

LARGEST CIRCULATION IN NORTHERN, NORTH-WESTERN AND CENTRAL INDIA

NEW DELHI: FRIDAY, AUGUST 15, 1947.

INDIA INDEPENDENT : BRITISH RULE ENDS

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY TAKES OVER

MOUNTBATTEN'S APPOINTMENT AS GOVERNOR-GENERAL ENDORSED

COLOURFUL CEREMONY MARKS BIRTH OF NATION

(By Our Special Representative)

NEW DELHI, Thursday.—At midnight tonight the Constituent Assembly, consisting of the chosen representatives of the Indian people, assumed sovereign power and the members solemnly took the pledge to serve India and her people. "We end today a period of ill fortune and India discovers herself again," said Pandit Nehru in calling upon the members to take the new pledge.

Earlier the President of the Constituent Assembly, Dr Rajendra Prasad, said: "To all we give the assurance that it will be our endeavour to end poverty and squalor and its companions, hunger and disease, to abolish distinctions and exploitation and to ensure decent conditions of living."

After the Assembly had sat for 75 minutes, during which it assumed powers of government and endorsed the appointment of Lord Mountbatten as Governor-General, Dr Rajendra Prasad and Pt. Nehru proceeded to the Government House to inform Lord Mountbatten of the Assembly's decisions. Later, the National Flag presented to the Assembly by Mrs Hansa Mehta on behalf of the women of India was hoisted amidst cheers of thousands who had gathered outside the Council House.

The climax was reached when at the last stroke of midnight there was blowing of conches and spontaneously the cry of "Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai" went up. That these were the first words uttered by the representatives of Indian people on attaining freedom was an expression of the people's gratitude to the architect of the nation to whom both Pandit Nehru and Dr Rajendra Prasad paid glowing tributes in their speeches.

The birth of a free India was witnessed by diplomatic representatives of the nations representing more than half the population of the globe. Ambassadors of the U.S.A. and China were there and also High Commissioners of Canada and Australia and diplomatic representatives of other countries.

It was the greatest hour for Delhi. This capital of many mighty empires became today or the first time in its history the seat of 'Lok raj,' government of the people, by the people and for the people.

The Assembly Hall was full to capacity and appeared most impressive. The National Flag adorned the dozen large panels some of which formerly had life size portraits of British dignitaries. The flags provided the proper background for the momentous occasion.

Speeches of Dr Rajendra Prasad and Pandit Nehru on page 21.

us meeting. Loudspeakers carried the proceedings to the thousands who had thronged outside. The visitors inside the Hall were certainly a select gathering, mostly wives of officials in respondent niks and relatives of members of the Assembly. It was a pity that the man in the street got little

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HOMAGE TO THE FATHER OF THE NATION

Eloquent tributes to Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, were paid by India's leaders during the transfer of power ceremony in the Constituent Assembly on Thursday night.

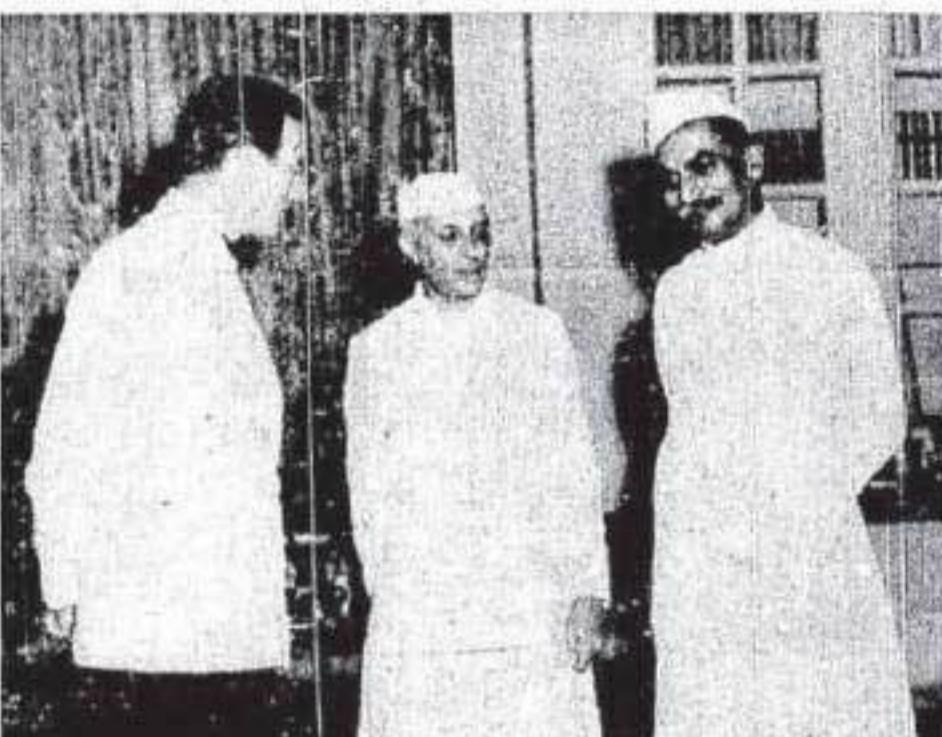
Pandit Nehru, in his speech, referring to Gandhi said: "The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye." In his Independence message to the Nation, Pandit Nehru said: "... Succeeding generations will bear the imprint in their hearts of this great son of India, magnificent in his faith and strength and courage and humanity."

