE VERY IMPORTANT IS PERHAPS A LITTLE TOO HEAVY STOP I SAY THIS SO THAT YOU MAY AVOID POSSIBLE CRITICISM AS SEEMING PERHAPS TO WORK FOR YOUR OWN GROUP STOP AS A MATTER OF FACT YOU AND I KNOW THAT IF THE MAIN ISSUE COMES ABOUT THE HOME GROUP WILL BENEFIT TREMENDOUSLY AND IF IT DOES NOT HOME GROUP WILL LOSE IN PROPORTION STOP SECOND MR AZAD IS PRESIDENT OF INDIA CONGRESS STOP HE IS ALSO A MOSLEM STOP NEHRU IS A LEADER BUT NOT PRESIDENT STOP THIRD IT MAY BE RAISED AS OBJECTION TO YOUR EXCELLENT PLAN FOR COUNCIL THAT PRESIDENT CAN ONLY MEET WITH STATE OFFICIALS STOP SUGGEST YOU BE READY WITH ALTERNATIVE TO THIS STOP=

PEARL S BUCK.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

re: Indian
Halifax

May 7th
1942

PERSONAL AND
CONFIDENTIAL

Your Excellency,

I presented to Mr. Sumner Welles yesterday, at the request of the President, the proposal we discussed. Mr. Welles characterized it as being "of the highest significance" and stated that he would take it up with the President immediately. He is to advise me and I am to return to Washington should the President wish to discuss it further.

I will keep you advised of developments.

Respectfully,

Secretary.

His Excellency, Viscount Halifax
British Embassy
Washington, D. C.

WW:CTF

Personal and
Confidential:

India
Frankfurter

May 11, 1942

Dear Felix:

Because I took the liberty of mentioning your name in it I send you the enclosed copy of letter to President Roosevelt which I submitted to him through Sumner Welles last Wednesday.

Mr. Welles seemed deeply interested, characterizing the proposal as being of the "highest significance". He stated that he would take the matter up with the President at the earliest possible moment and would advise me.

I send this to you so that you may know exactly what was proposed should the matter be taken up with you by the President or Mr. Welles. Should I be asked by the President or Mr. Welles to come back to Washington for further conversation regarding this I would like very much to have a few minutes with you to get your reaction.

Cordially,

Secretary

Hon. Felix Frankfurter
United States Supreme Court
Washington, D. C.

WW:RR

*file: India
Pearl Buck*

May 23, 1942

H. Dear Pearl Buck:

I could use to very good advantage the information you promised to send me about the occurrences in China when American white troops have acted in a prejudiced fashion towards the Chinese. So, I hope you won't mind my sending you this reminder of your promise to let me have this material.

I have had no further word from the President or the State Department regarding the proposal I made to them. Since the next move is now up to the government, I shall await their action. If and when action is taken, I shall let you know its nature. I was told by one who is in position to know the facts that some of the "career boys" in the State Department are opposed to my proposal because it isn't the sort of thing which has been done!

Here is copy of the letter I have written - to the F.C.C. regarding the refusal of three broadcasting chains to carry a speech by Nehru.

Cordially,

Secretary

Miss Pearl Buck
R.F.D. 3
Perkasie, Buck's County
Pennsylvania

WW p
encl

*7 fly.
7 ib. India
12. Nehru's speech*

May 23, 1942

My dear Mr. Fly:

Will you be good enough to advise us regarding the reported refusal of the three chief broadcasting systems to permit a broadcast by Pandit Nehru to the United States?

We are informed by completely reliable persons that when a committee, headed by Pearl Buck, sought to arrange to have Mr. Nehru tell the Indian side of the negotiations conducted by Sir Stafford Cripps recently, the committee was informed that no such broadcast would be possible for the following reasons:

One broadcasting chain stated that, while it had not been told by the United States government that it should not broadcast a speech by Mr. Nehru or any other Indian leader, the broadcasting chain had been given to understand that the United States government would not look with favor upon such a broadcast.

A second chain stated that the British Broadcasting Company would not broadcast a speech by Mr. Nehru or anyone else and, for that reason, the American chain would not be able to arrange such a broadcast.

The third chain stated that Great Britain is the ally of the United States and that no broadcast which would not be favored by the government of Great Britain or one which would be critical of Great Britain would be permitted.

It is difficult to believe that even in war times the Federal Communications Commission or any other government agency would, directly or indirectly, keep from the American people the other side of a story so important to the present and future welfare of all the people of the earth.

Would you be good enough, therefore, to advise us of the basis of the above attitudes by the various broadcasting chains?

Honorable James L. Fly
Commissioner
Federal Communications
Commission

Respectfully,

New Post Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Secretary

WW n

Negro Americans as Potential Members of
Commission to India
Suggested by Walter White

Professor Ralph J. Bunche
Head, Department of Political Science
Howard University

Senior Social Science Analyst
British Empire Section
Office of Facts and Figures

Elmer Anderson Carter
Editor, Opportunity (Journal of the National Urban League)
Member, Unemployment Insurance Appeal Board,
New York State Department of Labor
342 Madison Avenue, New York, New York

Dr. John W. Davis
President, West Virginia State College
Institute, West Virginia

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Author; lecturer; Professor, Department of Sociology
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Carl Murphy
President, The Afro-American Newspaper Company
628 North Eutaw Street
Baltimore, Maryland

A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York City

Roy Wilkins
Assistant Secretary, National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
Editor of The Crisis (Organ of the NAACP)
69 Fifth Avenue, New York City

ANSON PHELPS STOKES
LENOX, MASSACHUSETTS

India
May 29, 1942

Mr. Walter White
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City

9591

My dear Mr. White:

Needless to say, I am very deeply interested in the matters which we talked over on the telephone yesterday. I appreciated your showing me in confidence a copy of your letter of May 4th to the President embodying the results at a recent conference that you had had with the British Ambassador regarding the Indian situation.

At your request I am putting in writing some of the things that I said to you. I am prefacing it with the remark that although I spent a winter in India many years ago I have not kept in anything like so close touch with India as with China or Africa. Consequently, I cannot speak with any authority. Here seem to me to be some of the most important points:

I shall infer in this letter both that some such commission will be sent out --by the President-- and this seems to me highly advisable, and that you are right from your conference at the British Embassy, in thinking that an American Negro would be considered by Great Britain and by India as an acceptable member of the Commission, which I hope may prove to be true.

(a) Size and Character of the Commission.

It seems to me that a Commission of five would be far superior to a Commission of three, as representing broader interests and larger opportunities for conference. It seems to me, considering the specific problems in India, and remembering that they are primarily political and religious rather than racial, the Commission should include the following:

(a) A Chairman of outstanding ability, character, and influence, who is at least a national figure and preferably an international one.

(b) A member who knows India and is specially qualified to deal with its varied religious groups.

(c) A man of broad experience in diplomacy or in delicate inter-group relations.

(d) A Jewish layman.

(e) An American Negro chosen primarily from the standpoint of his effectiveness in India.

Mr. Walter White Page Two

May I deal with these in order:

(a) A Chairman of outstanding ability, character, and influence, who is at least a national figure and preferably an international one.

Three men seem to me outstanding. Chief Justice Hughes, if his health permits; Mr. Wendell Wilkie; and Justice Roberts.

A man who on the spot would be as effective as any of these, although not so well known, is Hon. George Wharton Pepper, formerly United States Senator from Pennsylvania, President of the American Law Institute, and a man of outstanding personality and ability in delicate negotiations, also a man capable of appealing sympathetically to various religious groups.

Professor Manley Hudson of Harvard, the most prominent American actively identified with the League of Nations, and a most fair-minded student of minority problems.

(b) A member who knows India and is specially qualified to deal with its varied religious groups.

It is difficult to think of exactly the right man, but here are two whom I would suggest with a good deal of confidence:

Mr. Edward Carter. Mr. Carter spent twelve years in India in his younger years as General Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. He is now Secretary General of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Director of the China Institute of America; and National President of the Russian Relief Fund now being raised. He has received honors from the British, French, Siamese, and Indian Governments, including the Kaiser-i-hind Gold Medal for his work in India, which, as you know, is perhaps the most distinguished of awards for Indian service. He is a man of absolute integrity, great fair-mindedness, and of statesmanlike outlook. I can recommend him most highly and his connections with India, China, and the Pacific area are all important.

William Ernest Hocking, Professor of Philosophy at Harvard University, and former Hibbert Lecturer at Oxford and Cambridge. He is the author of Living Religions and The World Faith. He has, I believe, visited India and knows its problems.

Another man who would be worthy of consideration as attached to the Commission because of his Indian knowledge is Robert Hume, Professor of Comparative Religions at the Union Theological Seminary, who was born in India, served there for a few years, and is an authority on the Upanishads and on the religions of India generally.

(c) A man of broad experience in diplomacy or in delicate inter-group relations.

Here there are several outstanding men, such as Mr. Sayre, who has just returned after being Commissioner in the Philippines and was formerly adviser to the King of Siam. The fact that he is Mr. Wilson's son-in-law would carry weight.

General McCoy, now President of the Foreign Policy Association, who has been a pinch-hitter for straightening out difficult problems in various parts of the

world.

Raymond Fosdick, President of the Rockefeller Foundation, and appointed as the First Secretary General of the League.

Mr. MacMurray of the State Department, who has served as Ambassador of the United States both in China and in Turkey.

Mr. Howland Shaw of the State Department, who was long in our Legation in Constantinople, and who has had much contact in dealing with the Mohammedans. The fact that he is a Catholic would be an advantage.

President Graham of the University of North Carolina, one of the most successful men in the South in race relations.

Dr. W. W. Alexander, long Director of the Interracial Commission in Atlanta, recently in the O.P.M. looking after minority interests.

Everett Clinchy, President of the Conference of Jews and Christians, and accustomed to deal with different religious groups.

(d) A Jewish layman.

Two men seem to me outstanding: Justice Frankfurter of the Supreme Court, and Governor Lehman of New York. The former has the more brilliant and constructive mind. The latter has been particularly effective in commending himself equally to Jews, Protestants, and Catholics, and has always taken a very strong ground on the subject of toleration.

(e) An American Negro chosen primarily from the standpoint of his effectiveness in India.

I know of no living Negro who would be quite up to the late James Weldon Johnson or Major Moton, and here your knowledge will be better than mine, but there are three or four men worthy of very serious consideration, namely, Professor Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University, who was one of the three members of the League of Nations Commission to Liberia. He is about as fair-minded and wise a man as I know and I remember that the State Department thought very highly of him when he was working in the Liberian problem. His only defect is that he is not particularly effective in conference.

Professor Du Bois. He is probably the outstanding American Negro as far as intellectual force is concerned. I happen to know that when an American friend of mine met Gandhi he asked him particularly about how Dr. Du Bois was. He has been a leader in upholding the rights of the colored people of the world. He has mellowed much in recent years. The fact that he has often opposed British policies might or might not be a disadvantage. He is a man with very strong convictions and great power of expressing them, which would have both advantages and disadvantages.

Channing Tobias, Senior Colored Secretary of the International Y.M.C.A. He has been in India and is a most fair-minded man who creates the impression of both force and wisdom.

Mr. Walter White Page Four

If there is to be a Colored attaché to the Commission, Professor Bunche of Howard, now with the Donovan Commission, would be admirable. So might be Mr. Houston, who has represented the Colored people so often in their cases before the Supreme Court.

The only Colored man that I can think of who has spent a considerable time in Africa is Professor Thurman of Howard University, a man of beautiful character and sympathetic and tolerant. He is a pacifist and his interests are spiritual rather than political.

On current day problems one of the most effective of the men is Mr. Carter, the Director of the Urban League.

A few other names occur to me of people who might be consulted or fit in in one way or another. I have in mind Stanley Jones for his work in bringing the different religious groups in Africa together.

President Aydelotte, now of the Princeton School of Advanced Studies, a Quaker, who has had contacts with students from all over the world.

Dr. Duggan, the Director of the Institute of International Education.

Dr. Weigle, Dean of the Yale Divinity School, and former President of the Federal Council of Churches.

President Seymour of Yale.

Mr. Harper Sibley, formerly President of the Chamber of Commerce in the United States, and until recently head of the U.S.O., a sympathetic visitor to India a few years ago.

Sherwood Eddy, who spent a large part of his life in India in contact with many groups, but somewhat emotional in temperament.

