CHAPTER IV
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The Voice of English Press – Demand of Independence

The demand of Independence became eloquent day by day through various publications in the English newspapers; sometimes they expressed their own opinions through the editorials and articles written by eminent politicians, thinkers, educationists etc; almost everyday all the English newspapers covered the important developments in the politics of British India gradually leading towards Independence. The English Press in India strengthened the national consciousness “through speedy and widespread communication between national leaders and the people and through improved mutual awareness among those living in different parts of India.”

Editorials in English Newspapers

Goodwill Mission

The best wishes of all responsible Indians will be extended to Parliamentary Delegation which has now begun an exploratory tour of this country. The exact purpose of this trip, this is in brief is to secure on a strictly unofficial basis up to date and independent information regarding Indian affairs. In the words of the joint statement “we assure them (the people of India) that we approach our task humbly and with earnest desire that our mission will make some contribution to the realisation of Indian aspirations and freedom. By issuing this message in these terms the delegation has extended the hand of friendship. Courtesy and common-sense alike prompt a return gesture of equal warmth. The delegates who share the desire of the British Parliament and the British people to see India becomes self governing in the immediate future, can be of the greatest possible assistance to this country by carrying back with them to Westminster a clear and detail picture of India's past achievements and future promise.” It is upto Indians to ensure the picture is presented in the most favourable light.

Recurring Violence

At intervals of but a few weeks during past month there have been outbreaks of violence in some form or other. Bombay had a brief but bitter relapse into communal disturbance at the end of September'45. In November and later in the
same month Calcutta had short but sanguinary experience of mob law. Political leaders and organisers are well aware that mass demonstration unless handled carefully provides the hooligans opportunity; yet no condemnation of 'goondaism' ever goes unaccompanied by the outright presumption that somehow, somewhere the police must have been in the wrong.³

A Useful Tour

British parliamentary delegation is about to return home having completed a little over a month's journey in this country. The earnestness and energy with which they have undertaken their mission are very generally appreciated. They have seen a great deal and heard a great deal more. They have been bombarded with advice, gratuitous and solicited.

Generally speaking, the delegation was impressed by four major considerations – First, all alike are frankly a great deal more impressed even then they already were with urgency of the problem. Secondly, they have not been a little taken aback and naturally so, by the intensity of feeling on the communal issue. On this point there is clearly little difference in opinion amongst the members of the delegation that if the Muslim League carries with it the bulk of Muslim opinion as expressed through the ballot box, the realities of that party's demand on behalf of the Muslim must perforce be conceded in some form or other however unpalatable it may be to British ideas on the subject. Thirdly the members no matter their party ties, seems generally to have reached the conclusion that if, as for the moment seems all too possible, yet another deadlock should threaten further delay, Britain must assume the responsibility of making a decision and carrying it through. Last but not the least, it was evident that the delegation was impressed by the deplorable living conditions of industrial labour and by the economic bondage of the mass of the people.⁴

A Magnificent Overture.

Will India's Leaders Respond?

Parliament as a whole, with Prime Minister Mr. R.A. Butler and Sir Stanley Reed in particular has provided a magnificent overture to the historic Indo-British negotiations which will shortly begin in New Delhi. Any lingering doubts in this
country of British sincerity must be swept away by the unanimous and unqualified opinions expressed from both the Govts and opposition benches of the House of Commons.  

A Business like Beginning
The British Cabinet Mission has made a business-like beginning in India. Statements by the members since their arrival and particularly those at their first press conference in New Delhi, reveal that the British Ministers know that they have come to do and are determined to achieve their aims – issue of India's freedom and self-determination is settled in principle.

A Fateful Week – The League's Decision Awaited
The coming week may well be a fateful one for India. It is sincerely to be hoped that the developments in the Punjab will not interfere with the meeting of the All India Muslim League Working Committee to consider League's attitude to the Constituent Assembly. Presumably the Punjab Government had good reason to believe that communal armies were being organised by the Hindu Rastriya Swayam Sewak Sangh and the Muslim League National Guard; both the bodies are now being declared illegal under the Provincial Criminal Law Amendment Act. No Govt. can be expected to tolerate growth of militant formation constituting a threat to peaceful citizens and an open challenge to the maintenance of Law & Order by the properly organised forces of the State.

Forcing the Issue
In a brief but momentus statement the British Govt. have announced their intention of handing over power to an Indian Government or Governments by June of next year. There is no question of any further offer or any further scheme being submitted for Indian approval or disapproval.

The Future – Parties Must Get Together
There will be much speculation on the reasons for the Labour Governments drastic decision to fix a date for the end of British Power in India. Two motives are fairly observed. Firstly, the British Cabinet Mission had convinced
themselves and their colleagues that there is no alternative to the Mission’s plan for a peaceful settlement of the Indian Constitutional Problem.⁹

**Puzzling**
Meanwhile the attitude of the league and its leader becomes progressively more puzzling. Mr. Jinnah rejected the Constituent Assembly despite the assurance given by the British Govt.¹⁰

**Govt. & The Press**
With the general principle & sentiments enunciated by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in his first official speech to the standing committee of the All India Newspaper Editors Conference at New Delhi most working journalists will warmly agree. Both Sardar Patel and spokesman on behalf of AINEC indicated lines for a new reapproachment."¹¹

**Coalition at the Centre**
All doubts about Muslim League’s intention are removed by the official announcement from New Delhi that five of the league nominees have been added to the Interim Govt. India thus has the first time a true National Govt. That is a tremendous achievement for which credit must be given firstly to the British Cabinet Mission and secondly to the untiring perseverance of Lord Wavell.¹²

**Leader’s Duty – Disturbance must End**
Almost immediately after the welcome news that Muslim League has decided to join Interim Govt. comes manifestation of ill feeling which could not have been more unfortunately timed.¹³

**A Good Start But Disorder Must Stop**

**An Outwork Game**
Mr. Jinnah’s denunciating of the Viceroy as entirely playing into the hands of the Congress and as appearing them in complete disregard of the Muslim League.¹⁴
"The bud may have a bitter taste,
But sweet will be the flower."
- Cowper

India's leaders are now called upon directly to tackle the problem of India's future. The people of this country and the people of the world are watching the historic proceedings at New Delhi. Whatever political theories may be held by individuals or by representative groups the country's most vital need is good and energetic government by representative Indians and the people have a right to expect of their leaders that the objective will above all other considerations govern their efforts to reach understanding. Never, from an economic as much from political point of view would it be more true to say in the words of Longfellow that "Thanking the deed and not the creed would help us in our utmost need." If the will is there, ample wisdom is available to find a way. Whatever propagandist efforts may do now or in the future to apportion praise or blame, ultimately history and the Indian people will assess the merit and the services of contemporary leaders on achievement or lack of it and not on adherence to so called principles or theories. Stagnation will not be forgiven, but is only avoidable by readiness to compromise.¹⁵

On Their Toes
If India's industrialisation is not pushed forward rapidly it will not be the fault of Indian big businessmen. Their anxiety to throw off the shackles imposed during the war by defence demands and to take every opportunity to expand production was clearly stated by Sir Badridas Goenka at the annual session of the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry at New Delhi during the week end.¹⁶

Welcome Back
No matter what political views may be held by the parties concerned in the recent elections, everyone must welcome the return of an autonomous Ministry in Bombay after a prolonged interval of six and a half years.¹⁷
Fantastic

Poetic justice overtook Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's wild and unprovoked charges against European officials in general and the late Governor of the North West Frontier Province in particular, alleging interference in recent elections. Unhappily for the Maulana's hitherto not inconsiderable reputation for straight dealing, even in the murk of politics, Sir George Cunnigham himself was able just before his departure by sea categorically to refute the allegations made and to give the lie to the particular story against himself in a manner which knocks the bottom out of whole chargesheet. It would appear that the Congress President, in his distress over the general triumph of the League has lost his head in an attempt to quibble over the results.18

Critical Days

"The Major Issue At Delhi - No philosopher's stone of a constitution can produce golden conduct from leaden instincts."