Dr Rajendra Prasad said: "Gandhi represents that undying spirit in our culture and make-up which has kept India alive through vicissitudes of history. He... enabled us to stand up for justice, to claim our birth-right of freedom and placed in our hands the matchless and unfailing weapon of non-violence, which without arms and armaments has won us the invaluable prize of Swaraj..."

Sardar Patel said in his Independence message: "We are proud to have brought India to its goal and proclaim the glorious results achieved by a long-sustained, peaceful and non-violent struggle under Gandhi's inspiring leadership."

Acharya Kripalani said: "That this (Independence) has been possible is due to the inspiring leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, who, if any man may so be called, is the Father of the Nation."

• STORIES CONTINUED ON p24



INDIA'S BIG THREE—Earl Mountbatten, Governor-General of India, Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister, and Dr Rajendra Prasad, President of the Constituent Assembly—at the Government House where the two Indian leaders went after the midnight session of the Constituent Assembly to inform Earl Mountbatten that the Constituent Assembly had assumed sovereign powers and had endorsed his appointment as Governor-General.

Governors Sworn In As Free India Is Born

The new Governors of Indian provinces were sworn in at midnight on Thursday.

In the midst of recitals from Hindu, Jain, Bushi, Christians, Muslim and Sikh Holy Scriptures, Mrs Sarojini Naidu was installed at Lucknow as the first Indian Governor of the U.P. in a Free India.

The oath of allegiance and office was administered by the Chief Justice of Allahabad High Court in Hindi in the ball room of Government House which was fully packed. After the swearing-in ceremony Mrs Sarojini Naidu administered oath of office and secrecy to the Premier, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, and three other Ministers, Mr Sampranaman, Mr Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim and Tapir Hukum Singh.

BHARAT

Mr Jairamdas Doulatram was sworn in as Governor of Bihar at Government House in Patna at midnight tonight. The ceremony took in about ten minutes.

Mr Jairamdas entered the hall at 11:35 p.m. clad in Khaki shirt and cloth pyjama and wore a Gandhi cap. He was greeted with shouts of "Jai Hind" and "Satyameva Jayate".

He took the oath of allegiance in Hindustani and signed his name in Devanagari.

After the Chief Secretary read out the warrant of appointment in Hindustani, the Chief Justice of Patna High Court administered the oath of allegiance.

All the Ministers, the President of the Provincial Congress Committee and prominent officials and non-officials were present on the oath of office. For the first time in the history of the province, Government officers except police officers attended a function at Government House in Indian dress.

The Governor of West Bengal, Mr Rajendra Prasad, and his Council of Ministers, headed by Dr P.C. Ghosh, were sworn in at Government House in Calcutta at midnight today.

Mountbatten Praises

Helpful Attitude

Of Indian Press

I send my greetings and best wishes to the Indian Press and to all my readers on this historic day, says Lord Mountbatten, Governor-General of the Indian Dominion, in a message.

He adds: It is good to know that paper restrictions have been relaxed to enable special Independence Day numbers to be produced and justice to be done to a great occasion.

I would like to pay my tribute to the constructive attitude of the Press during my brief but crowded term of office as Viceroy. Upon the Press has fallen the heavy responsibility for keeping the public well-informed about one of the most complex political and administrative operations in history. By upholding fair comment and accurate reports, it has an equally vital part to play in the future. There can be no other guarantee to a nation's welfare than a free Press in the service of a free nation.

LIMITLESS FIELD FOR PROGRESS

LADY MOUNTBATTEN

During the past five months I have been able to see for myself what a valuable contribution the Press has made to the great events we are now celebrating, and I have been most impressed by the space and treatment given to all those activities affecting the health, education and social welfare of the people, says Lady Mountbatten in a message. She adds: There remains a limitless field for progress in which united effort must be made to achieve an assured, happy and full life for every man, woman and child in this vast country. On this depends largely her future security, prosperity and rightful place in the world. Progress is not confined to one territory alone, but with India's lead in anti-malaria work, is of worldwide significance.

At this time when the eyes of the world are on this country, I look forward to the contribution India can make in the years to come to the well-being of humanity.

THE NEW CABINET

The New Cabinet, which will function from August 15, will consist of the following members. Their portfolios are indicated opposite their names:

Jawaharlal Nehru: Prime Minister; External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations; Scientific Research.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: Home; Information and Broadcasting; States.

Dr Rajendra Prasad: Food and Agriculture.

Mohammed Ali Jinnah: Education.

Dr John Mathai: Railways and Transport.