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If the above suggestions are of the slightest service I shall be very glad, because the project seems to me one of very great importance. I assume, of course, that our Government will clear not only with the British Embassy but with the Indian Commissioner in Washington, for if the proposal could be related directly to India from the first and not merely to England, it would make its success much more likely.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Amos Phelps Stokes

Osborn
Re: Indian

May 23, 1942

My dear General Osborn:

I had hoped to see you, if it was convenient, while I was in Washington this week but unfortunately was kept tied up the whole time I was there. I wanted to give you and discuss with you the enclosed copy of a proposal we have made to the President and to the Secretaries of War and of the Navy. We believe that an affirmative approach of this sort will do much towards solution of the problems we discussed on the plane out of Birmingham recently, as well as of the world problem of color.

We have had disturbing rumors of occurrences in India and China caused by the racial attitude towards colored peoples of some of the American white troops from Texas, Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas which have been sent to the Far East.

The N.A.A.C.P. is establishing a modest Washington Bureau at 100 Massachusetts Avenue which will endeavor, as far as possible, to check carefully all reports and rumors so that whatever is published or said may be as accurate as possible. I shall be spending from three to four days a week in Washington from now on. If you care to do so, I would like to come in and talk with you about the proposal in the enclosed letter on one of my trips to Washington.

Ever sincerely,

Secretary

General Frederick D. Osborn
Chief of the Special Services Branch
War Department
Washington, D. C.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

69 Fifth Avenue - New York City

WALTER WHITE, Secretary

May 6, 1942

Honorable Sumner Welles
Under Secretary of State
State Department
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Welles:

Apropos our discussion as I was leaving this morning in which I said that I felt our Government had not sufficiently emphasized in Latin America what has been done in the Virgin Islands, an idea similar to that occurred to me in connection with the suggestion I made this morning.

It is that President Manuel Queson be also invited to the conference to draft a Pacific charter, if such a conference is held. Our Government has, on the whole, done a somewhat better job than some other nations in the Pacific. We have pledged independence to the Philippines in 1946. The magnificent defense of Bataan and Corregidor by Filipino troops was a dividend on our investment in decent treatment.

Senor Queson's presence at the conference would be a living symbol of the bona fides of our Government in the proposals which would be made at such a conference.

Will you be good enough to append this suggestion to the letter to the President which I left with you?

May I add how great a pleasure it was to meet and talk with you today.

Sincerely yours,

Walter White

69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

*Dear Buck
H. India*

June 5
1942

PERSONAL AND
CONFIDENTIAL

My dear Miss Buck:

I was asked by Mr. Welles to come to the State Department last Tuesday. He told me that the President is enthusiastic about the proposal I made to him regarding India but thinks it unwise to do anything right now because of Mr. Gandhi's statement that the chief interest of the United States in the Indian situation is based upon a desire to preserve and perpetuate "British imperialism" in the Orient. So the President does not think it wise to do anything until the situation changes. I hope that that will not delay it until it is too late.

I understand that one of the political advisers of the State Department-- Wallace Murray, Chief of the Division of Near Eastern Affairs-- opposed the proposal I made on the ground that people of India consider American Negroes to be in the same class with India's untouchables, and that they for this reason would resent the presence of an American Negro, however distinguished, on the commission. Is this true? Or is it the typical white bureaucratic interpretation? I strongly suspect it is the latter.

SUNDAYS
May I once again congratulate and thank you upon a magnificent piece of writing-- this time, your article in last Saturday's New York Times. I found that it had been read most carefully by Mr. Welles. Incidentally, did you read his Memorial Day speech at Arlington? When I see you I want to tell you something of the background of that speech in its revelation of a change in Welles's attitude, as well as certain other things which it is wisest for me not to put in writing.

Cordially,

Miss Pearl S. Buck
R.F.D. 3
Perkasie, Buck's County, Pa.

Secretary.

WW:CTF

*Clare Booth
W: Indian situation*

June 5
1942

PERSONAL AND
CONFIDENTIAL

My dear Mrs. Luce:

I am deeply grateful to you for your interesting and cordial letter of June 1. I want you to know the present situation as revealed in a talk I had with Mr. Sumner Welles at the State Department last Tuesday.

He told me that the President is keenly interested but thinks that it would be unwise for the United States Government to take any step right now due to the recent assertions by Mr. Gandhi, that the chief interest of the United States in the Indian situation is because of the desire of the United States to preserve and perpetuate "British imperialism" in India and the Far East. The President fears that sending of the commission now would be interpreted by Mr. Gandhi and other Indian leaders as proof of this assertion. If there should be any change in the situation Mr. Welles assured me the President would then decide what to do.

There are several other factors involved in this which I do not think it wise to put in writing. So I should like to talk with you at your convenience. I am having to spend Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday of each week in our newly established Washington Bureau, which is located at 100 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. But I am in New York the other days of the week and will be glad to arrange my time to suit your convenience.

Ever sincerely,

Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce
Upper King Street
Port Chester,
New York.

Secretary.

WW:CTF

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

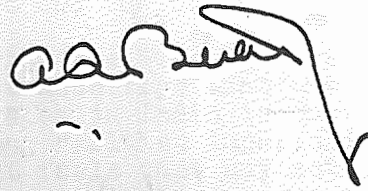
9834

June 6, 1942

Dear Mr. White:

I have your letter of June 1. In response to your request for an appointment, I should be glad to see you at 5:00 p.m. on Wednesday, June 10th.

Very truly yours,



*Have Mr. W. card
6-8-42*

Mr. Walter White,
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

*Shridharani
U. Indian Helpline*

June 8
1942 (Dictated June 6)

PERSONAL AND
CONFIDENTIAL

My dear Mr. Shridharani:

Would you be good enough to give me your opinion as to what would be the reaction in India if a distinguished American Negro were included at any time in the future on a delegation from the United States to India?

Ever sincerely,

Secretary.

Mr. Krishnalal Shridharani
International House
New York, N. Y.

WM:CTF

June 9, 1942

MEMO FROM THE SECRETARY

Slowing up of the Japanese drive in the Pacific and continuation of the brilliant resistance by the Russians to the German assault have definitely lessened the fear of defeat in the United States which Pearl Harbor and Singapore created. The ^{old} whole American cockiness begins to reassert itself. Definite signs become manifest that the American people believe the war may not last very long and that the United Nations will inevitably emerge triumphant.

Those Americans who are thus ^{exhibiting} ~~counting on~~ what may prove to be dangerously premature optimism fail to take into account what may happen during the critical summer of 1942. If supplies to Russia and China are cut off by a German-Finnish interception of the supply lines to the Soviet, and if the closing of the Burma Road and the uncertainty regarding India in the war ^{lesson} ~~slew-up~~ materially China's resistance, it is not beyond the range of possibility that the United Nations may either be defeated or forced to fight a war lasting through the next generation.

^T But ~~this premature~~ jubilation over a victory not yet won is beginning to make articulate again the racial bigots who are too ^{blind} ~~blinded~~ to see how race played so material a role in bringing about World Wars I and II but who have been silenced during the period of fear. Already lines are being sharply drawn for a knock-down, drag-out fight between the Westbrook Peglers and ^{and wise} those who are decent/enough to know that no lasting peace will ever be fashioned until the colored peoples of the world who form a majority are no longer exploited because of color.

The line-up on both sides of this contest, decision in which is going to determine future history particularly of colored

Memo from the Secretary

-2-

June 9, 1942

peoples, is beginning dimly to be visible. Vice President Henry Wallace in his notable address at a dinner of the Free World Association in New York City, ^{on} May 8, showed on which side he stood when he declared that "this is a fight between a slave world and a free world" and that "the doctrine that one race or one class is by hereditary superior and that all other races or classes are supposed to be slaves" to be "the devil's own religion of darkness." Mr. Wallace called this war a "people's revolution" and said the "century which will come out of this war can be and must be the century of the common man."

Sumner Welles, Under Secretary of State, in a Memorial Day address at Arlington Cemetery made a pronouncement of equal, if not greater significance than Vice President Wallace's address. "Can the democracies of the world again afford to permit National policies to be dictated by self-seeking minorities of special privileges?" Mr. Welles asked and then answered his own question in forthright manner, "If this war is in fact a war for the liberation of peoples, it must assure the sovereign equality of peoples throughout the world, as well as in the world of the Americas. Our victory must bring in its train the liberation of all peoples. Discrimination between peoples because of their race, creed, or color must be abolished. The age of imperialism is ended." These and other statements by Mr. Welles, linked to his references to the Atlantic Charter, would seem to presage some form of charter, world or Pacific, to assure the peoples of the Orient as well as of the Occident that the four freedoms proclaimed by President Roosevelt in his

June 9, 1942

address to Congress on January 6, 1941, may conceivably be in the making.

Preceding these official predictions of a new racial order came the calm, clear, uncompromising voices of Pearl Buck, Philip Randolph, Wendell Willkie, and of newspapers like EM.

But every action brings a reaction. Any proposed alteration of the racial status quo creates jitters in the petty-minded who, now that their fright is being lessened somewhat by the slowing up of the Japanese advances in the Pacific and ^{German assaults} in Russia, are beginning to creep out into the open again to belch forth their doctrine of racial hatred. In his syndicated column, Westbrook Pegler has blatantly alleged recently that this war is being fought solely for the preservation of white supremacy and that white people should not forget this in any flood of ^{international and} interracial fellowship and love."

From Paramaribo, Dutch Guiana, and other outposts of empire come reports of consternation created by Sumner Welles' speech because it indicated that the United States would not support restoration of the pre-war British and Dutch empires. The Washington Times-Herald, hysterically isolationist up to Pearl Harbor, featured on June 7 an article alleging that the ^{Messrs.} Wallace and Welles' ^{far} speeches were in advance of the people, and ^{in their thinking} asked if these ~~features~~ ^{speeches} meant that racial distinctions are to be done away with in the United States. In Arizona the Tucson Daily Star bitterly assailed Mr. Wallace and angrily asked, "Are we going to change our immigration laws and after the war, as a result of what Mr. Wallace calls 'the people's revolution' admit blacks from Africa and yellow men from Asia on a basis

June 9, 1942

of equality? Are we going to do away with racial distinctions in America . . . ? The answer is obvious--we will not. But even more than that, Mr. Wallace and his followers will probably find out that any attempt to impose such a program will lead to a 'people's revolution' all right, but not the kind he has in mind."

Continued victories against the ~~German~~ and Japanese, whether these victories be real or apparent, will undoubtedly lead to further outbursts of this character. If after the crucial summer ahead Russia still holds, Hitler conceivably may be forced to sue for peace within a year or two. Should this happen, the United States, Russia, China and Great Britain will unite to crush Japan. Coinciding with these possible developments may come a nation-wide, and perhaps world-wide wave against colored peoples of terrifying proportions and bitterness. What then?

We of the N.A.A.C.P. have an enormous task to perform. It is that of awakening the world to the fact that military victory over Germany and Japan which brings in its wake a racial hysteria of this sort will, as surely as the sun rises, prepare the ground for World War III, which will come as soon as we have recovered from this conflict. That is why the outburst now of the editorial ^{fuhrers} ~~fuhrers~~ are more sinister than they at first glance appear to be.

The only hope of a lasting peace lies in the course mapped out for us by Messrs. Wallace and Welles.

June 10, 1942

Indira Shridharani

MESSAGES RECEIVED BY CTF FOR MR. WHITE.

2:25 P M - Mr. Shridharani telephoned today in reply to your letter. He says "It would have the best possible effect". (Re Negro on commission to India) - Mr. S. asked that I be sure to give you this message because he would not be writing a letter in reply.

2:45 P M - A Miss Craig telephoned. She asked if Mr. White is speaking at Madison Square Garden on June 16. CTF told her WW is scheduled to speak at the Garden that night at the March on Washington Committee mass meeting. She says she will be there to hear Mr. White.

*Indiew
Pearl Buck*

June 15, 1942

My dear Miss Buck:

I am so much impressed by what you say about the situation in India not changing until America does take its stand that I am saying as much in a speech tomorrow night at Madison Square Garden, copy of which is enclosed. I don't know what effect this will have upon the President and the State Department. But from additional information which has come to me I doubt very much now that the State Department or the President will act. When I see you I shall tell you the information which causes me to reach this unhappy conclusion.

This is wholly speculation on my part but I am inclined to believe that discussion by the President and Mr. Welles of the proposal I made played a small part in the great liberalism in Mr. Welles' opinion as manifested in his Memorial Day speech. That, too, I shall tell you about when I see you.

Are you planning to be in New York any time soon on any day other than a Tuesday, Wednesday or Thursday? I am spending those days in our newly established Washington Bureau, which is a full-time job in itself. But I do want to talk with you as soon as possible.