- Herbert Spencer

Last week the British Cabinet Mission came up against the hard core of the intractable problem which faces them. They met, among others Mr.Gandhi and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad of the Indian National Congress, Mr.Jinnah, the leader of the All India Muslim League and the Chancellor and leading members of the Chamber of Princes. At the stage it should be stressed that the three Cabinet Ministers are mainly engaged in the hearing and trying to appreciate the arguments put before them by the spokesmen of India's chief political parties. What he has probably done is to present his case to his own satisfaction, which is an entirely different thing. As our Special Correspondent pointed out, the facts are that the Mission last week completed an important part of their preliminary survey; this week they will meet provincial leaders and spokesmen of parties and interests not belonging to the front rank and not till later will they get down to their main task of negotiating with the chief groups.19
The Only Way

Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League are certainly not wanting in a flair for stage management, which used to be the monopoly of the Congress. Even although it was obvious that the convention of the League members of the country's legislatures would say what they have said, it has to be conceded that the timing of the display was cleverly chosen. That does not mean that it has got anyone any further. The mutual refusal of the spokesmen of either of the great parties to give any public indication of a preparedness to compromise would be a matter for despair were it not that their respective attitudes, whatever the motives, represent in their logical conclusion a position so impossible that it will have to be broken down.20

Failure Will Not be Tolerated

"Twixt failure and success the points so fine
Men sometimes know not
When they touch the line"

- Henry Austen

Three weeks of work have now been completed by the Cabinet Mission at New Delhi. The British ministers have not spared themselves. They began immediately on arrival with a preliminary survey of the situation among themselves and with Lord Wavell, who joined them as a partner in the enterprise. There followed a meeting with all the provincial Governors and then the Delegation got down to the business of hearing the views of all-India party leaders and of provincial Premiers and opposition spokesmen. Since then they have further listened to the views of a considerable number of lesser luminaries of the political world and of various minority groups. It can hardly be suggested that the Mission has not received at first hand a comprehensive exposition of every point of view that can possibly be described as material. True, it has not been found possible to discuss affairs of the Indian States with other than representative Rulers and Ministers from Indian India but presumably Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's direct personal connection with and interest in State's people's affairs enables him to put their point of view forward most adequately.21
Points of View
As we remarked a week ago, Indian political leadership has hitherto tended to stress contrary points of view rather than angles of agreement. This, though regrettable, was perhaps inevitable, politics being what they are. Everyone concerned has lost no opportunity to propound his or her particular philosophy with that undue emphasis which is expected to carry conviction.

Pakistan
But if there is to be no compromise on the issue of Pakistan as a separate entity, then Pakistan in some form must be faced, however undesirable that development may be. Yet those who insist on Pakistan must understand clearly that by no canons of justice and democracy can they demand more than their pound of flesh.

Short Term
If unhappily no agreement on the long-term future of India can be found at the moment, the obvious thing – in order to avoid civil strife – is to concentrate on a short term settlement leaving details of the long term plan to be worked out on an agreed basis.

Simla Activity
After a day of intense activity at Simla, a communique was issued on Thursday night announcing that the Members of the present Executive Council, including H.E. the Commander-in-Chief, had placed their respective portfolios at the disposal of His Majesty The King and of H.E. The Viceroy, "in order to facilitate the arrangements which the Cabinet Mission and The Viceroy are seeking to make."

Deadlock At Simla – The Alternative
Despite the most earnest and sustained efforts of the British Cabinet Mission a complete deadlock has been reached at Simla over the conflicting claims of the Congress and the Muslim league. The Simla talks have ended, but as the official
communiqué makes clear, this does not mean that the Mission will leave without fulfilling their task. The failure affects what is known as the long-term settlement namely the form of constitution for the self-governing India of the future. This has always been the crux of the problem. The British Ministers were faced at the onset with two irreconcilable demands—the claim of the Muslim league for the creation of an independent Muslim State of Pakistan and the insistence of the Congress on a federal India with a strong centre. It says much for the statesmanship of the Mission that they produced a formula which brought both parties round a common table and led to personal conversations between Mr. Jinnah and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—the Congress President—elect, for the first time, for the first time in seven years.26

**Need for Calm**

All that can usefully be said at present about the failure of the Simla negotiations is contained in the official communiqués issued on Sunday night.27

**Partition ‘Danger’ to India’s Defence – Cabinet Mission View on Pakistan**

**Statesmanship At Its Best**

**A Great Combined Operation**

Publication of the key correspondence between the Cabinet Mission and the two parties directly concerned in the momentous Simla Conference reveals three main points of the greatest consequence. Firstly it shows that although the Conference failed to achieve any final agreement between the parties, there did gradually emerge by negotiation and by virtue of substantial and most creditable concession on the part of both the Congress and Muslim League spokesmen, a much greater approach to identify of view than most people would have thought possible. Secondly, study of the correspondence and the memoranda attached bear witness, as our New Delhi Representative rightly remarks, to the arduous and tactful diplomacy whereby the Cabinet Ministers and the Viceroy contributed substantially to closer understanding by reducing the gap between the parties, particularly in their careful selection and exploitation of the concessions made by each disputant to the other’s point of view. The third and the most important point to be noted is that what appeared at first sight to be a somewhat
complicated plan produced by the Mission for lack of party agreement is now shown to be a natural growth and ingenious adjustment of the respective points of view, the fullest possible account being taken of the objections raised by each party during negotiation.29

Mr. Jinnah's Protest
Mr. Jinnah has taken the somewhat odd course of issuing a long critical analysis of the British Cabinet Mission's scheme without indicating whether he will accept or reject it. That decision, he says must be made by the Working Committee and the Council of the All India Muslim League which are shortly to meet in Delhi.30

Compromise
Both the Congress and the Muslim League naturally have objections to the Mission's plan for the simple reason that it is a compromise. But it is a compromise founded on the greatest common denominator of agreement between the two parties and if it is altered fundamentally in favour of one side the balance is upset and the scheme immediately becomes unacceptable to the other party. Most compromises are unsatisfactory but democracies have to work them because they are the only method by which democracies can function. If this scheme does not go through, then the Indian people may well say goodbye to any form of Indian unity. That would be a supreme disaster.31

Testing Time
As has been so often emphasised but merits constant repetition, it is not the letter of the constitution outlined by the Mission, or of any other such plan, which matters but the spirit in which it is sought to operate or, by agreement, amend them.32

Final Outcry
Clearly there are noisy political groups within the Congress fold which lack that form of courage, which want to see no transfer of power to Indian hands unless the hands are their own.33
Cold Comfort

Exactly three months ago, on March 26, the British Cabinet Mission arrived in New Delhi. Today it would seem that the splendid, sustained effort made by Lord Pethick Lawrence, his two colleagues and the Viceroy has reached a conclusion of unmerited nullity. Only self-deception, dangerously short-sighted, can permit the delusion that acceptance of long-term plan in the spirit prevailing is in itself a success from which greater things can grow. Without party co-operation at the centre, the two major political protagonists will remain at bitter war.34

Sense of Fear

It is strange that with all the developments which have taken place since the Karachi resolution of the Muslim League in January, Mr.Jinnah has not thought to summon the Working Committee of his party even to be at hand for the present Conference in New Delhi. Presumably the Muslim League leader views Britain’s announcement of February 20 as the sequel to the obduracy of the Karachi resolution and sees no immediate point for his executives to consider.35

The I.N.A. Cases

The debate in the Central Legislature over the question of releasing all I.N.A. prisoners undergoing sentences passed by Court-martial raises important issues and the decision of the Interim Government to refer the cases to the available judges of the Federal Court for their opinion is an indication of the peculiar and puzzling character of the situation. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru’s speech expressed Government’s perplexity. Pandit Nehru remarked that it would be a mistake to imagine that everyone in the I.N.A. was a hero and a patriot.36

Deterrent To Industry

Unfortunately for India Mr.Liaquat Ali Khan’s conviction that industry will not suffer as a result of his taxation policy is belied by facts. Greater industrialisation is essential. Government themselves are fully alive to this need.37

First Duty – Need for Communal Settlement

During his tour of Gujarat at the beginning of this month, Sardar Vallabhai Patel, the Home Minister of the Interim Government, indulged in some very plain
speaking to which his countrymen would be well advised to give ear. Sardar Patel is described, not without reason, as the realist of the Congress. In a remarkable tribute to the British people both for their decision on India and for their fortitude in adversity, he declared that "power is coming to us with the speed of a race horse" and then asked the vital question "Are we ready for it? We may become politically sovereign but internally we lack the attributes of a free people such as equality, cohesion and national character."\(^{38}\)

**Crystallising**

Mr. Jinnah, it is believed, wants Pakistan to be recognised in a principle now, with a separate constituent assembly for the 'Pakistan' provinces and later arrangements for negotiations on subjects of mutual concern.\(^{39}\)

**Gandhi – Jinnah Appeal**

Lord Mountbatten is to be congratulated on having got Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah to sign a joint appeal condemning communal lawlessness. The appeal is forthright in that the two leaders denounce "for all time" the use of force to achieve political ends and call upon all communities in India not only to refrain from acts of violence and disorder but also to avoid, both in speech and writing any incitement to such acts. While it must be recognised that the present tension can not be relieved until the political issue is settled, nevertheless the joint appeal by the two leaders should do much good. What provincial Governments ought now to do is to see that copies of the statement are printed in appropriate languages and distributed to the public, particularly in centres liable to communal outbreaks. It is also essential that all-India leaders and provincial governments should refrain from issuing statements and communiqués couched in language liable to inflame communal passions; the good effect of the joint appeal must not be vitiated either by the leaders themselves or by party ministries. It can not be said, for example that recent communiqués issued by the North West Frontier Government are conducive to communal peace.\(^{40}\)

**Youth To The Helm**

Lord Pethick Lawrence's resignation as Secretary of State for India and Burma will be widely regretted in both these countries and in the United Kingdom. The
news has occasioned little surprise because it was well known that at the age of 76, after two years of tremendous and historic activity in the development of a new deal between Britain on the one hand and both India and Burma on the other, this high-minded veteran of the British Labour movement was understandably feeling the strain.\textsuperscript{41}

