"As the war moves faster in Asia administration advisers are convinced that the ticklish problem of India which Roosevelt repeatedly has postponed must be tackled soon. Each time the President has discussed India with Winston Churchill he has received a blunt cold shoulder. Once, last year when United States Ambassador, William Phillips, after his return to this country from India talked to the Prime Minister at F.D.R.'s request Churchill banged the table and said 'I have always been right about Hitler and everyone else in Europe. I am also right about Indian policy, any change in Indian policy now will mean a bloodbath; at about the time Phillips talked to Churchill he also submitted a report to President Roosevelt which will be the basis for any new United States proposals to Britain. In this report Ambassador Phillips, generally considered pro-British, made some critical forthright statements about British policy. 'It is time for the British to act' he wrote to President Roosevelt. 'this they can do by a solemn declaration from the King-Emperor that India will achieve her independence at a specific date after the war. I feel strongly Mr. President that in view of our military position in India we should have a voice in these matters. It is not right for the British
to say this is none of your business when we alone presumably will have the major part to play in the struggle with Japan'.

Ambassador Phillips' report is considered so important inside the State Department and the whole Indian picture is so vital to Allied success in Asia that a large part of his report follows:

'Dear Mr. President: May I add a few words to what I said to you on Tuesday afternoon when I had the pleasure of giving you an oral report on my impressions of the Indian situation. Assuming that India is known to be an important base for our future operations against Burma and Japan it would seem to be of the highest importance that we should have around us a sympathetic India rather than an indifferent and possibly hostile India. It would appear that we will have the prime responsibility in the conduct of the war against Japan. There is no evidence that the British intend to do more than give token assistance. If that is so then the conditions surrounding our base in India become of vital importance. At present the Indian people are at war only in a legal sense, Indians feel they have no voice in the Government and therefore no responsibility in the conduct of the war.
They feel that they have nothing to fight for as they are convinced that the professed war aims of the United Nations do not apply to them. The British Prime Minister in fact has stated that the provisions of the Atlantic Charter are not applicable to India and it is not unnatural therefore that Indian leaders are beginning to wonder whether the Charter is only for the benefit of the white races. The present Indian Army is purely mercenary. General Stilwell has expressed his concern over the situation and in particular in regard to the poor morale of the Indian officers. The attitude of the general public towards the war is even worse, lassitude and indifference and bitterness have increased as a result of the famine conditions, the growing high cost of living and continued political deadlock. While India is broken politically into various parties and groups all have one object in common, eventual freedom and independence from British domination.

'Time for British to act' There would seem to be only one remedy to this highly unsatisfactory situation in which we are unfortunately but nevertheless seriously involved and that is to change the attitude of the people of India toward this war, make them feel that we want them to assume responsibilities to the United Nations and are prepared to give them facilities for
doing so. The present political conditions do not permit of any improvement in this respect. Even though the British should fail again it is high time that they should make an effort to improve conditions and re-establish confidence among the Indian people that their future independence is to be granted, words are of no avail, they only aggravate the present situation, it is time for the British to act. This they can do by a solemn declaration from the King-Emperor that India will achieve her independence at a specific date after the war and that as a guarantee of good faith in this respect a provisional representative coaliation Government will be re-established at the centre and limited powers transferred to it.

'Much at stake for United States. I feel strongly Mr. President that in view of our military position in India, we should have a voice in these matters. It is not right for the British to say this is none of your business when presumably we alone will have the major part to play in the struggle with Japan. If we do nothing and merely accept the British point of view that conditions in India are none of our business, then we must be prepared for various serious consequences in the internal situation in India which may develop as a result of the despair and misery and anti-white sentiments of hundreds of millions of subject people;
the peoples of Asia - and I am supported in this opinion by other diplomatic and military observers - cynically regard this war as one between Fascist and imperialist powers. A generous British gesture to India would change this undesirable political atmosphere, India itself might then be expected more positively to support our war against Japan. China, which regards the Anglo-American bloc with misgivings and mistrust might then be assured that we are in truth fighting for a better world and the colonial people conquered by the Japanese might hopefully feel that they have something better to look forward to than simply a return to their old masters. Such a gesture, Mr. President, will produce not only a tremendous psychological stimulus to flagging morale through Asia and facilitate our military operations in that theatre, but it will also be proof positive to all peoples — our own and the British included — that this is not a war of power politics but a war for all we say it is."