Ever sincerely,

Secretary

Miss Pearl S. Buck
R. D. 1
Perkasie, Pennsylvania

WW:RR

June 19, 1942

Dictated to UTF over phone today
by Mr. Max Yergan's secretary:

Cablegram received April 7, 1942 for a meeting of the
Committee on African Affairs at Manhattan Center April 8, 1942.

ALL GOOD WISHES FOR SUCCESS AGAINST FASCISM, IMPERIALISM AND
ESTABLISHMENT OF TRUE FREEDOM EVERYWHERE. RECOGNITION EQUAL
RIGHTS, OPPORTUNITIES ALL RACES AND PEOPLES

Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi, India

*India
McIntyre for the President
re: Conf. Luce*

July 1
1942

My dear Mr. McIntyre:

Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of June 26 stating that the President is so busy that he has no ten or fifteen minutes to hear from Mrs. Luce and myself a possible solution of the dangerous impasse between India and Great Britain which threatens the United Nations' cause.

We have no alternative under the circumstances but to bow to the President's will. But I am constrained to make one observation. Mrs. Luce and I as American citizens, alarmed at the terrible consequences to us all if India fell into the hands of Japan, were and are eager to do whatever we can to assist in averting such a catastrophe which at the very least would prolong the war in the Pacific at the cost of lives of American soldiers and many billions of dollars and, at the worst, might lead to victory by the Axis powers.

The President has the right to believe that my own knowledge of the Indian situation is so limited that any proposal I might make would be of doubtful value. I might agree with him. But Mrs. Luce has only recently returned from India. She talked there with leaders of Indian opinion as well as the Viceroy and other representatives of Great Britain. Out of this first-hand knowledge has come the plan which might bring about a satisfactory understanding between the leaders and people of India on the one hand and Great Britain on the other, which, in turn, would cause India to fight Japan vigorously.

I concede that Mrs. Luce's plan might prove impracticable. But it puzzles me that a very genuine desire to help should be rejected without examination. And I note no alternative plan is suggested, since the President is so busy, for the proposal to be heard by some other means.

Ever sincerely,

Mr. M. H. McIntyre
Secretary to the President
Washington, D. C.

Secretary.

WW:CTF

*WW took to Wash
for discussion
then making*

*India
Mrs FDR
Clare Boothe Luce*

June 20
1942

PERSONAL

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I had a most interesting talk last evening with Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce who, as you know, was recently in India where she had opportunity to talk at considerable length on several occasions with all the leaders of Indian public opinion. I believe she has a possible solution for the impasse and the increasingly dangerous situation in India.

Would it be possible for you to arrange for a few minutes with the President for Mrs. Luce and myself, preferably some evening after dinner so as not to run into the terribly crowded schedule of the President in the Executive Office?

Mrs. Luce could come to Washington for such a conference on any day except June 22, 23, 27, 29 and July 3.

I believe the proposal Mrs. Luce has made is of such significance and importance that even in the terribly crowded schedule of the President it would be worth his while to devote ten or fifteen minutes to hearing it.

Cordially,

Secretary.

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

WM:CTF

SAVE INDIA FROM JAPAN

GUARANTEE HER FREEDOM

H E A R

DR. ANUP SINGH

NORMAN THOMAS

CHU HSUEH-SAN, President, Chinese Association of Labor

(Subject to return flight to China)

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS, Chairman

Special Messages From PEARL S. BUCK, LIN YUTANG

What does the All-India Congress resolution mean?

Will civil disobedience mean civil war?

What can America do to help?

—: COME TO :—

TOWN HALL — 123 West 43rd Street — NEW YORK CITY

THURSDAY, AUGUST 6, 1942 — 8:15 P. M.

Auspices **POST WAR WORLD COUNCIL** 112 East 19th Street, New York City

Admission Free



Please Post

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ADDRESS ALL COMMUNICATIONS
TO THE SECRETARY

T. J. BLOWIE, SECRETARY

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

August 1, 1942

Mr. Walter White, Secretary
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

*7. Jy.
Mr. Nehru broadcast
6.47 P.M.*

12-15

My dear Mr. White

Reference is made to your letters of May 23 and July 1, 1942, the first regarding the reported refusal of the three major networks to permit a broadcast by Pandit Nehru to the United States, and the second regarding alleged discrimination against Negro musicians by certain locals of the American Federation of Musicians. I regret the delay in replying, but I did wish to take time personally to look into some of these matters.

As you undoubtedly know, the Federal Communications Commission did not suggest in any way that the Nehru speech should not be broadcast, nor was the Commission aware at the time that the problem was under consideration. Inasmuch as the Communications Act of 1934 prohibits the censorship of radio programs by this Commission, the Commission lacks the power to require that any particular program be presented, and the Commission does not either approve or disapprove programs in advance.

Broadcasters themselves, of course, must make day-to-day decisions concerning program selection. My investigation has led me to the conclusion that, while there may be a reasonable difference of opinion as to whether the decision was a wise one, the broadcasters did act in good faith.

*See: NAACP file
Music H.F.M.*

Your second letter concerned the discriminatory membership requirements of certain local unions of the American Federation of Musicians which operate to prevent the hiring of Negro musicians by radio stations having closed shop contracts with such locals. Please be advised that the Commission is examining this problem.

Please be assured of my continued interest in this matter and my hope that it will be satisfactorily remedied.

Sincerely yours

[Signature]
Chairman



3 MAJOR RADIO CHAINS
REFUSED TO CARRY NEHRU
SPEECH, NAACP LEARNS

6/7/42

New York----Three major radio chains refused to carry a speech by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru giving the Indian side of the negotiations recently conducted by Sir Stafford Cripps, the NAACP learned last week.

After receiving reports of the refusal from reliable source, the NAACP protested to the Federal Communications Commission and requested to know the reasons for the apparent censorship. The FCC replied last week that the Commission has no power to approve or disapprove a program in advance. It was stated that the broadcasters customarily make decisions about programs to be carried. "While there may be a reasonable doubt as to whether the decision was a wise one, the broadcasters did act in good faith," the FCC said.

The reports came to the NAACP last May that a committee headed by Pearl Buck had tried to arrange for a broadcast by Nehru and had been told that it would not be possible by the three major chains. the chains refused for "diplomatic" reasons.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter
NT=Overnight Telegram
LC=Deferred Cable
NLT=Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

JNE 3 TWS AUGUST 10, 1942 =

ALAN P. MURRAY = OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION=
WASHINGTON, D.C.=

*W. B. Sullivan
N. J. India*

I REGRET THAT ACTION SATURDAY OF BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN IMPRISONING
MESRS. GHANDI, NEHRU, AZAD AND OTHER INDIAN LEADERS MAKES IT
IMPOSSIBLE FOR ME TO BROADCAST TOMORROW TO PEOPLES OF INDIA AND
JAPAN AS REQUESTED BY OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION= ARRESTS LEAVE
ME WITH NOTHING CONVINCING TO SAY=

JNE 343TWS PD 327! 1216P WALTER WHITE.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

August 10, 1942

President Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

MAY WE URGE YOUR IMMEDIATE INTERCESSION AS MEDIATOR IN INDIA. IT IS
~~CONCEIVABLE AND PROBABLE~~ ^{apparent} THAT JAPAN WON ^{a great victory} ~~THE WAR~~ IN THE PACIFIC SATURDAY
WHEN GANDHI, NEHRU AND AZAD WERE THROWN INTO PRISON BECAUSE THEY TOO
WANTED AND DEMANDED FOR PEOPLE OF INDIA THE SAME FREEDOM THE BRITISH
GOVERNMENT IS FIGHTING TO PRESERVE FOR WHITE ENGLISHMEN. NICETIES OF
INTERNATIONAL PROTOCOL SHOULD NOT AND MUST NOT BE PERMITTED TO STAND IN
PATH OF AMERICAN ACTION. ANGLO-INDIAN RELATIONS ARE NO LONGER EXCLUSIVELY
A MATTER OF BRITISH CONCERN. ONE BILLION BROWN AND YELLOW PEOPLES IN THE
PACIFIC WILL WITHOUT QUESTION CONSIDER RUTHLESS TREATMENT OF INDIAN
LEADERS AND PEOPLE TYPICAL OF WHAT WHITE PEOPLES WILL DO TO COLORED PEOPLES
IF UNITED NATIONS WIN. YOU CAN BE SURE JAPANESE BROADCASTS OUT OF TOKYO
TO PACIFIC PEOPLES AND GERMAN BROADCASTS TO LATIN AMERICA ARE TODAY
INDUSTRIOUSLY AND GLOATINGLY POINTING THIS OUT.

FORTHRIGHT AND IMMEDIATE ACTION BY YOU MAY CONCEIVABLY AVERT
DISASTER OR THE INDEFINITE PROLONGATION OF THE WAR AT THE COST OF COUNTLESS
LIVES. SPECIFICALLY WE URGE YOU PROPOSE, FIRST, ESTABLISHMENT OF BOARD
WITH COMPLETE AUTHORITY FOR MILITARY DEFENSE OF INDIA CONSISTING OF ONE
ENGLISHMAN, ONE INDIAN, ONE AMERICAN AND ONE CHINESE; SECOND, GRANTING
OF FREEDOM NOW TO INDIA WITH DETAILS TO BE WORKED OUT IN CONFERENCE.
WE SUGGEST GENERAL ^{Mac Arthur} ~~MACARTHUR~~ AS AMERICAN MEMBER OF BOARD. WE IMPLORE YOU
TO ACT EVEN AT THE RISK OF OFFENDING OUR ALLY, GREAT BRITAIN. THIS IS
NOW NO LONGER A QUESTION SOLELY OF INDIAN FREEDOM. IT IS A QUESTION OF
^{American} SAVING ~~OUR OWN~~ LIVES AND FUTURE EXISTENCE ^{of our nation.}

Walter White

MR WILKINS

August 20, 1942

MEMORANDUM TO MESSAS WHITE AND WILKINS FROM MISS CRUMP:

On Thursday afternoon, August 20th, three young people whose spokesman was Lee Donald Stern, of Cleveland, Ohio visited the office to ask our participation in a meeting of representative and various organizations to be called for the purpose of working for India's freedom.

Mr. Stern said that they represented no organization but that they have visited Dr. Singh, editor of India Today, Norman Thomas at the East World War Council. They have talked with Lawrence Irving of the New York March on Washington Committee (and they have an appointment for a conference with A. Philip Randolph on Monday) and have received pledges of cooperation and promises to attend the proposed meeting from these organizations. On their list to be visited is: The Federal Council of Churches, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, American Civil Liberties League, the U.A.W.-C.I.O.

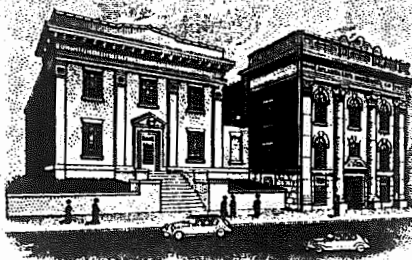
The purpose of their visit here was to ask us to send a representative to this meeting which they propose. They have set a date tentatively for Tuesday, August 25th but they are to call me on Monday and let me know finally what date has been decided upon. They are considering in their decision for a date Mr. White's return from Washington and his decision on sending a representative to the meeting as I told them that he may not be in the office until Monday or Tuesday and therefore may not have time to give the matter thought for a decision by Tuesday night.

At the meeting it is planned to work out some nation-wide program or demonstration to arouse American public opinion in favor of granting freedom to India.

The question is whether we send a representative.

ec:amb

A.F. HERNDON
FOUNDER
N.B. HERNDON
PRESIDENT
E.M. MARTIN
SECRETARY
L.H. HAYWOOD
DIR. OF AGENCIES
F.A. TOOMER
AUDITOR



DIRECTORS:
MRS. A.F. HERNDON
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A.F. HERNDON, II
W.H. SMITH
GEO. W. LEE

ATLANTA LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

148 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

1830 Vine Street
Kansas City, Mo.
Aug. 21, 1942.

Sewing is: Indian

13380

Mr. Walter White, Secretary N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Mr. White:

As a member of the N.A.A.C.P., I am passing on to you an idea which may, or may not, be of practical value. However, here it is:

Assuming that the cause of Indian freedom is identified with the cause of our freedom, Negroes of the United States should take some kind of group action to emphasize this identity of interest between the Indian people and the Negroes of the United States. To accomplish this aim, a week of mourning and sympathy for India, might be proclaimed for the collective participation of Negroes of the United States. Arm bands, or badges for India might be worn for an entire week. During this particular week of mourning, telegrams and letters, wholesale, might be sent to our president to intervene for immediate Indian freedom; cablegrams might be sent to Mr. Churchill.