**An Indian Problem**

Both Pandit Nehru and Sardar Vallabhai Patel have during the past few days made repeated appeals to other parties concerned to come round the table and allow Indians to settle these essentially Indian matters. Happily for themselves and for the country the Indian States show an increasing appreciation of realities and a growing inclination to work out the inheritance of power on a basis mutually acceptable to British and Indian India. The Muslim League on the other hand remains wrapped in unproductive silence.\textsuperscript{42}

**Call for Tolerance and Patience**

Today the Constituent Assembly will resume its sittings in New Delhi. There has, unhappily been a steady deterioration in communal relations since the Assembly adjourned at the end of January. For that state of affairs the Muslim League Working Committee’s resolution passed at Karachi is largely to blame; the resolution not only announced the League’s refusal to participate in the Assembly but demanded its dissolution by the British Government’s decision to handover all political power by June 1948, was dissipated by Mr.Jinnah’s repeated demand for Pakistan and by his failure to accept the Congress invitation to a Conference to discuss the new situation.\textsuperscript{43}

**Mr.Gandhi Appeals To Press For Restraint**

Mr.Gandhi made an earnest appeal to all journalists to play the game at this delicate stage. If they could not do so, it would be better for newspapers to cease publication. Untruth was always indefensible and bad journalism did infinite harm to the cause.\textsuperscript{44}
Another Failure

Another meeting between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah – the first since the abortive Bombay talks of nearly three years has ended without agreement so far as India's main constitutional problem is concerned. There will be profound regret throughout the country at this deplorable result. According to the statement issued by Mr. Jinnah with Mr. Gandhi's approval, Mr. Gandhi made it clear to the Muslim League leader that he did not accept the principle of the division of India. In that respect Mr. Gandhi is known to hold views different from those of the members of the Congress Working Committee, some of whom have openly stated that they will agree to partition on certain conditions if there is no other possible way out of the impasse. Presumably, Mr. Gandhi urged on Mr. Jinnah, acceptance of, the British Cabinet Missions scheme for a Union of India comprising Groups which would give what Mr. Jinnah regards as the Pakistan provinces a very large measure of autonomy, with a common centre for purposes of defence, foreign affairs and communications. In pressing on the Muslim League leader the need for a united India Mr. Gandhi is absolutely right. That plan was the outcome of prolonged and painstaking conferences by the British Cabinet Mission with the leaders of our political parties, it represents a statesmanlike solution which at different times was accepted by both the Congress and the All India Muslim League. The League withdrew its approval owing to certain statements on interpretation made by Congress leaders but the Congress later reiterated its official decision to accept the scheme in its entirety despite the fact that the League secured from the British Government an opinion favourable to its view of procedure within the Constituent Assembly.45

Viceroy for London

Lord Mountbatten's visit to London to discuss arrangements for the transfer of power to Indian hands is not, in the circumstances unexpected. The hurried postponement of the Viceroy's meeting with Indian party leaders to June 2, twenty four hours after it had been fixed for May 17, clearly revealed the emergence of some new factor in the situation. The British Government's communiqué states that while the cabinet find themselves in general agreement with the proposals, the Labour Government feel that they should have final
discussions with the Viceroy before an announcement is made in view of the importance of these arrangements for the future of India, the British Commonwealth of Nations and the whole world.\textsuperscript{46}

\textbf{May 19}

Lord Mountbatten's departure for London on Sunday marked a climax of a week's Kaleidoscopic developments in New Delhi.\textsuperscript{47}

\textbf{No Imposition}

At one of his prayer meetings in New Delhi last week Mr. Gandhi propounded the question: "Could the British dare to impose Pakistan on India temporarily gone mad?" Many will agree with Mr. Gandhi that only an India temporarily gone mad could insist on what the Congress leader calls the vivisection of the country. But the difficulty is that what Mr. Gandhi terms madness is not a new phase in the Indian political scene.\textsuperscript{48}

\textbf{Muslim League Accepts}

While the resolution of the Muslim League Council accepting the British Government's transfer of power plan has certain qualifying phrases, the main point about it is that it agrees to the fundamental principles of the plan as a compromise. According to a report from Lahore, the Sikh leaders have also adopted the same attitude with the provision that the Sikhs would reject the plan only if the terms of reference of the proposed Punjab boundary commission were unsatisfactory. The Congress Working Committee has still to give its decision but there is little doubt that it will endorse Pandit Nehru's acceptance - a course of action strongly urged upon it by Mr. Gandhi. Thus it can be said that Lord Mountbatten's scheme has secured the assent - in principle at least - of the three main political parties affected by it.\textsuperscript{49}

\textbf{Punjab Divides}

Following the examples of Bengal, the Punjab Legislative Assembly on Monday voted - as expected - for the partition of the province. The procedure was the same as that adopted in Bengal, where the two sections adjourned to hold a joint meeting. The legislature representing the two 'national' divisions of Punjab at
first met separately but Lala Bhimsen Sachar, leader of the Congress party and Malik Firoz Khan Noon, on behalf of the Muslim League Party, demanded a joint sitting of the sections before voting began.  

**Selected Write-ups in Newspapers**

The Calcutta Review published an article by Dr. J.N. Khosla, Ph.D. (Economics) London, H.O.D. of Political Science, University of Punjab entitled *Prerogative Right of the Crown to Cede Territory in British India*. The object of this article is to survey the legal position in India in relation to the power of the Crown to cede territory and to trace its development up to date. The issue specially examined are: whether the crown can (a) cede territory in India by treaty (b) cede territory in times of peace and (c) execute a cession without the sanction and cooperation of parliament. Whether the Indian Legislatures' can cede by an Act any of British territories in India, whether a legislative enactment is essential for the readjustment of the jurisdictions of the Courts. In 1878, the Allahabad High Court held in Hari Singh Vs. Raja Pratap Singh “that the Crown is competent to cede territory in its Indian dominions without the intervention of Parliament. The prerogative of the Crown is exercised with the advice and through the agency of the responsible minister of the crown.”

Prof. Dharm Pal of D.A.V. College, Lahore wrote an article on *Humble Beginnings of Indianization of Civil Services* in the same paper.

The English aristocracy which planned and executed the schemes of Post Mutiny Reconstructions consisted of brilliant administrators like Sir Jolan Strachey and Sir Richard Temple, who tackled administrative problems with as much ease and grace as they wrote their Memoirs and administrative reports which are “as clear as a crystal, as complete as a circle and as interesting as a novel.” The scheme of Govt. scholarships was suspended and the statute of 1870 gave large powers to the Govt. of India for the selection of natives to high administrative and judicial posts.

Bimal Chandra Sinha, M.A., M.L.A. Wrote *Abolition of the Permanent Settlement*
It has been announced in the Press that the Bill for the abolition of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal is now ready and will be introduced in the Bengal Legislative Assembly in the present Budget session. The Congress Working Committee is also reported to have issued a directive to all Congress Governments to abolish the Zamindari system in their respective province within two years. Thus the abolition of the Zamindari system in Bengal will not be an isolated act.53

Miss Latika Ghose, B.Lit(Oxon) Bethune College wrote on *The National Flag & The Symbol of the Charkha*

It was not long after the constitutional Congress took a revolutionary turn with its desire to eliminate foreign rule represented by that section of the Congress that stood for independence that the idea of the National flag was conceived. It was however inevitable that the Mantram had to come first before the symbol could follow.

And so came our Mantram of Freedom in that great National song which gave us the cry, deep sonorous and heart moving of Bande Mataram. With this Mantram on their lips many went to prison, others were transported for life and the bravest mounted the scaffold smilingly and died. Those were great, those were stirring times when Bengal, a mere province of India hurled defiance at an empire where the sun never sets and a stupefied India, a Constitutional Congress, watched with bated breath, till the fire of patriotism lit in Bengal spread throughout India and the Punjab and Bombay stood beside Bengal to sentinel the new movement, unconstitutional and revolutionary in character led by that combination of valour, the enlightened intellect and brilliant oratory typified in Lala Lajpat Roy, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal, popularly known as Lal, Bal, Pal.

Expressing the need he wrote (Gandhi) "a flag is necessity for all nations - millions have died for it. It is no doubt a kind of idolatory, but an idolatory which it would be a sin to destroy.......It will be necessary for us Indians, Hindus, Mohamedans and Christians, Jews, Parsis and all others to recognise a common flag to live and die for."

The Chakra of the Asokan pillar might therefore be taken as the Dharma Chakra (the wheel of law).54
The Press and the Law of Contempt of Court in India was written by Nikhil Ranjan Ray, M.A., Lecturer in Political Science, Dhaka University, in The Calcutta Review:

What adds to the difficulty of the Press is that experts are not unanimous in their opinions. In Hunt V. Clarke while the proceedings in a case, in which a person was charged with misrepresentation in connection with a business enterprise, were going on, an article was published making a very gentle depreciatory comment apparently directed against the defendants in the case.\(^{55}\) Hindustan Times published in its Jan 10, 1946 issue:

For the Attention of the M.P.s........... At the special request of the 'Hindustan Times', certain prominent public men in India have agreed to set forth their views for publication in these columns on the problems that the British Parliamentary Delegation must study during their stay in this country. We publish today the first of the series:

BRITAIN HAS YET TO DECLARE A POSITIVE POLICY

India Thinks in Terms of Freedom by the Rt.Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

An extract – Positive Policy

A discussion across the table is not the same as a discussion sizing up the ten members of the Parliamentary delegation when they met them this evening at a conference in a committee room at the Council House. This was the delegations first public function in India. There were clever arguments with an occasional outburst of brutal frankness.

