

the statements of its leaders make it quite clear that the Congress will not do anything to embarrass the war effort of the country.

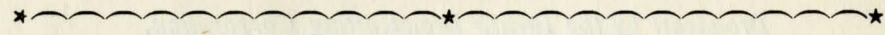
At the moment the tide of feeling is beginning to run even higher. Italy's entry into the war has brought the peril nearer home to India. But if Nationalist India is to pull her full weight in the struggle, it will be necessary to come to a satisfactory understanding on the political issues that still hamper the free expression of our fundamental unity—a unity which adversity will only strengthen. The Congress and the Moslem League, British India and that part of India which is ruled by the Princes; India as a whole, and Britain, have now in this hour of their common peril, their greatest opportunity for settling many old problems. The things that bind India's destiny to that of the Allies are deep and fundamental. And I am sure that the statesmanship required to brush away the last mental reservations between us will shortly be forthcoming, both in my country and in yours.



World war, 1939-

India,

PAMPHLET OFFICE

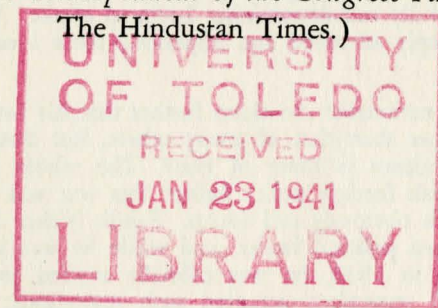


India and the War

by

T. A. RAMAN

(Member of the Indian Congress Party,
London Correspondent of the Congress Paper,
The Hindustan Times.)



THE BRITISH LIBRARY OF INFORMATION
50 Rockefeller Plaza New York

Mr. T. A. Raman's Speech

Broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation,

June 11, 1940.

Most talks on India begin with a catalogue of the diverse elements which go to make up the four hundred millions of the population: the Hindus and the Moslems, the various castes and creeds, the fabulously wealthy Maharajahs and the peasants with threepence a day—all the medley of conflicting political, religious and economic interests.

Now, all these differences undoubtedly exist, and, as a result, the politics of India are very involved—as the affairs of so large a country are bound to be. But, I think, I would rather stress the things that bind India together. And if there is one subject on which the nation is wholly and ardently united, it is a deep detestation of all that the Nazis stand for: aggression, the philosophy of brute force, the exaltation of the State above all other ethics, the denial of individual liberty, the organized suppression of truth—these are the things that India most abhors.

I claim that no section of the world is more deeply anti-Nazi than the Indian nationalists. The movement for India's self-determination is, under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, based on the twin concepts of truth and non-violence. Throughout all these years of agitation and struggle, Indian nationalism has kept violence and racial hatred at arm's length. Non-violent in its methods, anti-violent in its fundamental ideology, the Indian nationalist movement seeks to regenerate and unify a great people. As our poet Tagore puts it, it is in a world fearless and free, and unbroken into fragments by race and creed and nationality, that we want a fully self-determining India to awake. Who, in modern times, has so deeply affronted and imperilled these ideals as Hitler and Mussolini?

The Indian nationalist can claim further that his hatred of Hitlerism is not only deeper than that of many others, but that it is of earlier date. What evidence is there of this? The whole trend of Indian criticism of British foreign policy before this war was that it appeared to temporize with obviously evil forces. Pandit Nehru is, after Gandhi, India's best known political leader, and while he was in Prague during the Czech crisis in 1938, he was officially invited to visit Germany. Others, you will remember, accepted such invitations; but the Indian leader left the Germans in no doubt as to his own feelings on the subject. He rejected the invitation so summarily that the German wireless started a violent personal campaign against him. Likewise, Mussolini knows how vain have been *his* efforts to get Pandit Nehru to visit Italy.

Another proof of India's deep detestation of the Nazis is the support that the nationalist Press has always given to Mr. Churchill. Now Indian

nationalists are sometimes charged with thinking only of their own narrow interests, but their attitude towards Mr. Churchill is proof that they can take a larger view. You will remember that when the Government of India Bill was before Parliament, Mr. Churchill was the staunchest opponent of this measure, which gave, as it seemed to us, only a grudging modicum of self-government to India. India has not forgotten Mr. Churchill's attitude in that context, and yet she has always supported him, because she recognized that he had from the first understood the true character of the Nazi menace, and was the man best fitted to lead the country when the storm broke out.

With such a fundamental identity of interest, what is it then that still holds India back? The answer to that is—that India is *not* holding back. Her factories are working overtime meeting the war demands; her war fund is swelling day by day; her recruiting offices daily turn away hundreds of volunteers; and all the resources of a great country, much more industrialized than she was in the last war, are harnessed to the war effort of the Allies.

Nevertheless, it is true that India is capable of an even greater effort. Few realize the part that she will have to play in the struggle that lies ahead of us. Not only is she the centre of the scheme of Allied defence in the East but, at a later stage in the war, when the German-Italian offensive has been arrested and we begin the task of driving the defeat home, and of finally crushing this menace, India will bulk even larger. With her men, her wealth, and her uttermost sacrifice, she will have to fight decisively in her own interests and in that of civilization. That part will not be played adequately and well, unless India's natural leaders direct the moral as well as the material effort of the country.

In the last few weeks, India has realized the full implications of the peril that now overhangs us. We realize that it is India's destiny as well as that of Britain and France that is being determined. We know that there can be no hope of freedom or grace in life if the Nazis are allowed to win. We realize the peril, and the pace at which it is advancing. No Indian has the smallest doubt in his mind that if the Nazi tanks storm their way to victory, the hope of India as well as that of the rest of the freedom-loving world would be crushed—bone and limb.

This surging sympathy of the people is at one with Britain and France in this hour of their greatest trial. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that all the political leaders of India have yet completely identified themselves with the cause, and taken their rightful place in leading the country's war effort. Mahatma Gandhi speaks of the hundreds of letters he receives urging that, in such a crisis, India should agree to call a truce to the political controversy with Britain. Pandit Nehru has said that it would be derogatory to the honour of India to bargain when Britain is fighting for her life. As a result, today, though the official policy of the Indian National Congress Party still remains unchanged,