It seems to me that group participation of this kind, for a cause so worthy and so near us, would be fruitful in arousing awareness and aggressiveness on the part of a larger number of Negroes, and at the same time emphasize our own American problem upon the conscience of American white folk.

With best wishes, I am

Yours truly,
H. W. Sewing
H. W. Sewing.

CITY REPORTER

Vol. IV No. 34
August 25, 1942

CO-ORDINATING
COMMITTEE FOR
DEMOCRATIC
ACTION

1619 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, N. Y.
CO. 5-1343

INDIA BECOMES POPULAR WITH POLITICIANS

India is a peg on which professionally articulate politicians are attempting to hang their hats. Senator Robert R. Reynolds pleads for a free India immediately. Senator Reynolds' recent concern about India, coupled with his long-term concentration on embarrassing the Administration and the United Nations, makes his sudden interest in India suspect.

Lambert Fairchild, old-time reactionary, respectfully suggests in a letter which the Times published on August 19, "that we all agree to leave 'India revolt' to the capable hands of the British. After the usual muddling, they seem to have grasped the situation and have it well in hand." He objects to the "great popular idea" that "we are to force 'American Democracy' upon these folks, upon the Nipponese, upon the Germans who traded a Kaiser for a Fuehrer. It just doesn't make sense."

INDIA REACHES OUT TO HARLEM

The Fifth Column which hopes to conquer America by fragmentation has pounded steadily on the Negro minority. Here is found already prepared one of the most pressing sore spots in America. In the guise of "nationalism" or "racism", the agents and two-by-four operators have been working tirelessly for a long time to convince American Negroes that their hopes lie in some dark nationalism and not in the "unfruitful" promises of democracy.

The doubts implanted by the crack-pot fraternity in Harlem fit into the larger Axis world pattern. A recital of the outstanding events since the Ethiopian War confirms this.

CHRONOLOGY

- Feb. 1934-Prince Araya Abeba, Emperor Haile Selassie's son rumored about to marry Japanese noblewoman.
- Oct. 1934-First skirmishes of Ethiopian War begin.
- Dec. 1934-Japanese officers train Abyssinian troops.
- Feb. 1935-Series of American Negro protest meetings held.
- Mar. 1935-Riots sweep Harlem. Four killed. Property damage runs to millions, broken glass bill alone totals \$147,000. Ground-work prepared by rabble-rouser who calls himself Sufi Abdul Hamid, whose anti-Semitic speeches win him title of "Black Hitler".
- Aug. 1935-Ethiopia receives Japanese arms; Japanese enlist.
- Oct. 1935-Hostilities officially commence in Ethiopian War.
- Dec. 1935-\$500,000 contributed to Italian Red Cross at Madison Sq. Garden benefit; Mayor LaGuardia presents check to Italian official.

(continued)

June 1942-Loyal American Negroes hold several mass rallies to urge ending of discriminatory practices in America. "Fight Hitler in Europe and Hitlerism here in America," is their slogan.

Aug. 1942-Mimo DeGuzman, Filipino associate of Jordan, known as Dr. Takis, arrested. He heads a group of pro-Japanese agitators called "The Pacific World Movement of the Eastern World", active through the Middle West.

Aug. 1942-Gulam Bogan, head of the America Chapter of Islam, arrested as draft dodger. "Complete hatred and ultimate destruction of the white man with the Japanese as potential liberators," is Bogan's advice to thousands of his followers in Washington, Chicago, Detroit and Milwaukee.

Newspaper readers, radio listeners, the general American public do not recognize the names of Reed, Kemp, Frederick and Daniels. These unimportant peanut fascists and agitators are unknown and unsung. Yet today who remembers a Sudeten gym teacher (Konrad Heinlein), a morphine addicted aviator (Wilhelm Goering), a bloated barrack sot (Arne Quisling) or, of that matter Schicklgruber?

The hyperdermics of hate administered by these ridiculous little men have troubled the Negro community. Negro opinion as a whole completely repudiates the crack-pot element. It knows that Fascist agents do not "make" fascist dictatorships, nor do Communist agents "make" a red revolution. The Negro nationalist, rejected by the bulk of Negroes, is important only when he is the sole voice beckoning to a large following, pointing the way to a large potential upheaval. The same opportunity is open to democratic leaders; they dare not ignore it.

HARLEM AND INDIA - an editorial

America's 13,000,000 Negroes, the butt of discrimination in industry and in the armed forces, suffered an additional blow as a result of Britain's latest action in India. Repression in India is bound to be exploited to the full by Axis propagandists.

A dozen Harlems throughout the United States have their eyes fixed on India, where they seek some light concerning the future of the Colored peoples. American Negroes for the first time feel a unity with the 400,000,000 other colored peoples in the world. Further evidence of British imperialism serves only to cast doubt upon the aims of all the United Nations.

Negroes everywhere in the Western Hemisphere are demanding immediate implementation of the Atlantic Charter and its promise of the Four Freedoms. Discrimination against them in employment, segregation of Negro soldiers, hunger riots in Jamaica, strikes in the Bahamas, Jim Crow laws in Bermuda, the revival of the flogging penalty, and, on top of all that, the jailing of Gandhi and other all-India Congress heads, are weapons placed in the hands of the enemy. Unless India and Britain find a democratic solution to the problem, - unless segregation and discrimination against Negroes cease, - unless the colored citizens of America and their brothers in India are given more than a few vague words about the Four Freedoms, the effect on the war effort will be disastrous. By refusing the Negro his full rights we court his apathy. By failing to cast off traditional prejudices, we make a mockery of the People's War. The resultant cynicism may easily be communicated to others, paving the road to a negotiated peace which can end only in international tragedy.

re: India

August 31
1942

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear President Roosevelt:

I have been deeply disturbed during recent weeks to hear from several persons that you have expressed irritation or resentment at suggestions which I have made regarding India. I deeply regret this.

These suggestions were presented in all good faith and not, as I understand you have been led to believe, to get into the newspapers. On the contrary, there is a great deal I could have given to the press which I have refrained from giving. On several occasions I have declined to discuss with newspaper men the concern the N.A.A.C.P. and I have felt about the possible consequences of the failure to find some answer to the Indian question. It was agreed in conferences with Mr. Sumner Welles that untimely publicity might well do serious harm.

Although my motives have apparently been misinterpreted to you or misunderstood by you, I sincerely feel that it is the obligation of every loyal American citizen to make any suggestions which he believes will be of help to you in this critical period. It is therefore of considerable concern to me that you should misunderstand the motive that has impelled me to make representation to you on what I believe to be one of the most important problems confronting the United Nations and one which has considerable bearing upon the race question in the United States.

In saying the above I wish you to understand that it is said without rancor and with complete friendliness and admiration for you personally.

Cordially,

WW:CTF

WALTER WHITE.

An American Negro Views The Indian Question

By Pauli Murray

IT IS strange how some Americans in their zeal for the military victory of the United Nations can completely overlook the cardinal principles for which we profess to be fighting and forget lessons of our own American revolution for independence. Some of our friends in the Odell Waller case look with horror on the attitude of the Indian Nationalist leaders and warn us against all-out endorsement of the Congress Party's demands for immediate independence.

Perhaps, of all Americans, the Negro is best qualified to express what he believes to be the desires of the Indian people. For as the Indians have lived for nearly two centuries under the domination of the British, the American Negro has lived under the domination of their American counterparts. He looks back into United States history. He remembers the struggling colonies, populated by less than three millions—one-sixth slaves—but willing to risk a war against a mother country to gain independence. He remembers there was no unity within the young American republic at the beginning of the War for Independence, for the American people were divided between Royalists and revolutionists. He recommends that those who fear that withdrawal of British rule in India now will result in chaos and disunity recall the American nation in 1783, which under the challenge of responsibility for self-direction was able swiftly to achieve the necessary unity and internal strength to cast out foreign domination.

He remembers the "civil disobedience" campaign of the Boston Tea Party and the massacre on Boston Commons, where Crispus Attucks fell with other Americans. He remembers Patrick Henry's flaming outcry "Give me liberty or give me death"—comparable to Gandhi's present "Do or die" campaign. He remembers Thomas Jefferson's document, the Declaration of Independence, which says that life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, the inalienable rights of all men, are to be secured by governments "deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," and "that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter

or to abolish it, and institute a new government."

NEGRO SCANS HISTORY

The Negro reflects upon the Civil War, ostensibly fought to preserve the unity of the nation, and recognizes that the cause of the Union forces would have been lost indeed had it not been for the Emancipation Proclamation which freed the slaves and cut from under the Confederacy its labor force for the prosecution of the war. The mass uprisings of former slaves, who, answering the call to freedom, poured into the Union lines, helped to crush the resistance of the slave South.

The author of this appraisal is a young Negro writer whose work has appeared previously in THE CALL. National student chairman of the NAACP, she has been executive secretary for National Sharecroppers' Week and field representative for the Workers' Defense League. She was co-author of "All for Mr. Davis" and was a member of the delegation of prominent Negroes who tried in vain to see the president on the eve of Waller's execution.

He observes the recent talks between Churchill and Stalin about "this war for liberation against Hitlerism and all similar tyrannies." He learns from history that the great strides forward toward liberty, equality and fraternity over what seem to be impossible barriers have come during revolutionary upheavals, whether violent or non-violent, and he concludes there is neither justification nor excuse for Britain's high-handed approach to the Indian crisis. What stupidity and selfish national interest drives one country to hold another in bondage, to imprison its leaders and shoot down its citizens, in order to protect that country and the cause of the United Nations from the tyranny of the Japanese?

It is not difficult to understand the bitterness of Nehru and other Indian Nationalist leaders at the patronizing attitude of the British government toward the whole problem. The Negro gets it here at home in the paternalistic attitude of many southern white people (and some not from the south) who scotch the wheels of progress with the claim that the Negro is not yet ready for equality.

As a matter of fact, Nehru, recently speaking in the New York Times Magazine section of July 19, might easily been A. Philip Randolph, outstanding leader of America's largest minority. Change the word "Asia" to "Negro" and the word "independence" to "equality" and the comparison is complete. Listen to the words of the two men:

"Unless London and Washington begin to think in terms of today and of free and equal Asia, they will never reach a solution of the problems that confront them," says Nehru. "That solution lies in accepting the fact of full and equal freedom for all the countries of Asia, of giving up the doctrine of

racial superiority which is no monopoly of the Nazis and which we in India have known in its most intense form for many generations. It lies in the recognition of Indian independence, which will not only release the suppressed and pent up energies of a great nation but will be symbolic of a new freedom all over the world."

During the same week, in a letter to President Roosevelt protesting the electrocution of Odell Waller and subsequent lynchings and beatings of American Negroes, A. Philip Randolph said, "You have let slip an opportunity to do an act which would have electrified the world as a demonstration that American democracy has a single standard of justice, an act which would have had a catastrophic effect upon the morale of the Axis powers and found its way into the hearts of India, Africa, South America, China and the Pacific Islands. . . . Don't you see, Mr. President, this is not a repetition of anything that has happened before in the history of Negro-white relations? With the world in the agony of a war for the survival of sheer human decency the race issue in America is crucial to the whole struggle.

If the Negro is not given his full rights now, then the battle for Democracy is lost."

DEMOCRACY'S ACID TEST

These two men speaking simultaneously, oceans apart, stand shoulder to shoulder in voicing the desires of too many "little people" of the world to be wrong. They will be remembered in the hearts of men long after our great military strategists and diplomats have been forgotten. They speak from the anguish of great minds geared to a comprehensive analysis of world movements, minds whose wisdom is needed to help guide the world in its crisis of growth, and yet whose energies must be wasted in prison or by remaining a "loyal opposition" to the two leading democratic governments of the world.

The granting of immediate independence to India is an acid test of good faith and the truth of the war aims which the United Nations profess. Great Britain's folly in arresting Gandhi, Nehru and thousands of others can be cancelled out by the freeing of the Indian Nationalist leaders and a return to negotiations for India's freedom now. As her ally, the United States must make Great Britain realize (through the intelligent persuasion and firmness which this government's executive branch uses when it desires) that freedom for India is inevitable and that to delay it may be to sign her own death warrant—and perhaps ours. We cannot afford these costly mistakes—particularly in the name of democracy.

The eyes of the colored peoples of the world, including our own national minority of Negroes, are fixed upon India today. Do not let them turn away with only bitterness for a white civilization which has not the courage to put meaning into its own pronouncements of freedom for all.