The Press Law

Another correspondent mentioned that the Press in India was free only on sufferance. If there was freedom of expression it was because journalists were ready to take the consequence of law. This assertion made one member of the delegation ask for a note on the Press laws.\(^{56}\)

Foreign Press

Some newspapers of European countries published Indian news regularly highlighting the social and political conditions of India. A newspaper 'Taglichen Rundschau' of Germany published the following news in 1946:
New Protest Demonstration in India

According to an announcement of the London Radio, new demonstrations were reported from Calcutta today. Four persons were killed and about twenty injured. Among the injured was an American soldier. The police had to use fire arms. The roads in Calcutta were watched by Indian Police as well as American and British Military Police. The demonstrations were a protest caused by the condemnation of an Indian officer to seven years imprisonment. There were also demonstrations in Bombay and Allahabad today. In Bombay vehicles were attacked with stones. In Allahabad 50,000 men demonstrated in protest against the shortage of food rationing. They demanded higher grain rations.

Tanker and Police in Action in India

According to Reuter, the Governor of Bengal, Richard G. Casey has called upon the Army to support the civil control after cruel clashes in Calcutta. In his Radio announcement, Casey requested the citizens to remain in their houses. He said: "A quick end has to be set to the violence of the mob." Before nightfall the police opened the fire three times within three hours in Calcutta. The losses are not known so far. Tankers are patrolling in the area of Dalhousee Square where are a number of government buildings and leading British and Indian business houses.

For the Final Phase in India Declaration of the President of the All India Congress

According to a Reuter information Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the President of the All India Congress announced on Tuesday, that the Congress will consider steps for the determinative final phase, if the British Government should fail to implement the declaration of September 1945 in its spirit and character (which was promising a full autocratic government for India in the near future. He added: "We are living at the threshold of a new age and I believe that under the changed circumstances of to-day a peaceful solution does not lie out of reach of the possibility."

Demonstration of Members of the Indian Navy

A Reuter report, 300 to 400 members of the Royal Indian Navy who are striking of the Bombay Coastal area were demonstrating on Tuesday morning in the
centre of the Bombay Port (the European Business Centre). They were breaking windows with sticks and hockey-clubs; were throwing stones into office windows and were shouting: "Leave India." As a Bombay newspaper announces, they were demanding the same wages as paid in the Royal Navy, better food and after war care on the same conditions as it is granted to the Officers.⁶⁰

**London, Feb 20**

It is further reported in connection with the strike of about 3000 members of the Navy and coastal stations that on many ships the Flag of the Indian Congress Party and of the Muslim League was hoisted instead of the British Navy Flag. In Calcutta about 200 Indian sailors joined the strikers of Bombay.⁶¹

**Shooting of the Strikers**

Indians who are working as marine Infantries and Clerks in Delhi are striking. The Indian sailors are demanding better food and lodging. The Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Indian Navy has given order on Wednesday evening to arrest the strikers if they do not return to their positions within 24 hours.

In Karachi, shooting was reported between the Military Police and mutinied sailors. A communiqué released by the High Command of the Navy in Bombay states that the strikers have opened rifle fire from small warships in the port against the deck area. In Bombay Indian sailors barricaded themselves at night in the Navy Barracks. Since early morning they are firing at the British troops who are stationed in the surrounding streets.⁶²

**Attlee about the Incidents in Bombay**

Troops of the Royal Navy are now leaving for Bombay, Prime Minister Clement Attlee announced on Thursday in the House of Commons according to an information of Reuter. Attlee said that he had no further information but has cabled to India and hope to be able to give a complete statement on Friday.

The position in Karachi is very tense. The last reports estimate that about 20 ships of the Indian Navy are under control of the striking Indian sailors. They are commanded by the Flagship 'Narbada' of the Royal Indian Navy by 1700 striking
sailors. The strikers are in constant communication with the Coast. Thirty eight Indian sailors have been arrested by the Military authorities. The main demand of the strikers is the withdrawal of troops from the port area; 1,000 persons of the Royal Indian Air Force are striking today in Bornbay to demonstrate their sympathy with the striking Indian sailors. The military was called. In clash between the British troops and the Air Force soldiers, stones and lathis were used. In the end the British troops were withdrawn and the Air Force soldiers marched through the city shouting protest.63

Bitter Fights in India – British Troops brought into Action

From Bombay the following was reported: Heavy unrests have broken out in the whole area. The civilians are supporting the Indian sailors. Heavy fighting broke out on Friday between the civilian population, police and troops. British troops were brought into action for the first time on Friday morning. They were shooting at the people who had attacked a hospital. Fire had broken out all over the city. Heavy shooting started in Karachi port on Friday. The mutinied Indian sailors have taken possession of several ships. Later on it was announced that the Indian Warship “Hindustan” has surrendered when shooting started. Heavy clashes continued also in Bombay. The houses of Europeans were set on fire. The police were using guns several times. The first British intensifications have arrived in Bombay, including a formation of heavy artillery. Heavy naval formations including a Cruiser Squadron and a Destroyer Flotilla from the East Indian Squadron have left for Bombay. Indian Navy helpers have joined the striking sailors in Calcutta.

According to latest news nine persons were killed in Bombay and over sixty were injured. The revolt of the Indian sailors spread all over the Indian East Coast between Calcutta and Madras on Friday. There 600 men of the Navy refused to work.

According to a Reuter report, the revolt has spread further over the city last night. The police opened fire twice in the crowded roads against the masses who were plundering shops, put out street lights and who were setting trams, buses and two post offices on hire.
The Central Strike Committee of the Indian Navy formation appealed to the Indian National Leaders to support the demands of the striking sailors of the Indian Navy who, as the appeal states, have suffered innumerable hardship in receiving short payment, food and worst of all racial degradation. In Madras the sailors of the Indian Navy demonstrated in support with the strikers in Bombay. Admiral Godfrey, the Flag Officer of the Indian Navy characterised the occurrences in a radio interview as 'Open Mutiny'.

**New Heavy Fighting in India: Troops and Police are in Action: 200,000 Striking Workers Demonstrate**

Although the Indian sailors in Bombay laid down their arms on Sunday, further extensive new fights have broken out. The British troops and the Indian police have opened the fire several times on to the masses who claimed a settlement of the demands made by the Indian sailors. Several thousand Indians broke twice through the British firing line to set a spinning mill on fire. In different parts of the inner city new fires burst out. All traffic has stopped the two hundred thousand workers have joined the demonstrators. British tanks, police vans had opened fire. Police faced great difficulties to move about. 63 persons were killed on Friday and 800 injured.

The President of the Congress Party, Dr.Azad paid a visit to the British Commander-in-Chief Gen.Auchinleck in New Delhi, on Saturday morning. After that he announced that there won't be any retaliatory measures in connection with the revolt of the Indian Navy. The complaints of the Indian sailors will be subjected to an exact examination. Pre-conditions is the restoration of peace and order. The leader of the Muslim League, Jinnah has offered to be of assistance to the Indian sailors to carry through their demands. The five day long rebellion was over on Saturday morning. Only about 500 sailors in Calcutta are still offering resistance. In Bombay, all ships which were in the possession of the rebels were handed over after the decision. At the same time, further British strengthening were concentrated in Bombay. British aircrafts are cruising over the city.
The Situation in India: 270 Dead: British Warships in Bombay

Bombay was peaceful on Monday morning but the situation is becoming more and more tense. The Central Committee of the Indian sailors whose service refusal gave the start of the unrest, declared again that the sailors are prepared for another action if the authorities will try any retaliatory measures even if it would only be against a single sailor. The Indian students union calls for demonstrations all over India against military attacks on the unarmed population. In Bombay, the greater part of the spinning mill workers resumed work on Monday. The casualties due to the unrest were stated as 270 dead and more than 1700 wounded.66

Time Presses in India.

According to Associated Press, the English, Indian and foreign observers are sharing the feeling that the time for a peaceful settlement of the Indian problem is nearing its end if it has not already passed. From all Indian sources it is made quite clear that any hesitation on behalf of the British in connection with granting the Independence which would exceed the status of a Dominion by far, would lead to a rebellion attitude which would be suppressed not even by the Indian teachers.67

2500 soldiers of the Indian Army revolted on Wednesday and marched out of their barracks in Jabalpore, a military centre in the Central Provinces. In Bombay, Indian soldiers demonstrated. The demonstrators marched through the roads and carried flags of the Congress and the Muslim League. The police acted against them with lathis, bayonets and guns.68

The Amrita Bazar Patrika reported:

Jinnah Offers Services – Appeal to Call off Strike

M.A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League in a statement on Friday has offered his services unreservedly for the cause of the RIN men to see that justice is done to them. He appeals to the men to call off the strike and to the public not to add to the difficulties of the situation. Jinnah added that on his return to Delhi about the 8th March he will take up the question directly with Viceroy and do all he can in the matter. Following is the text of Mr. Jinnah’s statement:
“The Press reports that the RIN strike at Bombay has taken a very serious turn and that the ratings in Calcutta and Karachi have gone on strike, have caused serious apprehensions. Newspaper reports from various parts of India and particularly from Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta show that the RIN men have some very just grievances and it has been made clear by them how deeply they are affected by these grievances and how they genuinely feel hurt about their present position. No civilized Government or responsible men in this country can treat their feelings and grievances lightly. I offer my services unreservedly for the cause of RIN men to see that justice is done to them. If they adopt constitutional, lawful and peaceful methods and apprise me fully or what will satisfy them, I will give them my assurance that I shall do my best to see that their grievances are redressed.

I appeal to all the RIN men not to play into the hands of those who want to create trouble and exploit those on strike for their own ends. I urge upon them to restore normal conditions and let us handle the situation, which will surely result in their welfare and will be in their best interests, I, therefore, appeal to the men of RIN and to the ratings to call off the strike and to the public in general not to add to the difficulties of the situation. Particularly I call upon the Muslims to stop and to create no further trouble until we are in a position to handle this very serious situation. If we fail to make the authorities understand and meet the just demands of the RIN men then it will be time for us all with perfect unity amongst ourselves to force the hands of the Government if they are not reasonable.

I hope my advice and appeal will not fail. On my return to Delhi about the 8th of March, I shall take up the question directly with the Viceroy and shall do all I can in the matter.”

Revolt Against Tyranny – Bombay Disturbances – How U.S. Press Views it:
Attlee’s Statement Severely Criticised

The Bombay riots were still featured on the front pages of New York’s Sunday Newspapers, but only the ‘New York Times’ gave a three – column head.

The New York Herald Tribunes leader said: the basic causes of the riots are to be found in the political and social revolutions which are under way through the Orient where the men with brown and yellow faces are striving to free themselves from the domination of the white men. Only a minor degree are the riots the
result of famine or Communists desire the inclination of Mr.Attlee to put the blame on them. Mr.Attlee's statement in the House of Commons was not a well-considered portrayal and did not make the case for the British nearly as good as it could be made. Despite the close friendship of America and Britain, there would be strong criticism here of attempt to maintain status-quo in the empire. The first Communists Party reaction to the Indian riots was reflected in a 'Daily Worker' editorial today, which termed the mutiny and riots as an Indian celebration of Washington's Birthday "by another revolt against the tyranny of British Imperialism in London."

New York 'World Telegram' led its front page with the Indian Mutiny developing several columns to detailed dispatches from the scene. The foreign Editor of 'Scripps Howard' Chain of Newspapers, Mr.William Philip Simms, discussing the significance of the Indian revolt, asserted that the British Empire today faces the greatest peacetime crisis in its history. The long-delayed showdown between Great Britain and India is now at hand and its repercussions will be found round the globe. London regards Indian settlement as vital to world peace. For that reason not less than three British Cabinet Ministers are being hurried to that country – something without a precedent.70

A Foolish Act
Striking pictures of the recent Bombay riots were published on 21st February in the American Magazine 'Life' one of the most widely read periodicals in the United States. Devoting two full pages to its illustrated commentary on the disorders, 'Life' asserts: "The moment the compromise had time and again been postponed in India, the moment of actual revolt came a little closure last month. In Bombay the birthday celebration in honour of Late Subhas Chandra Bose boiled over into a great riot. Like many riots its starting spark was struck by foolish act quite undeserving of history."71

Soviet Press on RIN Uprising – Rotten Economic State Leading to Disturbances
(From Patrika's London Office), Thursday, Feb 28 – The first Soviet comment published here concerning the Indian Naval Strike appeared in 'Red Fleet'. An
article by M. Mikhaelov reviewing the events says 'the sailors’ mutiny which was widely spread by the population, demonstrates now that a tense and serious situation has arisen in India. No small parts have been played by the extraordinary oppressive economic state of the country whose population has been reduced to poverty. Agriculture is going through a sharp crisis and industrial production is decreasing. The uninterrupted disturbances throughout India testify to the growing activity of the Indian masses in their endeavour to obtain Independence. The Moscow Radio today broadcasted a review of International Affairs by the Newspaper ‘Izvestia” stating that public attention during the past week had been focussed on events in India and Egypt. (Manchester Guardian news reports on the Indian situation were also quoted).’

Mrs. Asaf Ali Supports RIN Strikers Demand – Appeal to Congress, Labour & Student Organisations to lend Moral Support

Bombay Feb. 19 (API), Mr. Asaf Ali commenting on the RIN ratings naval strike urges the strikers not to permit un-coordinated and spontaneous action to mar the otherwise disciplined move they have made for the removal of their grievances.

She says almost 15,000 naval ratings of the RIN units in Bombay have struck work and refused to eat canteen food since Sunday evening. Their demands are essentially legitimate. They have insisted that the inequalities in the scale of pay, allowances and food as between the RIN and RN should cease. They have protested against appointment of British Officers and their insulting and insufferable behaviour towards the Indian personnel in the Navy. These service conditions and economic demands are quite naturally not affected by the high tension political climate today. Atleast young Indians in the services are no longer prepared to submit sheepishly to the hectoring and swearing of their British rules. Be that as it may, I earnestly hope that the strikers will not permit un-coordinated and spontaneous action to mar the otherwise disciplined move they have made for the removal of their grievances.

Solidarity and discipline are the first essentials of success in all collective action of this nature. They must formulate their demands precisely and conduct their
struggle with dignity. Care should be taken to eschew injury to person or damage to property in this connection. The naval ratings must conduct negotiations through their respective Ship Committees viz. their Central Naval Strike Committee. The naval authorities should note that.73

**Need of Support**

At the instance of the representatives of the strikers, I am giving them this advice. I am sure that the Congress and the Labour and the student organisations of Bombay will extend their moral support to their legitimate demands. It is the first occasion when such an overwhelming numbers of seamen have undertaken collective action with such effects. Firmness, discipline and unity on the part of the strikers and the pressure of public opinion should last in a successful manner of this spontaneous strike.74

**Naval Ratings Cause Commotion in City – March in Procession and Shout Slogans**

A wave of panic swept across the Fort and Colaba areas this morning when a large continent of naval ratings in battle dress, invaded the localities in naval lorries and took law and order in their own hands. British soldiers in uniform were chased and manhandled; foreign firms like Kodak, Lawrence & Mayo, Evans Fraser, Faver Leuba were compelled to close down for fear that their shops might be smashed up otherwise. British soldiers chased by naval ratings were seen running across Hornby Road and rushing into the nearest buildings for refuge. Soldiers who sought refuge in Kodak were dragged out and manhandled. It is learned that the men helped themselves to a few cameras which were lying about handy. Some of the incidents which were noticed were: Show cases belonging to the offices of the USOWI was smashed and burnt on Hornby Road opposite Whiteaway & Laidlaw. Some Union Jacks are also learnt to have been made a bonfire of.

Superintendent Hughson and two Police Officers are reported to have been assaulted. Cars driven by Europeans came in for a fair share of the attention off the strikers. They were stopped and made to shout "Jai Hind" or "Subhas Bose Ki Jai" and allowed to go in any direction fancied by them. The cars were quite
often speeded along with a parting kick. Certain Military mail bags containing letters are learnt to have been torn up and contents scathed on Hornby Road. Tram tracks opposite Regal Cinema were set on fire after a liberal sprinkling of kerosene oil.... At about 1 p.m. the van arrived at the R.N.O.Distributing Authority Office near Town Hall. The speaker on behalf of the strikers appealed to his followers to maintain perfect non-violence. Their grievances had nothing to do with community or caste. Whether they were Hindus or Muslims, they were all one in maintaining unity and discipline. He also stated that their grievances had been placed before the members of the Working Committee of the Congress and he had no doubt that they would guide them on right and proper lines. A European Sergeant on Hornby Road was assaulted with a hockey stick. The policemen were also injured while interfering. They were removed to the G.T. hospital. Two other policemen who were injured at Colaba were removed to the St.George Hospital.

The white ensigns from all the ships and establishments were hauled down. 'Jai Hind' posters were pasted on Notice Boards and Lorries. In the afternoon lorries full of Navy men drove around the Fort area having tri-colour flags and shouting anti-British slogans. It is reported that the strike has spread to the following Depots: W.T.Workshop at Dockyard, Signal Station at Dockyard, Remote Control Office, Navy Wireless Receiving Stations, Colaba, ships in the harbour, in the docks, Castle, Fort and MTE Barracks and the HMIS Assam.

Scenes in Bombay Harbour

In the Bombay harbour a demonstration could be heard clearly from the shore aboard atleast two ships riding at anchor. Incessant shouting of men aboard at least from one of the vessels was heard clearly, while sailors on the shore said that the tooting of whistles aboard for crafts was spelling out in code the words 'Quit India.' The marchers shouted slogans and names of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru and Mr.Jinnah according to their personal political loyalties. They shouted that they were not treated as well as Britons in the Navy.