The traveling Premier is shopping in the capitals of the world to save a cracking empire. Let him stop at New Delhi and deposit one of the Four Freedoms.

India News

R. LAL SINGH, Editor ★ 653 North New Hampshire : Los Angeles, California : Telephone NORMandy 8517

September 11, 1942

14753
SEP 14 1942

Dear Mr. White:

You will remember me, I am sure, as I am the person who spoke on India at the National Convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The Association has always stood for equality of peoples. India is no exception in needing the practical application of this principle.

We are issuing on a national scale some material on the subject of freedom for India, in which we ask that the President urge the Churchill government to act.

We would greatly appreciate either a personal statement by yourself of two or three sentences (literally two or three sentences; we do not ask you to spend a lot of time on this) or any resolution or statement on India that the National Association has passed.

Sincerely yours,

R. Lal Singh
R. Lal Singh, Editor India News
Member Indian National Congress

Mr. Walter White, President,
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York City, New York.

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MARYLAND COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRACY

328 NORTH CHARLES STREET, ROOM 204

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

PLAZA 6614
or
VERNON 6583

Executive Committee

DR. HAROLD BOSLEY
HERMAN FORNOFF
ELISABETH GILMAN
MRS. ANDREW HUFF
MRS. VICTOR P. NOYES
ELDER H. RUSSELL
ROWLAND WATTS

September 16, 1942

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City

SEP 18 1942
15727

Dear Mr. White:

Our organization, which is affiliated with the Post War World Council, is holding a meeting on India, on September 24th, as described in the enclosed post-card.

It would add greatly to the spirit of the meeting if we could read a message to the audience from you on the issue of India. We are therefore asking whether you will be so kind as to send us a message for the meeting as soon as possible. It will be read to the meeting as a telegram although there is time enough for you to send the message in the mail right away.

We will very much appreciate any message you can send our meeting and look forward to hearing from you in a few days.

Very sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

Purposes: 1. Enforcement of the Bill of Rights, with particular vigilance for the protection of freedom of speech, press and assembly, and the maintenance of religious tolerance and elimination of racial discrimination.
2. Equal distribution of the economic burden of war.
3. The earliest possible attainment of a just and lasting peace.

FREE INDIA NOW

Mass Meeting

Speakers:

Dr. Anup Singh, Editor, India Today
Director, India League of America.

I. T. Liu, International Representative,
Chinese Labor Federation.

Ridgely Hall

Cathedral & Saratoga Streets

Thursday, September 24 - 8 P.M.

Admission 15 cents -

Everybody welcome

Sponsored by Maryland Committee for Democracy
328 North Charles Street, Baltimore, Maryland

September 25, 1942

*Signing statement with
Pearl Buck & others
w. Indian.*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATION: (October 5)

Request that the Secretary, with some fifty other Americans, sign a statement prepared by Pearl Buck urging mediation by the United States in the Indian situation which is to appear in the New York Times on September 28. The Secretary agreed to sign it as an individual, with the understanding that his title was to be used for identification purposes only. He asks the approval of the Committee on Administration.

STANDARD TIME INDICATED	
RECEIVED	136#
TELEPHONE YOUR TELEGRAMS TO POSTAL TELEGRAPH	

Postal Telegraph

Mackay Radio
Commercial Cables



All America Cables
Canadian Pacific Telegraphs

THIS IS A FULL RATE TELEGRAM, CABLE,
GRAM OR RADIOGRAM UNLESS OTHERWISE
INDICATED BY SYMBOL IN THE PREAMBLE
OR IN THE ADDRESS OF THE MESSAGE.
SYMBOLS DESIGNATING SERVICE SELECTED
ARE OUTLINED IN THE COMPANY'S TARIFFS
ON HAND AT EACH OFFICE AND ON FILE WITH
REGULATORY AUTHORITIES.

Form 18

MA49N 46/45 NL=MA NEWYORK NY 27

WALTER WHITE=

69 FIFTH AVE (NEWYORK NY)=

LN SEP 27 PM 9
Indian situation

*Sorry
Please find out
10:30*

INDIA LEAGUE HOLDING PUBLIC MEETING TOWN HALL TUESDAY
SEPTEMBER 29TH 8:15 PM / SPEAKERS PEARL BUCK LIN YUTANG AND
OTHERS (STOP) WOULD VERY MUCH LIKE YOU AND YOUR FRIENDS
TO ATTEND / PLEASE CALL ME MONDAY PLAZA 3-7876 SO THAT WE
MAY ALLOT RESERVE SEATS FOR YOU.

J J SINGH:

29 8:15 PM 3-7876

9/28/41 9:25
WJ (C-7)

10:10
4th
D.O.

October 1st, 1942.

Mr. Walter White,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

15644

Dear Mr. White:

The group which drew up the statement on India which you signed will meet on Thursday afternoon, October 8th, at four o'clock in the apartment of Arthur J. Goldsmith, Waldorf-Astoria Towers, New York City. We will discuss what further action should be taken and the advisability of forming a permanent organization.

Please let me know whether you will join us.

Faithfully yours,

Guy Emery Shippler
Guy Emery Shippler



MINUTES OF CONFERENCE CALLED BY POST WAR WORLD COUNCIL

TO DISCUSS WHAT MIGHT BE DONE TO ORGANIZE A NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE
TO PROMOTE INDIA'S FREEDOM NOW

October 5, 1942

112 East 19th Street

PRESENT:

Mr. William K. Heffner of Free India Committee, Miss Miriam Farley, Institute of Pacific Relations, Mr. A. J. Muste, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Mr. Ralph Templin and Mr. Keane from School of Living, Mr. Herbert King, National Student Division of YMCA, Miss Virginia Clark, Youth Committee for Democracy, Miss Jean Conklin, Community Church, Miss Dorothy Detzer, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Miss Mary W. Hillyer and Mrs. Polly Boyden of Post War World Council, Dr. Anup Singh, India League, Miss Monica Owen, International Students' Service.

SUGGESTED PURPOSES:

1. To disseminate information.
2. To create an overtone of rising public opinion.
3. To organize pressure for mediation by U.S.A. and China.
4. To organize pressure against use of lease-lend material and American soldiers in India.
5. To ask Congress to pass two resolutions
 - (a) Recommending to the President that he use his influence toward mediation.
 - (b) Forbidding use of lease-lend material and American soldiers ~~in China~~ *against India*

SUGGESTED ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS TO BE ASKED TO COOPERATE:

YWCA, Methodist Student Movement, NAACP, March on Washington Committee, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Federal Council of Churches, Worker's Defense League, War Resister's League, NCPW, LID, World Federalists, Consumer's Cooperative League, Chinese Institute, Chinese News Service, League of Nations Association, American Friends' Service Committee Greater Participation of India in the War Committee, Farm organizations, Labor unions, Lin Yutang, Ray Newton, etc.

RESOLUTIONS:

A motion was made that this conference initiate the organization of a coordinating committee to advance the cause of India's freedom.

Passed.

A motion was made that initiating committee strongly recommend the chief purposes of coordinating committee to be:

- (a) mediation.
- (b) dissemination of information.
- (c) acceleration of public opinion.

Passed.

Those organizations now committed to this program are:

- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| (a) Fellowship of Reconciliation | (d) Free India Committee |
| (b) School of Living - staff as individuals | (e) W. I. L. |
| (c) Youth Committee for Democracy | (f) Post War World Council |
| (g) India League of America | |

#####

A G E N D A

CONFERENCE OF COORDINATING COMMITTEE TO FREE INDIA NOW

OCTOBER 19, 1942

3:00 P.M.

54 Irving Place

1. Roll Call
2. Minutes of Last Meeting.
3. Discussion of and assignments of immediate tasks
 - a. New Organizations and Individuals
 - b. Meetings.
 - c. Petitions and Letters
 - d. Publicity on Coordinating Committee.
4. Resolutions and Statements.
5. Date and Place of Next Meeting.

*3rd Monday in November
Regular meeting*

Next meeting Oct 29

MINUTES OF COORDINATING COMMITTEE ON INDIAN FREEDOM
Monday, October 19th, 3:00 P.M. 54 Irving Place

PRESENT: Prentice Thomas, N.A.A.C.P., Dorothy Detzer, W.I.L., James Farmer, F.O.R., Ralph Templin and Paul Keene, School for Living, Norman Thomas, Virginia Williams, and Polly Boyden from Post War World Council, J. Holmes Smith, W.R.L., H. Wierum Boulter, India League, Jean Lackey, Henry George School of Social Science, Bryan Hamlin, Interracial League of Suffolk County, Deborah E. Bennett, Youth Committee for Democracy, William K. Heffner, Free India Committee, Harry Fleischman, Socialist Party, Polly Robinson, Catholic Worker, Barbara Kreuger from office of K. Das, Margaret Lamont.

Presiding - Norman Thomas.

WASHINGTON REPORT BY DOROTHY DETZER:

1. I saw nine Senators personally to sound out possibility of getting a resolution on Indian issue presented before Congress. None of them would touch it. Their attitude reflected a profound ignorance of real significance of India's struggle aggravated by the fact that the tax bill was absorbing all their time and energy. I expect to pursue this issue further on my return to Washington and submit to this committee that Congress must have more pressure from the American people through petitions, etc., and through the personal intervention of prominent liberals.
2. R. V. Gogate, a disciple of Bose, has started a rival organization to the India League called League for Indian Independence. Ramlal Bajpai has bolted India League with him. Trouble started when Gogate, "dominant, vigorous, but with no judgment", sent out Senator Reynold's speech to promote an India meeting in Washington entirely disregarding all instructions to the contrary. Gogate insists that India League is too slow at getting things done.

PROGRAM FOR ACTION:

1. To back India League in every possible way against renegade League for Indian Independence. As Norman Thomas pointed out, this split is the very worst thing that could be done to the Indian cause, confirming (in the minds of the opposition), British-fostered opinion that Indians can't cooperate.
2. To get a deputation of very prominent liberals down to Washington (Pearl Buck, Louis Bromfield, etc.,) for the purpose of bringing pressure to bear on Congress and the President. It was suggested that the India League approach outstanding signers of the Indian advertisement. Urgency of this action was emphasized.
3. To consider strategical wording of resolution to be presented. Norman Thomas suggested that, if the objective situation in Washington does not warrant pressure for mediation, at this time, a resolution safe-guarding American troops and weapons in India might have more chance.
4. To activize labor on India issue; specifically, to get a resolution introduced at C.I.O. Convention being held in Boston, November 9. Harry Fleischman and J.J. Singh were detailed to approach union leaders and it was suggested that Singh be urged to speak at Convention. Miss Detzer pointed out that to get a labor resolution on India here through to the English Labor Party would be of enormous propaganda value to our cause.

PAGE 2

5. To set up a clearing house of important correspondence on India issue sent and received by participating organizations. Copies of all such correspondence should be sent to the Post War World Council, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.
6. To begin thinking about Indian independence Day, January 26th, and to find out exactly what the India League has planned by way of celebration and what they want us to do.

RESOLUTIONS:

It was moved and seconded that a special meeting of the Coordinating Committee on Indian Freedom be held Thursday, October 29th, at 3:00 P.M. to hear Miss Detzer's report on Washington and Harry Fleischman's report on labor and to act upon these urgent issues.

Passed.

It was moved and seconded that a regular meeting of the committee be held the third Monday of every month.

Passed.

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S T A T E M E N T

Mahatma Gandhi, Pundit Nehru, Maulana Azad, Mrs. Gandhi, Madame Naidu, Miss Slade and many thousands of their associates in the All-India Congress Party are now in prison in India, their native land.

The release of these men and women is a necessary first step toward the settlement of India's problem. No settlement can be made without consultation with these Indian Congress leaders, and while they are in prison no consultation is possible. But the release of Gandhi and his associates is also a matter of dignity and honor. We hang our heads in shame while these heroic champions of liberty languish in confinement. We are stricken with confusion when Indians are asked to fight for a freedom for others which is denied to themselves. Thousands of right-minded men and women in Great Britain are pleading for the release of Mahatma Gandhi and all imprisoned Indians. We join this plea. In addition we petition our President for friendly intercession on their behalf. They must be free, that the World itself may be free.

Name _____

Address _____

Dr. Guy Emery Shieler
425 Fourth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

For Immediate Release

172-13

AMERICAN ROUND TABLE ON INDIA FORMED

NEW YORK—Formation of a national organization called the American Round Table on India to develop a body of informed American opinion on India and her relation to the war effort is announced by Dr. Guy Emery Shieler, editor of The Churchman and chairman of the new group.