Pandemonium

On Thursday, the Fort area was the scene of Pandemonium at the wildest. The strikers marched through the streets, shouting slogans in lorries and on foot.
Thousands of them dotting for nearly half an hour they were the Monarchs of all they surveyed in the Hornby Road area. Tommies were chased and made to seek shelter in whatever handy place. Europeans driving motor cars were hauled and allowed to pass after getting a ‘Jai Hind’ greeting returned with a parting scornful kick! Foreign firms had to close down for fear of danger to their property at the hands of the strikers. Even the poor ‘stars and stripes’ fluttering outside the USOWI, all these days was pulled down and burnt. The local yankee-officials are making a diplomatic issue on this incident at Washington. Inspite of an apology from one of the leaders of the ‘naughty’ sailors, Union Jacks were also cast to the flames. A European Sergeant was consulted, so also was a G.I. who escaped through his jeep. All this was the result of most rude and unscathing behaviour on the part of the British Officers drunk with colour prejudice. Notable are the vile words of the Commanding Officer King, now transferred, namely “Sons of Coolies and Sons of Bitches!” The strikers have demanded an Indian Commanding Officer.77

The ‘Hindustan Standard’ came out with a Banner Headline – British Cabinet Mission to India

**Recommendation of Independence – Pandit Nehru’s Demand on British Government – Need of unrestricted Powers for Constituent Assembly.**

Allahabad, Feb 19: Commenting on reports that Lord Pethick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India and other British Government officials might soon come to India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that such a group might help in filling in the details of arrangement for independence, but the first requirement was “recommendation and proclamation of India’s right to full independence....”

“India must draw up her unelected representatives without any interference from outsiders....”

“Pandit Nehru was convinced that Pakistan, as demanded, was harmful to all concerned, but even though Pandit Nehru constituted, if some areas wanted to break away there would be no compulsion to retain them, but this must be made clear by a Plebiscite of those areas on a definite and precise issue.”78
State Council On I.N.A. Trials

New Delhi, Feb 19 – The Council of State today rejected by 23 votes to 13. V.V.Kalikar’s resolution recommending the withdrawal of the pending INA Trials and the unconditional release of the INA officers and men.79

Rating Dismissed

Bombay, Feb 20 – Leading Telegraphist, B.C.Dutt of HMIS Talwar, Bombay, who was put under close arrest has been dismissed after a summary trial by his Commanding Officer for disciplinary offence. He has been sentenced to be degraded to a Telegraphist and to be dismissed from service.

Dutt was arrested for sticking bills on the walls of the Talwar and writing ‘Jai Hind’ and ‘Quit India’ when Vice Admiral J.H.Godfrey, the Flag Officer Commanding, RIN, visited the establishment. (AP)80

Reaction in India on British Government’s Decision to send the Cabinet Mission

Sarat Chandra Bose

New Delhi, Feb 20 – “The decision of the British Government is certainly wise from Britain’s point of view. Whether it will prove wise from India’s point of view remains to be seen.”......

“India has not had in the past a very happy experience of Commissions and Missions. It is difficult therefore to say much at this stage about the present Cabinet Mission. If the present Mission starts discussion with leaders of Indian Nation on the basis of recommendation of India’s right to independence, undiluted and undefied, the discussion will, I believe, prove to be fruitful. If the Mission talks about ‘steps to be taken to promote early realisation of full as Government of India.’ then, I am afraid, it cannot and will not proceed very far.

Those words namely, early or progressive realisation of full as Government in India have already become odious to India. Lord Pethick Lawrence has suffered for his political opinion in the past and I hope he will not fail to appreciate the viewpoint of those who in India suffered for their political opinions.”

The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said that the proposed visit to India of the British Cabinet delegation was a wise decision which would be appreciated by the country. He had no doubt about the sincerity of purpose of
Sir Stafford Cripps. He believed that Sir Stafford's presence would be helpful to India's case and he would be happy to meet him again after an interval of three years.

Asaf Ali, Dy.Leader of the Congress Party said. "Let us hope that it means something real this time and that the history of April 1942 and of the Simla Conference will not be repeated. This matter of supreme importance both to India and to the peace of the World that India should be sovereign country, equal in status to all the great powers of the world. It is to be hoped that it will take the earliest opportunity of pulling her full weight in the counsels of the free nations of the world."

R.S.Ruikar, President of the All India Forward Bloc, said in Nagpur on Feb 20 when the RIN Mutiny was already three days old, that "India is now tired of these foreign Missions and delegations. We have recently witnessed the 'tamasha' (jokes) of the parliamentary delegations. Now the proposed visit of Lord Pethick Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. Albert Alexander is nothing but the repetition of the last 'tamasha'.......Time is gone when India will be befooled by the high sounding of the old formula. India now demands deeds and not words. The situation in India today is ripe for a revolution and the astute British Statesman any how want to gain time by carrying futile and endless negotiations.....Our foremost leader, like Sardul Singh Caveeshia, Satyaranjan Bakshi, Leela Roy, Jayprakash Narayan are in jail and with Manganlal Bagdi and Ashti Chimer prisoners still behind the prison bars and in view of the recent severe punishment inflicted on Captain Abdul Rashid, we cannot carry on any negotiation with Lord Pethik Lawrence and Sir Stafford Cripps. Unless the British Government forthwith declares on general political amnesty by releasing all detenues, political prisoners and all INA Officers and soldiers and stops the reign of terror which is almost daily being enacted all over India, today at Bombay and tomorrow at Calcutta, we should refuse to carry on any negotiations with the Cabinet Mission whose hands are dyed with blood of innocent Indians who have fallen victims to firing in Bombay and Calcutta. "Let England first show by concrete deeds that it really means business, otherwise India will no longer be befooled by these visits of the parliamentary delegation and the Cabinet Mission.

India stands firm by the 'Quit India' resolution and will not be deflected from its
path by these British delegations. I appeal to Maulana Azad, our Congress President, Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sj.Sarat Chandra Bose, Mr.M.A.Jinnah, the President of All-India Muslim League, to fully understand the deep game of British Imperialism which underlies these parliamentary and Cabinet delegations and to refuse to fall in the trap for us and forthwith to insist upon a concrete and definite proof of the sincerity of England before walking into the parlour of subtle British diplomacy." (UPI)81

**Settlement Talks Fail**
Karachi, Feb 21 – Naval Commodore Curtis who arrived from New Delhi this afternoon is stated to have tried to contact with the strikers for a settlement and according to the strikers, they are reported to be demanding that all the issues raised in their latest agitation must be conceded before any such talks could take place.

The strikers on board HMIS Hindustan are stated to be signalling with the men in other establishments regarding the course of action to be taken. The situation still remains tense. Civil Police are searching Indian ratings entering or moving out of the harbour area having arms. No Military personnel were sent near the vessel.82

Events of the past few days show that the days of the British rule in India are numbered, declared Fenner Brockway, Political Secretary of the Independent Labour Party.

Addressing a Conference of the British Centre against Imperialism last night, Brockway said that when the organised forces in India defy orders, the British Raj must realise that in addition to the civilian population, the very armed forces on which it had relied in the past were no longer reliable.

Brockway added “Even those of us who are not in the Labour Party, feel a general sense of solidarity with the working class movement so as not to wish to denounce the Government of Labour which it has returned.
But, just as during the Boer War, there were Englishmen who declared their feelings of sympathy and solidarity with the Boers, so it is our duty as Englishmen, as anti-imperialists, as socialists to say that our sense of solidarity is now with the Indian people.

I believe that we are voicing the sentiments of British troops themselves when we say they do not want to be in the interests of Imperialism against the Indian people." Brockway added, "The Conference adopted a resolution pledging support for subject people in their rising against their oppressors everywhere and declaring that the only way to satisfy their demands was immediate pronouncement of independence, accompanied, in the case of India, by drastic measures to end forthwith the intolerable conditions that have provoked disturbances in Bombay and elsewhere." Brockway stated that the Federation of Indian Associations in Great Britain and the Pan-African Federation had agreed to co-operate with the British Centre against Imperialism, but refused to seek affiliation. Brockway paid tribute to Jai Prakash Narain whom he described as "Great Living Socialist in the World today" and compared him to Lenin.

Surat Alloy of the Federation of the Indian Association in Great Britain said "Indians may not be identified today as socialists or communists, but only as nationalists because our main struggle is to see that the British Quit India."

K.D.Kumria, Secretary of the Swaraj House, London, said that the Indian National Congress was not a reactionary ultra-nationalistic body, but the greatest anti-imperialist organisation in the world today. It was agreed at the Conference to organise a demonstration to demand Indian Independence and condemn the shooting in Bombay and Karachi." (Reuter) 83

**India Will Not Remain Slave Forever**

Madras, Feb 25 - India will not remain enslaved forever. We want the British Government to realise that their hold on this country shall not continue. The incidents in Bombay have shown clearly the temperament of the people, observed Asoka Mehta, President of the Indian Students Congress, addressing a huge gathering of labourers today.

Mehta then referred to the strike by the RIN personnel which, he said, was not for better conditions of service and better wages alone, but it was also political
demonstration. He added “the events in Bombay have therefore opened up a new chapter in the history of our freedom movement. He thanked the people of Madras for the expression of their sympathy and solidarity for what had happened in Bombay by observing a complete hartal, the like of which, he said, had not been witnessed for a long time. K.Kamraja Nadar, President of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee also addressed the gathering(API).84

The Statesman, Calcutta issue reported: Attacks on Individual Deplored
H.S.Surai wardy in a statement says Maulana Azad has tried to give the impression that the Congress was aloof from the Calcutta demonstrations which were got up primarily by some Muslim League and Communist students. He asks whether the Congress President realises and to what public feeling aroused by ‘Quit India’ slogans and the violent speeches made by leaders run amok, have aroused not merely anti-imperialist sentiments but positive personal animosity against Britishers, Anglo-Indians and all external signs of foreign culture and civilization such as hats, ties and even churches...........
The British are going but we can clearly see that unless alternative arrangements for taking over the reigns of Government are made before they leave, such things will recur in worse forms........Let this also sink deep into the hearts of our countrymen that the war against Imperialism has to be waged without hatred and animosity against the individual.”(API)85

Azad Clarifies the Congress Policy: Final Struggle: If H.M.G.fails to honour its pledge
The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in a statement issued yesterday says that if the British Government failed to honour the September 1945 declaration in letter and in spirit, the Congress will consider the necessary steps for a final and decisive struggle. The Congress decision to wait and watch should not be construed as unwillingness to fight.....He particularly appeals to the youth of India to realise the wisdom of Congress Party and obey it as disciplined soldiers......The only problem before India today is the immediate realisation of the country's independence......"Questioned about his opinion on the demonstration being staged from time to time over the INA and the release of
political prisoners, the Congress President said “the one supreme problem before the country now is the attainment of independence and it is not in the interest of the country to waste energy over any other matter for the time being. For the success of our cause, it is necessary that the atmosphere in the country should remain peaceful.”

Third INA Trial: Reply to Defence Arguments

Delhi Cantonment, Feb 20 – Replying to the defence arguments at the trial by the Third INA Court Martial of Sub.Shingara Singh and Jam Fateh Khan, the prosecuting counsel, Carden Noad, made the point that the Court had to administer the law of India and that law held the citizen of British India responsible for any act which was a crime against Indian law wherever accommodated.

Carden Noad said “The question for the court is merely where they are satisfied upon the evidence that the accused one guilty of the charges brought against them at this trial.”

Dealing with the objection of the Defence counsel that the prosecution had not proved the aims and objects of the INA to show that this body was intended for committing the offence under Section 121 IPC, namely waging war against the King, Noad said, “it is avowed that the Indian National Army was intended to be an armed force to be used to liberate India from its present Government and that this was to be done in the interest of the country itself. Sec.121 IPC does not make it penal to fight against the country, but against the King, that is to say, the Government for the time being established.”

British Major Injured

One British Major and two Indian soldiers are reported to have been injured as a result of firing by the ratings. According to a naval officer, the Indian ratings are in a possession of a large quantity of ammunition which may last a few days. They secured this ammunition as a result of their raid on the armoury this morning....Fresh reinforcements of British soldiers were later posted near Castle Barracks. Some of these have taken their stand at the main gates and others along the flights of space of the Town Hall and other strategic points in the area.
His Majesty's Mint which is situated next to the Town Hall and Castle Barracks was closed at mid-day and the workers were asked to go home. Between 12 noon and 12.30 p.m there was a heavy exchange of fire between the Indian ratings and the British troops. The ratings threw hand grenades at the British troops who replied by machine gun fire. For thirty minutes there was withering gun fire. Thereafter firing died down in intensity and only occasional shots were heard.

Though calm has been restored, large contingent of British troops and Royal Marines with steel helmets and fire equipments have been moved into the area and the Royal Marines are now guarding all approaches to castle Barracks and the Low Water Frontage at the Gateway of India.

The Times of India, Bombay edition also published: The Indian Ratings on Strike in Bombay

One of the ratings told a representative of ‘The Times of India’ that unless a categorical assurance from the authorities, backed by any well-known leader, to look into their demands was forthcoming, the strike would not be given up, whatever the consequences. He referred to the detention at Arthur Road Prison of a Telegraphist attached to the ship as the turning point in the roles between the ratings and the officers. Under the heading “RIN Demonstrators Ran Wild in Bombay” the issue dated Feb 20 carried a photograph of the mutineers with the following illustrations below the picture” The procession of RIN demonstrators in Bombay who armed with various weapons, created a wave of terror in Fort area on Tuesday morning. The demonstration was in sympathy with the ‘strike’ of ratings on HMIS Talwar."

Issue Feb 21(p.1) carried a photograph of the mutineers under the caption “Round-up of ratings on strike” and illustrated it by the words “Ratings of the RIN on strike in Bombay who failed to return to their ships and establishments by the specified time on Wednesday afternoon were rounded-up by the Military.

Issue Feb 22(p.1) carried a photograph under the caption “RIAF Men’s sympathy with mutineers and illustrated it “About 1000 men of RIAF came at Marine Drive, Bombay and Andheri, struck work on Thursday in sympathy with the mutineers of
RIN. The picture shows RIAF units marching in procession through the streets of Bombay on Thursday afternoon.89

**Mishandling of RIN Mutiny: Government Censored in Assembly**

Mr. Asaf Ali's adjournment motion censoring the immediate authorities for mishandling the RIN Mutiny was passed in the Central Assembly on Saturday afternoon by 74 votes to 40.90

**The Times (London) issue published: Bombay Disorders**

Between 2000 and 3000 men of the RIN joined this morning in a lightening demonstration in support of the 1000 Ratings of the Signal Training Establishment, HMIS Talwar, who began a hunger strike yesterday. A number of men from sloops and minesweepers joined together with men from various other shore establishments in the city and poured into the main business centre. Several hundreds of them suddenly ran wild, singling out British Officers and men for attack, stopping buses and private cars and hauling both British and Indian drivers of service vehicles from their seats. Many of the ratings were armed with steel hammers, crowbars, hockey sticks and other weapons. Plate glass, windows of a large grocery store were smashed, the stars and stripes were drawn out from outside the office of the USIS library and Kodak Depot was looted.

After a concentrated 'terror' lasting for almost two hours, the demonstrators joined in a procession which marched towards the cantonment area and moved peacefully into the gymnasium of HMIS Talwar. A delegation of men then represented their grievances to Rear-Admiral Patray of the RIN who immediately referred the matter to Delhi.

For a considerable time during the day, the Congress Party and the Muslim League flags flew in place of the white ensign on board several RIN ships in the harbour.91

**Serious View in Delhi.**

A serious view is taken here of the trouble with RIN at Bombay which comes after demonstrations, in their case non-violent, by RIAF other ranks to draw
attention to their grievances. In the case of the naval ratings, the trouble seems to be in the main political. It was scarcely to be expected that ratings in such a large centre of political activity as Bombay, would not become affected to some extent by the prevailing racial tension. There is possibly some jealousy because of the laurels which Congress leaders have heaped on the so called ‘Indian National Army’ to the exclusion of military force which loyally served the United Nations throughout the war.92

**Police Open Fire**

Disorder spread into Bombay city tonight when a crowd smashed shop windows and attacked, burned and wrecked tram cars and buses. Three people were injured and the several police were compelled to open fire......

In accordance with the order of General Sir Claude Auchenleck, who is of course, Commander-in-Chief in India of the Royal Indian Navy, the Army in India, the Royal Indian Air Force, General Lockhard assumed command of all forces of these services in the area. He has been charged with the task of restoring order in the RIN as rapidly as possible. An official announcement at mid-night said the casualties in today’s firing between Indian ratings and British troops are believed to have been negligible-one British Officer injured and a few casualties among RIN rating at castle Barracks.93

**The Hindustan’s Surrender – Shelled by Field Gun**

The following official statements were issued tonight describing the action that ended with the surrender of HMIS Hindustan. Early this morning, after a night without incident, the mutineers in possession of the Hindustan were informed by a Senior Naval Officer that military action to capture the ship would begun unless they surrender forthwith.

The Mutineers were allowed until 9 a.m. for any ratings who wished to do so to leave the ship. No advantage was taken of that period and at about 10 a.m. a senior military officer called upon the mutineers to lay down their arms and abandon ship as this would be their last chance before action to seize the ship was taken.
The mutineers were warned that any man remaining on the deck, who did not surrender, would be fired on. The only response was that some of the mutineers manned the ship’s guns on deck. At 10.35 a.m. after the period of grace had lapsed, strictly controlled rifle fire on individuals still on the ship’s deck was opened by the troops. The ship returned the fire with heavy machine guns, but the military still restricted their fire to snipping by individual riflemen.94

Demands of Strikers at Calcutta
The strike of Indian Naval ratings here continues and attached civilian transport drivers are joining in. New demands include a revision of order for the dismissal of a telegraphist in HMIS Talwar, called B.C.Dutt, the withdrawal of military guards from naval establishments in Bombay and Karachi and the release of all those who have anywhere been arrested in connection with the disturbances. ‘The Statesman’ was informed that the men had no grievances against their Commanding Officer for whom they have the highest respect.95

Mutiny To Be Debated — Criticisms In the Assembly: Masson’s Statement
Repurcussions of the RIN mutiny may, it is feared, be too widespread because of the excitable state of the country. Both the Congress and more recently Muslim politicians have been continuously inciting their followers to the mood for a revolt, should the forthcoming constitutional discussions fail to meet their respective irreconcilable cases. The authority of the Government which in effect has announced its impending retirement in favour of the Indian parties, is not high. The political leaders of some of them have been careful to exhort their followers to maintain discipline and avoid trouble with the authorities to be harnessed to a long table.