"Wendell L. Willkie in his report of his trip to Asia told the American people that by our silence on India we have already drawn heavily on our reservoir of good will in the Far East," Dr. Shieler said. "After several months of deliberation members of the Round Table have likewise come to the conclusion that we must end our silence and come forward with concrete proposals leading toward a conciliatory solution of the Indian problem."

The aims of the new group were set forth in the following statement:

"The American Round Table on India was founded for the free discussion and better understanding of India and her problems in relation to the United Nations and their war effort. Its members are representative Americans, united by a common concern for the cause of human freedom everywhere and by a common desire that the bonds between the United Nations be strengthened.

"The Round Table will endeavor to make available pertinent facts and analyses on the subject of India, and from time to time to make public its consensus on important developments in the relations between India and the United Nations.

"The crisis in India, with its grave threat to its security as well as to the war effort of the United Nations in that vital strategic area, is causing alarm among a growing section of enlightened opinion in Great Britain, the United States, China, Russia and other members of the United Nations.

"From China and from many organs of British opinion have come urgent pleas for the help of the United States, together with other leading members of the United Nations, toward ending the deadlock. There is a growing realization everywhere that the war might be indefinitely prolonged in the event of Axis successes in India.

"The difficulties in adjusting the political relationships among people of

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"The difficulties in adjusting the political relationships among people of so many different faiths, origins, languages and social strata are great but not insurmountable. The people of the United States together with a large part of the people of Great Britain recognize the importance of granting independence to the people of India. Representatives of both Great Britain and the people of India have from time to time, particularly recently, wrestled with the difficulty with an unquestioned sincerity.

"Those most anxious for a solution of the impasse are those most friendly to Great Britain and most aware of the unyielding determination with which she is fighting fascist aggression. There is no justification for the obstructionist attitude of some reactionary groups in Great Britain nor for the unrealistic conduct of some Indian leaders who, regardless of the danger that threatens them, have set in motion the passive resistance movement with all its attendant risks of sabotaging the defense of India against Japan.

"We make no pretense of knowing the solution to those differences. We merely know that it is of the most crucial importance to India and to the cause of the United Nations that a solution be found immediately.

"Extremists in India and extremists in Great Britain should not be permitted to render India less than fully prepared, spiritually as well as physically, to resist Japanese attacks. We therefore strongly urge the President of the United States to offer to Great Britain the services of the American government toward bringing about a conciliation between the British government and the Indian groups, to the end that they obtain the full and enthusiastic participation of the people of India in this war for world freedom."

The Round Table has established headquarters at 425 Fourth Avenue in New York City, with Robert Norton as secretary and Arthur J. Goldsmith as treasurer.

The executive committee consists of the officers and Louis Adamic, Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, Douglas Auchincloss, Richard J. Cronan, E. Snell Hall, Mrs. J. Preston Irwin, Philip J. Jaffe, Albert D. Lasker, Ralph Lowell, Kate L. Mitchell, Richard B. Scandrett, Jr., Frank V. Slack, Prof. G. Nye Steiger, John R. Tunis and Richard J. Walsh.

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Margaret Sanger, D. A. Saunders, Michael Schaap, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Dr.
Joseph R. Sizoo, Dr. J. Duane Squires, Prof. W. F. Stinespring, Channing H. Tobias,
Dr. Henry Trust, Dr. N. B. Van Etten, Sidney Wallach, Bishop A. J. Walls, Sidney
A. Weston and Dr. Mary E. Woolley. Other names will be added to this list from
time to time.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1942

ROOSEVELT ACTION ON INDIA IS URGED

*New Round Table Asks Him to
Aid in Conciliation Effort*

Declaring the crisis in India is a grave threat both to India's security and to the war program of the United Nations, a new national organization called the American Round Table on India urged yesterday that President Roosevelt attempt "to bring about a conciliation between the British Government and the Indian groups."

Its statement said urgent pleas for the help of the United States to end the deadlock have come from China, from many organs of British opinion and from other leading members of the United Nations.

The organization is headed by Dr. Guy Emery Shipley, editor of *The Churchman*, and has offices at 425 Fourth Avenue. The executive committee consists of Louis Adamic, Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, Douglas Auchincloss, Richard J. Cronan, E. Snell Hall, Mrs. J. Preston Irwin, Philip J. Jaffee, Albert D. Lasker, Ralph Lowell, Kate L. Mitchell, Richard B. Scandrett Jr., Professor G. Nye Steiger, John R. Tunis, Richard J. Walsh, Robert Norton, secretary; Arthur J. Goldsmith, treasurer, and Dr. Shipley.

Asserting that "those most anxious for a solution of the impasse are those most friendly to Great Britain and most aware of the unyielding determination with which she is fighting fascism," the statement said "we make no pretense of knowing the solution."

"Extremists in India and extremists in Great Britain should not be permitted to render India less than fully prepared, spiritually as well as physically, to resist Japanese attacks," it continued. "We therefore strongly urge the President of the United States to offer to Great Britain the services of the American Government toward bringing about a conciliation between the British Government and the Indian groups, to the end that they obtain the full and enthusiastic participation of the people of India in this war for world freedom."

*Returned
card*

MRS. JOHN GUNTHER

EIGHT WEST FORTIETH STREET

NEW YORK, N. Y.

*Ind. Independence
T. Day*

December 26, 1942

ch 10-127

Dear Mr. White:

20-37

It would be a major tragedy to the cause of the United Nations if the deadlock in India were forgotten or underestimated in the rejoicing over our offensives in other parts of the world.

Many of us believe that what is needed now above all is frank and open discussion of India's problems by experts, to the end that American public opinion may be based on facts rather than uninformed prejudice. This is a global war - let us not forget that. We shall have to write a global peace if this war is to be fought to lasting good. Each of the United Nations must have the assurance that its particular problems and needs will be understood and respected when we meet to draw up the peace.

In cooperation with the India League of America, the authoritative and responsible organization interpreting India's ideals to this country, Louis Adamic, John Chamberlain and I have been in touch with a number of writers and newspaper correspondents who know India, and will speak honestly of the situation.

January 26th is India Independence Day. We have decided to mark this date by holding a dinner-forum at the Hotel Biltmore with distinguished speakers who will present different aspects of India's problem today. Pearl Buck, Louis Fischer and William Shirer have already agreed to speak. We hope that Lin Yutang and Dr. Syud Hossain will also be there. Each of these men and women has made a profound study of this vital question.

Will you join us on the Committee of Sponsors of this dinner, thereby indicating your general approval of a wider discussion of the Indian situation towards a better understanding of the ideals which animate 400,000,000 men and women in India today? I shall be very glad to receive your acceptance on the enclosed card.

Yours sincerely,

Frances Gunther

Frances Gunther

COORDINATING COMMITTEE ON INDIAN FREEDOM
Room 706 - 112 East 19th Street
New York City

DEC 29 1942

Dear Friend:

2071

The Annual Convention of the C.I.O. meeting in Boston last month, unanimously passed a resolution reading, in part, as follows:

"RESOLVED, that the CIO supports the aspirations of the Indian people for the national independence needed to mobilize their energies and resources for a full part in the war against Axis aggression.

"The CIO urges the President of the United States to exert his influence to secure the liberation of the Indian Congress leaders now imprisoned and the immediate resumption of negotiations between the British government and the representatives of the Indian people looking toward the establishment of a national government in India that will mobilize the people and resources of that country for total war and total victory over the Axis."

Representatives of organizations attending the October 19th meeting of the Coordinating Committee on Indian Freedom will remember that concrete steps toward effecting the presentation and adoption of the resolution were taken that afternoon. The commitments made were carried out and may have contributed materially toward this gratifying endorsement by the CIO of the principles for which we stand.

On January 26th, 1943, Indian National Independence Week will be inaugurated by a dinner at the Biltmore, sponsored by the India League of America. Pearl S. Buck and William Shirer will be among the speakers. It is hoped that a nation-wide hook-up will broadcast the speeches made on that occasion to other similar dinners elsewhere.

Individuals and representatives of organizations receiving this letter are urged to attend the New York dinner and to assist, through their national affiliations, in the promotion of large and small meetings in other cities that evening and the week following.

The India League wishes to be kept informed of organizational or individual efforts to dramatize this event. Please communicate with the League at their new offices - 40 East 49th Street, New York City. The telephone number is PLaza 3-5088.

Cordially,

Polly Boyden

Secretary for the Coordinating Committee

Policy of Force To Stay in India, Come What May

Most Important Attempt to
Revolt Since the Sepoy
Mutiny Stiffened Rule

By Sonia Tomara

By Telephone to the Herald Tribune
Copyright, 1942, New York Tribune Inc.

NEW DELHI, India (via London), Sept. 22 (Delayed).—Distress grips you tighter every day you pass in this capital of India, trying to understand the gigantic problems facing it and to find an honest solution. The gravity of the situation in wartime is self-evident, yet no remedy indicated by one side or the other appears to be adequate to relieve it. I will try to describe the state of things as I see it after two weeks in India. It is a short time and yet those who have been here many years are likely to be more entangled than I in the details and hence unable to see the main points.

In the words of one of India's high officials, this country during the last month has passed through the most important attempt at rebellion since the great Sepoy Mutiny in 1857, deep scars of which Delhi still bears. The recent outbreak certainly did not equal the Sepoy revolt in force or violence, but it showed the state of general unrest and resentment. It was "nipped in the bud" a man in position to know told me. Only the echo of it is still heard.

I arrived here when it was coming to an end and today we are allowed to say what the government had not wanted the enemy to know before: that for a short period, at least, the communications were badly damaged, the distribution of supplies hampered and the steel and textile industries were on strike. For about a month it was difficult to travel between Delhi and Calcutta. Many thousands of workers in the important Tata steel plant took their three months bonus, paid by the owners, and walked out for two weeks.

Mill Owners Back Gandhi

All this is a story of the past. The workers returned when the bonus was spent. According to some sources, they never wanted to strike, but were induced to do so by the

Nations and how the British prevent them.

Cheap Quinine Project

A well known doctor wanted to start a quinine plantation and distribute the drug cheaply to malaria-affected peasants. The government did not permit it, and now, my hostess said, there is a shortage of quinine when malaria is raging. This woman is surrounded by Moslems who are supporting the Congress party. According to her, the feeling between the Moslems and the Hindus has been stirred up artificially, and that all Indians are alike and all want freedom.

She related an incident which happened during the recent disturbance: a postoffice was burned by a rebellious mob and two Moslem officials were stoned to death; whereupon the Moslem leaders of the mob told the Hindus present to go home so as not to permit the authorities to describe the riot as a religious one. The Moslems were ready to take all the blame for the arson and murder.

This may have been an isolated instance. It is so difficult in India to know the final truth. Here in Delhi we see only those Indians who are engaged in politics and there is little accord between them. We do not know what people at large think, but one thing is clear: only Indians that have government jobs defend the government in its present policy of force. All others criticize it, even if from different viewpoints. A most significant statement was issued last week by a very moderate leader, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who differs sharply from the Congress party leaders. He said the craving for freedom is a genuine feeling shared by the Indian masses, even those who are not supporting the Congress party. This view is reflected by the Assembly's debate.

Yet, for the present, there is no chance of freedom for the Indians. The doors are closed by the government, whose members say, with logic, that it is impossible to negotiate with the Indians so soon after an attempt at rebellion. The Congress party leaders remain the most representative of all and the British jailed those considered rebels. No step will be made, for a long time at least, to extend a hand to them.

Political men of other parties hoped they would be called to form a government, but it seems to be the present government's view that such a regime would not help. This is why the policy of force will be maintained throughout India, whatever the consequences it may bring.

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The National Resources Planning
Board issued suggestions for gaining

It is admitted here in government circles that the authorities were taken somewhat by surprise by the systematic attacks on communication lines. This caused momentary success of the attack. Now the situation is well in hand and, according to British officials, there is no more fear of surprise. In the words of one of them: "There may be trouble again if the Japanese attack India, but less than there has been now. Police apparatus has been overhauled and the government has shown its strength. We are well prepared for any eventuality."

This is the viewpoint of the British and Indian officials. If you listen to Indians who are not in the government, not only Congress party followers out so-called moderates, the story is different. They say that what has happened has severed all bridges between the Indian people and the British and has proved that the solution can only be attained by violence.