The Central Legislative Assembly in a rather excited mood dispensed with question hour this morning in order to take up the subject of the Mutiny. The Congress leaders, it was noticed, did not ask to justify the ratings’ action; but, on the other hand, their criticism was reserved. In particular indignation was expressed over Vice-Admiral Godfrey’s broadcast statement to the effect that order would have to be restored even if it involved the destruction of the Indian Navy, and Mr.Attlee’s announcement that Warships of Royal Navy were on their
way to Bombay. There were mutterings of ‘Shame! from the opposition benches and Asaf Ali, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party protested of their boys against the evident intention of the British to use violence against our Navy. The Hindustan Times quoted Gandhiji as "Only Hindustani can be India’s Lingua Franca." ......... "Constructive work means more than Swaraj." 

"M.P.s reminded of Britain's unfulfilled pledges – Pressmen size up delegates – A Goodwill mission with no definite aims. Pressmen had an opportunity of member of the Viceroy’s Executive Council and leader of the Indian delegation to the Assembly of the United Nations in an interview." 

Congress May Soon Start New Freedom Struggle
The Congress was definite to start a freedom movement for Swaraj if the British Govt. was adamant in not freeing India just after the elections, observed Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant addressing a huge public meeting here on Saturday. Freedom without unity was worse than useless, Hindus and Muslims live side by side in every mohalla and village and town and they would not cease to live as neighbours in Pakistan area as well as in non-Pakistan area.

Newspapers’ Responsibility in Pending Cases Contempt of Court against – ‘Patrika’ not established.

15 Press Idle: Orissa Papers Affected Fifteen leading Presses of Cuttack have remained closed since December 13 affecting among other things publication of Dailies of Orissa.

Jan 12 issue published an open letter to Jinnah –

“A Letter to Mr. Jinnah – Will He Answer These Questions?”

The continuous violence which rocked the country was also captured by the paper:

10 killed in Police Firing in Bombay 70 Bullet injuries among Day’s 500 casualties – Disturbances last till midnight several Lathi charges – Wild Scenes in City on Subhas Bose Day. The disturbances continued throughout the day and after it was thought that quiet had been completely resorted there was recrude scenes of trouble.

"Nawabs alone fear advent of Congress into power" – Pandit Pant lashes out at communal agitators.

Truman Calls on Congress to Approve of Loan to Britain.
"League Following Divide and Rule Policy" Sarat Bose's impassioned plea for unity.  

"Period of Greatest Danger As Freedom Draws Near"- Acharya Kripalani.

Troops Open Fire On Calcutta Crowds Death Toll Mounts to 32 – Military in Control of Entire City – Many Post Offices and Public Buildings Set Ablaze.

**Patriots in Prison – Release Urged**

Pre-Reform Political's petition to Govt. Messrs.Ananta Singh, Ganesh Ghosh, Lokenath Baul, Sukhendu Dastidar, Laimohan Sen, Provat Chakraborty, Purnendu Dasgupta and 14 others pre-reform political prisoners have submitted a petition to the Home Minister, Bengal, urging the release of all categories of political prisoners the pre-reform, the I.N.A., the R.I.N., the August movement and others.

Cabinet Mission's Visit to India Walter Nash's Comment – "Most Amazing Achievement in History."

**Over 10 Crores Deficit**

Finance Member Presents Bengal's First Post War Budget – The Budget estimates presented by the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Muhammad Ali, the Finance Minister in the Bengal Legislative Assembly yesterday afternoon revealed a deficit of over 10 crores.

**BUDGET AT A GLANCE**

(The fig.s are in thousand of Rs.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ACTUALS 1945-46</th>
<th>BUDGET 1946-47</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>REVENUE</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Opening balance</td>
<td>3,64,81</td>
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<td>Revenue Receipts</td>
<td>44,82,75</td>
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<td>Receipts from Debt.</td>
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<td>Heads</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,67,06,38</td>
<td>1,68,58,65</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>EXPENDITURE</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Revenue Expenditure</td>
<td>39,05,81</td>
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<td>Capital Expenditure</td>
<td>6,46,70</td>
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<tr>
<td>Expenditure on Debt.</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Heads</td>
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<td>1,11,48,75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closing Balance</td>
<td>7,65,50</td>
<td>2,66,42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,67,06,38</td>
<td>1,68,58,65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"Dark days Ahead of Bengal – Worse Famine Aprehended – Ramakrishna Mission's Appeal to Public for Relief."

Wide – Scale Starvation in Bengal – People living on ‘Kachu’ Food Debate in Assembly – Govt. Failure to maintain supply of Rice Criticised.

**Freedom in Another Year**

Pandit Nehru urges United Front – "In another year we will be free “ declared Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Congress President, addressing a mass meeting here tonight, in observance of Aug.9. The ‘Quit India’ resolution adopted four years ago yet remained to be fulfilled but he was sure that within a short time India will achieve her independence both by her inherent strength and the force of circumstances obtaining in the world.

**Jinnah Calls Viceroy’s Statement Misleading**

Text of Confidential Correspondence Released.

Jinnah on Wavell’s Broadcast – “It has struck a severe blow to the Muslim League.

The Calcutta police were deliberately deluded “by some members of the Muslim League Ministry” into believing there would be no trouble in Calcutta on Aug 16 – such is the charge made by Mr.Sarat Chandra Bose, Member Designate of the Interim Govt, in an exclusive interview with the United Press of America in Calcutta on Thursday afternoon.

**Premier Threatens Measures Against Press**

Press Warned –

Mr.Suhrawardy: I agree that editorials that incite the section against another will be seriously taken notice of and I hope that these remarks which have come from the opposition are in support of the Govt. I warn you that we are going to take steps, we are going to prosecute, we will ask securities and we shall suspend newspapers. As incidents have got to stop I ask and I demand your support in this behalf.

**Britain Fixes Date of Quitting India**

Final Transfer of Power by June 1948 – Mr.Attlee's Historic Statement Mountbatten to succeed Wavel.
The City Of The Golden Temple Now a Wreck
Loss exceeds 10 crores – Main Bazars & Residential Areas totally destroyed.120

Royal Assent to Independence Bill
Precisely at 10.40 a.m. today, the great new Dominions of India and Pakistan were born and the 400,000,000 people of India came into their inheritance of full political freedom when in the British House of Lords a royal commission of peers, with ceremony and ritual dating back to William, the conqueror’s time, announced the royal assent to the Indian Independence Bill, writes Reuter’s political correspondent.121

Assumption of Power on Aug 15 – Midnight Programme for Constituent Assembly Independence Day Arrangements.122
“Pakistan Zindabad” – Jinnah’s address over the radio
“Not pleasing to Sikhs” – Defence Member’s broadcast
“Transfer in two months” – Attlee’s speech in Commons.123

Nehru on Significance of Aug.15 ‘A Great Day in History of World’ Congress Acceptance of Partition plan explained.
Explaining why the Congress agreed to the division of India Pt.Nehru stated that the state of affairs in the Punjab and Bengal were so serious that influential men from both the provinces urged partition of the province.124

Major States Join Indian Union Instrument of Accession Signed.125

Nehru on The New Flag – Old Traditions Carried. On-This is a Symbol of Freedom! Not of Imperialism.126

The Hitwada Independence Number came out with a Cartoon on – Our Hon. Ministers Are Drunk With Joy!”
The caption was:
“Come, and trip it as you go
On the light, fantastic toe!”

(‘Milton in ‘L’ Allegro’)127

India Awakens To Life and Freedom
Constituent Assembly Assumes Power Amidst Scenes of Joy – Members Dedicate Themselves to the Service of Country and people.128

Mountbatten will further India’s interests – Pays Tribute to Mahatma – Goodwill messages from abroad.129
Prime Ministers of India & Pakistan Visit Amritsar – East and West Punjab situation Discussed – Need for restoring peace and confidence stressed.\textsuperscript{130}

The ‘National Call’ evening daily published the following report: 100 armed forces of the Boundary Force belonging to Pakistan’s Dominion rushed in three police lorries to villages in Amritsar District in the Indian Dominion and started firing indiscriminatory at Hindu and Sikh villagers.\textsuperscript{131}

Demand for change of policy – Warning of “Gravest Consequences.” Forward Block to Quit Congress. Formation of United Front Contemplated.\textsuperscript{132}

Alleged Oppression of Muslims.\textsuperscript{133}

Pakistan’s Threat to Kashmir

The Demand for Independence was fulfilled – power was transferred. India became free. But at what cost? Partition could not bring peace; rather it aggravated the situation. The fire continued to burn in the whole country more so in Punjab and Bengal. The English newspapers remained eloquent witnesses of the change in history of India which was written in blood and tears.

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