Rival Hunger Strikes

It is naturally difficult for the newcomer to know what is happening in the country at large. The British resent strongly American tendency to sympathize with the Congress party and to criticize British action in India. They say that they have been here 200 years and know how to handle the situation better than we do, which is doubtless true. However, it is impossible to overlook the mistakes they have made in recent times and the antagonism they have aroused. American support is particularly sought by Indian Nationalists, and American correspondents are made to listen to all Indian grievances, and their argument that if immediate and complete independence were granted them, all would go well and India would go all out to fight the Axis.

I had a dinner in a beautiful Moslem home where the hostess was still bashful though completely out of the Purdah. We ate on the moonlit lawn and among the men the conversation naturally turned to politics. I listened, but then my hostess began to talk to me in a low voice. Gradually her words became more ardent and her criticism of the English more pointed. She told how the civilized Indians are anxious to support the United

Cheap Quinine Project

She related an incident which happened during the recent disturbance: a postoffice was burned by a rebellious mob and two Moslem officials were stoned to death; whereupon the Moslem leaders of the mob told the Hindus present to go home so as not to permit the authorities to describe the riot as a religious one. The Moslems were ready to take all the blame for the arson and murder.⁹

Yet, for the present, there is no chance of freedom for the Indians. The doors are closed by the government, whose members say, with logic, that it is impossible to negotiate with the Indians so soon after an attempt at rebellion. The Congress party leaders remain the most representative of all and the British jailed those considered rebels. No step will be made, for a long time at least, to extend a hand to them.

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India News

Edited by
R. LAL SINGH

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FOR AMERICAN FRIENDS

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JUNE, 1942

Grant India National Government Now

CRIPPS REPORTS TO
PARLIAMENT ON HIS
MISSION TO INDIA

THE LORD PRIVY SEAL'S REPORT TO PARLIAMENT ON HIS FAILURE AT NEW DELHI REVEALED NO NEW FACTS AND OFFERED NO NEW HOPES.

It repeated, and more often permitted to be inferred by implication, that the causes of the New Delhi breakdown were disagreements in India. There were also a few references to Indian characterists which was in the true family tradition of British Imperialism. As for the reality of the situation, Sir Stafford Cripps preferred not to deal with the root causes and only glossed over the real and proximate reasons for the breakdown. He admitted, however, that the final cause of the breakdown was "the form of the temporary government that should be in power till the end of the war and the coming into operation of the new constitution." Sir Stafford Cripps' explanation on this vital point is very significant in what it does not tell us. Having permitted the inference both by his speech and all his previous statements that it was due to Indian disunities, he went no further in his speech than to say that the position demanded by the Congress would have created an Executive Council responsible to itself and to no one else, and that "I am quite confident that none of the minorities would have accepted such a position, and least of all the Moslems." Thus on this crucial point all the evidence we have is the confidence that Sir Stafford felt, and not what we ourselves may deduce from the facts. In an interview later in the debate Sir Stafford admitted that "it

Continued on page 2, col. 1)

Resistance to aggression can only be effective under a free National Government—Nehru

EDITORIAL

IS THERE AN AMERICAN GOEBBELS?

The campaign to smear India as a land of disharmonies and a people unfit to enjoy the fruits of democracy, conveniently goes on in a section of the American press and a number of monthly journals. Oftimes I have pondered on the origin of these diatribes. I have wondered whether, in America, there lives a Dr. Goebbels whose signature underwrites the blasts of infamy which discourages a fuller understanding of the Indian people's aspiration by the United Nations. Truth and freedom are for all and I can do no more for the cause of the United Nations and the American people than to raise my voice in behalf of my country and my people and in behalf of the Colonial peoples everywhere whose aspiration to liberty and freedom are tantamount to the cause to which we are all committed.

DEPLORABLE INTRANSIGENCE

The Cripps Mission has not assisted the task of the Indian national movement of organising resistance to fascism. It has impeded it, and the disillusionment and bitterness it has created is affecting the Congress program and making its lone task more difficult of implementing. It is deplorable and incredible that there is still a government which refuses to assimilate unmistakable truths demonstrated so tragically in recent months. That is, that planes, tanks and guns do not constitute the total defense of a nation, but the will of the people spoken in terms of liberty and freedom are tantamount to the defense of their land against the destructive forces unleashed upon us all.

This fact must clearly be understood by the British Government and her allies and must be acted upon at once by the United Nations.

DO WE LACK FAITH IN OUR WORLD POLICY?

It is known that Indian resources are being tapped in increasing quantities, that new industries are springing up everywhere to produce arms and equipment for the allied armies, but of the Indian people—what of them? Those who would unleash powerful forces free and unrestrained in the defense of freedom are enchained and struck down from popular effectiveness by men who still strangely believe in the colors of the old school ties. Do they still lack faith in a new and free India? Or can it be that they lack faith in the policy that they have set for themselves—that they have set for all peoples upon whom their own freedom and liberty depends?

The action on this point alone lies at the door-step of the United Nations. It is urgent and integral to the promise of the future of all humanity.

(Continued on Page 2)



JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

NEHRU REBUKES HALIFAX

"Viscount Halifax still continues to read us sermons and tell us how insignificant we are in this great land of India," says Jawaharlal Nehru, "perhaps so, then why trouble about us with proposals?" Nehru bluntly put it as he referred to an untimely speech made in New York by the British Ambassador on April 7th, 1942.

Lord Halifax said on April 7th that, according to his information, the rejection of the Cripps proposals was likely.

"In other words," continued Nehru, "the British Ambassador was suggesting that it would make no difference to the war if the British did not reach a settlement with the Congress. It is remarkable that a few days after this speech was made, the British Government seemed to alter its previous attitude about the formation of an Indian National Cabinet—a fact which led to the abrupt collapse of the negotiations."

(Continued from page 1)

quite true that I did not discuss the minority question with the Congress, but that does not mean there was no difficulty. I was discussing with all minorities. Naturally it was not a matter that I discussed with Congress." It seems a little difficult to follow this sort of argument in view of the peril in which we find ourselves.

It is evident from all that happened at New Delhi and even from the Lord Privy Seal's report to Parliament that the principal parties to the negotiations were the British Government and the Congress, and that it was for a general settlement of the Indian problem. Yet we are told that the main difficulty (according to the Lord Privy Seal) was not even discussed with Congress, and, what is more, is not considered as within the "natural sphere of relevant discussion." The implication of the statement is that the parties to and future or present settlement in India are the British Government and the "minorities" on the one hand, and the Congress and the united forces of the Indian people on the other. If this be the case the continuance of British authority to protect their side which will have to remain on Indian soil is a foregone and inevitable conclusion. The independence of India or any part of it on those conditions is a facade for the cloaking of British power.

WHAT MAY BE DEDUCED FROM THE LORD PRIVY SEAL'S SPEECH

From what the Lord Privy Seal told Parliament and what he omitted to say it is clear that the "minority" question is being used, as hitherto, to mask the unwillingness of the British Government to transfer power. Sir Stafford accepts, again in the true imperialist tradition, the arguments of the "martial" and the non-martial classes. His visits to the USSR and China and his own associations in the past with India are less apparently powerful in shaping his present views and actions about the role of a people in the defence of their country than those forces which have always ruled India and the Empire.

Perhaps the more significant part of this epilogue on the Cripps Mission was not the speech of the Lord Privy Seal. The approbation that he received

EDITORIAL . . .

(Continued from page 1)

WHAT WE SHOULD KNOW

India, in plain fact, is the pivot round which the whole United Nations effort revolves. In plain fact too, the independence of India is necessary as part of the supreme effort of the United Nations as expressed in the Atlantic Charter.

It must be demanded by the British and American peoples without ceasing, that freedom for India and the Colonial peoples must in all sincerity be realized now and not be relegated to some distant future. This means the implementing of swift and radical changes by men of initiative and bold venture. It calls for the ultimate use of sound logic by those men who direct the destinies of the United Nations.

Indian leaders have spoken long and patiently of the future and have always been ready to act in terms of common sense and realism. It now no longer can be said that the Indian people are unaware of the danger at their doorstep . . . history tells a different story.

WHAT THE FORCES OF FREEDOM DEMAND

Historic months have passed before us. Tragic though they have been, we have seen the growth of new faith. A new enlightenment has swept the countries of the world. New understandings and new alignments have taken place giving hope and confidence for the future of all races. All these happenings cannot but have historic effect upon India and the Colonial Empire. Yet, we must admit that their own long struggle to emerge from the grip of a devastating and old system remains unaltered.

The forces of freedom demand that tokens must give way to greater realities if the Indian and Colonial peoples are to be convinced that they shall share in equal measure the fruits of the future.

The Indian and the Colonial peoples fit into this great struggle only as free men . . . as such they are potent allies; as subject peoples they are a danger to themselves and to the greater cause. To solve this problem the United Nations need not look upon these peoples for the solution, but to themselves. It is the moral challenge of humanity flung into the laps of those who are heads of the United Nations.

from old diehards in the House of Commons, the arguments of those who came to his rescue and showered him with praise, and the arguments he himself marshalled in his attempt to prove that his failure was due to causes inherent in Indian conditions, and not in the inadequacy and unsuitability of the proposals that he took with him and the approach he made, proclaim the real reason for his failure. This is sought to be clouded not only by raising other issues, but also by the axiomatic references to sincerity and goodwill.

REALITY OF THE CRIPPS NEGOTIATIONS

The reality is that the mission entrusted to the Lord Privy Seal was that of obtaining Indian agreement to the policy of the British Government as contained in its declaration of August 8th, 1940. In fact, this was stated to be its function by the Pre-

mier in his speech in Parliament on the 11th, March, 1942.

The British "negotiation" in India were with the Congress alone. Congress allowed itself to be drawn into them as it is alive to the realities of the Indian and the world situation today. It is anxious to do everything it can to unite effectively, even if temporarily, the power of the State and the people. This alone will maximise the resistance to the perils that threaten India and the cause of the United Nations in the East. It negotiated because the Lord Privy Seal's original approach at New Delhi to the problem of interim settlement was on the basis of a national government in India in which the Viceroy would be only a constitutional head, and the Indian Executive would have all powers of a government with reservations on defense. It negotiated because the Lord Privy Seal did not initially take up the

position he subsequently took, and now maintains, that the Central Government of India would not be popularly constituted or endowed with effective power and initiative. On the contrary, he gave the Congress leaders to understand that a national cabinet was possible within the limits of Clause E of his proposals.

He stated that:—

- a these proposals cannot be altered in fundamentals;
- b they represent the unanimous view of the British Cabinet;
- c they would undoubtedly command the acceptance of the British Parliament;
- d they are amenable to modification (and probably enlargement) in details;
- e they will be operated only if he (Sir Stafford) is able to obtain the agreement of the principal sections of opinion in India to them

He later stated that:

- a the proposals must be accepted or rejected in their entirety;
- b he would decide whether there is necessary agreement or not;
- c he would stay in India for a short and specified time (ten days) to ascertain this.

The proposals fall into two parts:

1. THE FUTURE

- a Objective and goal;

2. THE PRESENT

- b Method;
- c British role.

His present position is entirely different. He stated it in almost the same terms as used by Mr. Amery in August of 1940, when he was asked to agree to the establishment of an interim national government by making the Viceroy's Council a Cabinet de facto, and thus bring about an interim settlement.

It would probably be unfair to charge the Government with the antics of some of its supporters who followed in the debate, but the fact that Sir Stafford's most ardent supporters were the diehards in all parties who have attacked the Indian National movement, her unity, her culture and her title or capacity to win freedom, in every Indian debate, is not without significance.

MR. AMERY'S SPEECH IN THE DEBATE

The last speech in the debate was that of the Secretary of State for India. It is unnecessary to analyze it. It is the same as all previous ones. It has not

changed in tone or in its capacity to exacerbate Indian sentiment. Mr. Amery's speech summing up the debate also sums up the reasons for the failure of the Lord Privy Seal. It restated the Government position as it was two years ago, "ever since the Government came into office." That position has not changed. Where then, was the basis of a settlement, and why did Sir Stafford Cripps go to India?

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

The post-mortem on the Cripps Mission is now ended. **WHAT ABOUT THE FUTURE FACING US GRIM AND PERILOUS?** The Government of Britain says nothing more can be done. Mr. Amery re-announced the old position which the Lord Privy Seal has already restated, though in less disagreeable language. The Congress has stated that it will not initiate any approaches to the British Government. There is no basis for such an approach on its side unless there is a change in British policy. This change therefore is the crux of further negotiations and a settlement. That settlement is delayed at a grave and common peril. It does not permit of the complacency displayed by Parliament during the India debate.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE MUST ACT NOW TO UNLEASH THE ENERGIES OF THE INDIAN AND COLONIAL PEOPLES.

GANDHI ON THE PROPOSALS AND ITS BEARER

"The fact is," said Mr. Gandhi, "that Sir Stafford Cripps having become part of the Imperial machinery, unconsciously partook of its quality. It is a thousand pities that the British Government should have sent proposals for dissolving the deadlock which, on the face of them, were too ridiculous to find acceptance anywhere. And it was a misfortune that the bearer should have been Sir Stafford Cripps, acclaimed as a radical among radicals and a friend of India. He should have known at least that Congress would not look at Dominion Status, even though it carried the right of secession the very moment it was taken.

"He knew too, that the proposal contemplated splitting up India into three parts, each having different ideas of government. It contemplated Pakistan

(separate Moslem States), and yet not a Pakistan of the Moslem League's conception, and, last of all, it gave no real control over defense to responsible Ministers." Thus wrote Mr. Gandhi in his paper Harijan, in an article entitled "That Ill-fated Proposal," which appeared on April 19, 1942.

"WE MUST ARM THE PEOPLE OF INDIA . . ."

—JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

"An Indian Defense Minister could raise a People's Army that would fight for every yard of Indian earth with the same fierce determination as the Russian peasants are showing," said Pandit Nehru on April 7, 1942.

But the British Government refuses to transfer such powers to an Indian Defense Minister. Nehru has stated that the list of functions that the War Cabinet was willing to transfer to an Indian Minister was comic. He was to confine himself to appealing for recruits (of whom there is no shortage), of looking after existing arms production, communications, etc. This list would have made the position of the Defense Minister ridiculous in the eyes of the public, commented Nehru.

WHAT CONGRESS WISHED TO DO IN INDIA

The Indian National Congress did not desire to interfere with the strategical functions at present exercised by General Wavell. What Congress asked for was to arm the people at once and train a Home Guard or militia quickly, so that, if the enemy landed in any province, planned resistance could be offered before the regular troops arrived across the vast distances of India. Nehru believes that India can produce three or four times her present arms output. He says that India is better equipped with factories to arm her people than were Spain and China when they began to fight. At the present these factories and workshops are Government-owned or Government-controlled. There is no Home Guard. Only a few privileged civilians and Government servants are permitted to carry small arms. Outside the regular army, India is unarmed.

WHO IS ON THE NATIONAL DEFENSE COUNCIL?

Control of Indian Defense is vested in the Viceroy in Council, and he is required to pay due obedience to orders from the Sec-

retary of State Mr. L. S. Amery. In the Viceroy's Council the Defense Minister and the Commander-in-Chief are one and the same man, General Wavell. Defense policy and defense expenditure is outside the control of the Indian Legislative Assembly at New Delhi. Last year a National Defense Council was set up consisting largely of Princes and notables. They can only advise. They meet for a few days once every two months.

WHAT ABOUT THE INDIAN ARMY?

No finer example of fighting men can be found anywhere else. Indian soldiers have won honors on every battlefield in this war and the last. But for a country of 388 millions of people the present army is far too small. Even if the million and a half of the Indian Army had all been trained and fully equipped according to Aldershot specifications, they are still not numerous enough to fight in Libya, Syria, Iran, Burma and defend the whole of India and Ceylon at the same time. India, being a country the size of Europe, requires a force larger than the army Belgium had, or Poland. The Army of Free China number some twelve millions though they are not fully mechanized or fully equipped, but they can fight as they have proven by fighting the Japanese to a standstill for five long years now. Indian factories produce large quantities rifles, light machine-guns, mortars, grenades, explosives, uniforms and boots . . . all basic equipment for militia . . . for guerilla warfare.

HOW A GREAT LACK MAY BE FILLED

There is a vital lack of instructors and officers in India. Before the war it took two and a half years to turn out an Indian officer, and there were only three military schools. It still takes eighteen months to turn one out now. Meanwhile the Japanese do not wait while India trains her new officers. There must be improvisation. The men who fought in the International Brigade in Spain were trained in six weeks. Their officers came from many countries. But those ragged troops led by these officers held Madrid. Similarly, China may lend India instructors, or America or Australia . . . men who have fought the enemy . . . men who know his tactics.

INDIAN WAR INDUSTRY MUST BE EXPANDED MORE RAPIDLY

Had the Government of India planned the expansion of Indian war industry on the basis of making India self-sufficient in tanks, aircraft, artillery, warships and so on, there might have been no collapse in the Eastern theatre of war. Supplies of tanks and planes and other equipment to Russia and China would not have had to be shipped thousands of miles by sea. In all the arms factories (according to the latest figures available) there are only 50,000 workers. Yet, there are hundreds of thousands of engineers, mechanics and technicians in civil life. India is the second largest producer of iron ore in the British Empire; the same is true of the production of coal. In all but special steels, the steel industry can meet nearly all the requirements of India's defense forces.

Vice-Admiral Sir Herbert Fitzherbert, Flag Officer Commanding the Royal Indian Navy said on March 24, 1942, that corvettes and other small craft were building at Calcutta, Bombay, Karachi and Cochin . . . he was sure that with proper training India could build her own cruisers and other warships in course of time . . . there is no time to lose . . . this is the time . . . not in due course.

FAILURE TO MEET INDIAN DEMANDS IMPERILS UNITED NATION'S EFFORT

"Under a National Government there would be no room for slackers, Indian or English. The war would cease to be an evening-dress affair. Tea-parties and dances would stop." Thus did Nehru comment on the ability of a National Government's to mobilize man-power and resources throughout India.

The present Government of India has demonstrated its lack of prevision, its failure to mobilize the people and its unwillingness to face up to the harsh reality of total war and total war effort. It, unfortunately bears an immediate responsibility for the grave peril in which India, China, Russia and Britain herself stand today. The United Nations should realize this one fact deeply, that India cannot be defended by a few divisions of British, American and Indian soldiers . . . India needs a mass army, navy, air-force, and civil defense. All of which is in the

realm of possibility with the setting up of a National Government.

NEHRU ISSUES CALL TO HIS PEOPLE FROM CALCUTTA

Speaking from Calcutta to the Indian people, Jawaharlal Nehru appealed to the Indian People to avoid a complacent attitude and develop a spirit of resistance to any aggressor who might attempt to invade Indian soil.

"It is obvious, said he, "that on no account must we submit to any aggressor. Any foreign army that came in would try to make a home for themselves in India, and once they had established, it would be very difficult to deal with them or dislodge them easily in the future. Today the question of non-cooperation with the British did not arise, because non-cooperation with the British inevitably meant an invitation to the Japanese to come to India and it meant enormous help to the Japanese army."

SOME OBJECTIONS AND ANSWERS TO THEM IN RELATION TO A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA.

(1) A National Government so involved by Indian opinion would change the entire basis of policy and administration in India.

ANSWER: The statement is true and the contention valid. But it is not comprehensible why this should be stated as an objection. It is the conclusive argument for bringing about the transformation.

(2) A transformed Viceroy's council would be responsible whether only to itself or to the major political parties in India. This is undemocratic and leads to the tyranny of parties.

ANSWER: (a) If an interim government of the kind suggested cannot be made more fully responsible to a legislature it is because elections in India, major constitutional changes and the alteration of the Legislatures to fully elected bodies are ruled out by the British Government. Indian national opinion considers these possible and would welcome them.

(b) In law the Executive Council would presumably be responsible to the Governor-General. In fact it would be responsible to public opinion. In a limited way it would even owe

responsibility to the legislatures as a government of that kind would not be able to carry on without the confidence of the majority in the central legislature and without the cooperation of provincial governments (which are popular governments).

(c) The relations between the British Cabinet and Parliament are not regulated by Statute but are the result of practice (conventions) which represent political and not legal changes. Responsibility of governments to Parties is a recognized element in Parliamentary Governments.

(3) "A National Government," says Sir Stafford Cripps, would mean the rule of a "tyrannical majority."

ANSWER: The allegations and implications of this regrettable observation by Sir Stafford are not borne out by facts.

(a) The Congress does not seek to set up the Government of a party at the centre. It is not seeking power for itself but for the Indian people as a whole.

(b) There is nothing in Congress record either as a movement or a government to show that it is "tyrannical." It exercises very powerful discipline over its followers but the sanction behind the discipline is not the threat of prison or torture but public opinion.

(c) As governments in the provinces its record belies this allegation. Its achievements in the service of minorities and treatment of them is a creditable one standing in contrast to that of previous British administrations. A Government White Paper (issued in 1939) referred to those governments as having "a distinguished record of public achievement during the last 2½ years."

(d) The Congress functions democratically. Congress elections, discussions reached or about to be reached, go on all over the country in huge meetings and committees. Its composition precludes it from being tyrannical to any section of the Indian population.

(e) In any case, the rule of a majority cannot be worse than the rule of an autocratic Viceroy or of the Bureaucracy who is not responsible to anyone, is out of touch with Indian opinion and has no appreciation of world events.

(4) No party other than Congress, says Sir Stafford Cripps, will accept a solution based on a national government.

ANSWER: (a) The White Paper published by the Government on the New Delhi negotiations belies this allegation.

(b) The Moderates made the same demand and pointed out that it was the minimum demanded by all parties.

(c) The demands made by other groups such as the Sikhs were not in opposition to a national government but for representation in such a government. In fact, Sir Stafford himself has stated that if the Congress had agreed other parties would have entered into such a Government.

(d) The Moslem League leader, Mr. Jinnah, has, since the breakdown of the negotiations, spoken in opposition to a national government in the identical terms used by Sir Stafford Cripps, but the issue of a national government never became a practical reality. Other Moslem leaders, whether they be Moslem premiers or leaders of the majority of Moslems, such as the Momins, the Shiah, the Jaimais and the Ahrars, have declared their unity with the Congress and their opposition to the Moslem League.

(e) Dr. Maulana Azad, himself, a most distinguished Moslem, has declared that if the British Government agreed to a

national government the Indians would come to such agreements and arrangements as were necessary.

PRESIDENT OF THE ALL-INDIA PEASANT MOVEMENT APPEALS FROM HIS PRISON CELL

"The Indian peasants associate themselves whole-heartedly with the Allies in their fight against the fascist powers, but declare that their support will be greater if the freedom of India and other dependencies is conceded and if they are all declared to be free and equal with all other nations," wrote Mr. N. G. Ranga, President of the All-India Kisan Sabha, from Vellore Vellore Jail where he has been interned since April 1940. ("Manchester Guardian," April 11, 1942)

"Indian peasants only take part in the anti-fascist struggle," continued Mr. Ranga, "because they want free and equal partnership not only for India, but also for all the African and Asiatic dependent countries and suppressed peoples. Only such a clear-cut, heartening and unequivocal declaration from the Allies can ensure success for the democratic, progressive forces as against the wily Japanese, brutal Germans and cowardly Fascist powers."

No better proof of the sentiment of the Indian people could be expected than the declaration above of the leader of the great peasant movement of India.

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Dear Sirs:

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Resolution to be presented to the India meeting of the India League,
September 9th, 1942.

Whereas, 390,000,000 people living in India under British Imperialism, denied the right to govern themselves, are now engaged in a struggle to achieve their independence; and

Whereas, our British allies are seeking to suppress this struggle by adopting various types of repressive measures, public flogging, levy of collective penalties, bombing from the air to disperse unarmed demonstrators; and

Whereas, the All-India National Congress in its last session of August 6th, 1942, decided that Mr. Gandhi, on behalf of the National Congress Party should approach President Roosevelt, General Chiang-Kai-Shek, and of the United Nations ~~other heads of state~~, to seek their moral and political support towards the fulfillment of India's national aspirations-- Indian Independence-- which is consistent with the declared war aims of the United Nations;

Whereas, the question of Indian Independence is not Britain's "domestic affair", but a vital concern of the United Nations for victory and world freedom;

Be It Resolved, that this meeting held in the city of Washington on September 9th, 1942, urgently appeal to President Roosevelt, General Chiang Kai-Shek, and other heads of the United Nations to take the initiative and necessary steps for mediating the present Indo-British conflict by a commission of representatives of the United States, China, and other United Nations, before which the British Government and political parties of India be asked to present their case, to be settled in conformity with the basic principles of freedom of all peoples, recognition of legitimate minority rights, but not partition of India, with recognition of India as an independent united nation in alliance with the United Nations to protect mutual interests and further the cause of World Freedom and Democracy.

Be It Further Resolved, that copies of this resolution be sent to the President, to the Secretary of State, and to the heads of the United