Sardar Baldev Singh: Defence.

Shri Jagjivan Ram: Labour.

Mr C. H. Bhabha: Commerce.

Mr Rafi Ahmed Kidwai: Communications.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: Health.

Dr B. R. Ambedkar: Law.

Shri R. K. Shanmukham Chetty: Finance.

Dr Syama Prasad Mukherji: Industries and Supplies.

Shri H. V. Gadilal: Works, Mines and Power.

LUCKNOW RESIDENCY FLAG LOWERED

LUCKNOW, Aug. 14.—The only flag in the British Empire which has not been lowered since 1937—the Union Jack, fluttering on Lucknow Residency—was hauled down last night, about 24 hours before the transfer of power from British to Indian hands.

The hauling-down ceremony was kept a guarded secret by the military authorities.

The Union Jack on Government House, Lucknow, was lowered this afternoon with the departure from the city of Sir Francis Wylie, the last British Governor of the U.P.

The Indian National Flag will be hoisted on Government House by Mrs Sarojini Naidu tomorrow morning—A.P.I.

MOUNTBATTEN AWARDED EARLDOM

LONDON, Aug. 14.—Viscount Mountbatten, Governor-General of India, was today awarded an Earldom.

NEW STAR RISES IN THE EAST

LEADERS TELL NATION OF TASKS AHEAD

The appointed day has come—the day appointed by destiny—and India stands forth again after long slumber and struggle, awake, vital, free and independent, says Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a message to the nation on Freedom Day.

"The past clings on to us still in some measure and we have to do much before we redeem the pledges we have so often taken. Yet the turning point is past, history begins anew for us, the history which we shall live and act and others will write about.

"It is a fateful moment for us in India, for all Asia and for the world. A new star rises, the star of freedom in the East, a new hope comes into being, a vision long cherished materializes. May the stars never set and that hope never be betrayed."

"We rejoice in that freedom, even though clouds surround us, and many of our people are sorrow-stricken and difficult problems encompass us. But freedom brings responsibilities and burdens and we have to face them in the spirit of a free and dedicated people."

"On this day our first thoughts go to the architect of this freedom, the Father of our nation who, embodying the old spirit of India, held aloft the torch of freedom and lighted up the darkness that surrounded us. We have often been unworthy followers of his and have strayed from his message but not only we but succeeding generations will remember this message and bear the imprint in their hearts of this great son of India, magnificent in his faith and strength and courage and humanity. We shall never allow that torch of freedom to be blown out, however high the wind or stormy the tempest."

"Our next thoughts must be of the unknown volunteers and soldiers of freedom who, without praise or reward, have served India even unto death."

"We think also of our brothers and sisters who have been cut off from us by political boundaries and who unhappy, cannot share its present in the freedom that has come. They are of us and will remain of us whatever may happen, and we shall be sharers in their good and ill fortune alike."

"The future beckons to us. Whether do we go and what shall be our endeavour? To bring freedom and opportunity to the common man, to our people as well as for the furtherance of the peace and prosperity of the world.

(Continued on Page 20 Col. 1)

Attlee's Greetings

To Nehru

My colleagues in the United Kingdom join with me in sending on this historic day greetings and good wishes to the Government and the people of India.

It is our earnest wish that India may go forward in tranquillity and prosperity, and in so doing contribute to the peace and prosperity of the world, says Mr Attlee, British Prime Minister, in a message to Pandit Nehru.

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The All-India Women's Conference

by the Economic and Social Council of the U.N.O. along with other non-governmental Agencies—Reserve

Blessed Dawn of Independence!

The 15th of August 1947 marks the dawning of a new era in India—the era of Independence.

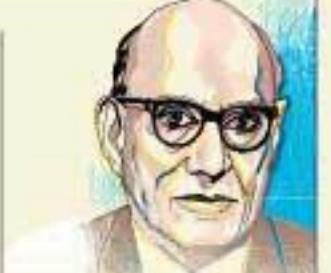
For centuries past, there hardly was an occasion more propitious, more enlivening than the present one, because it brings forty millions of men and women to the door of vast and dynamic possibilities in all spheres of social and economic development. The trials and tribulations undergone in the past by millions of patriots, the self-sacrificing blood shed by countless martyrs, have at last ended in triumphal culmination which we celebrate to-day.

But our brotherhood, art and culture, our language, literature, that have abided upon our soil, are great and unique in significance, they will continue to flourish and grow, and our constant vigil and co-operation efforts will in turn to the greatest good of all. This country will rise to importance of a commanding economic and political force of the entire continent. Our countrymen to rise equal to the needs of the time. India is soon to occupy a foremost place in the comity of nations.

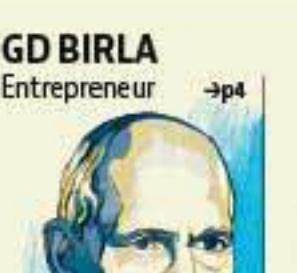
Long Live Free India!

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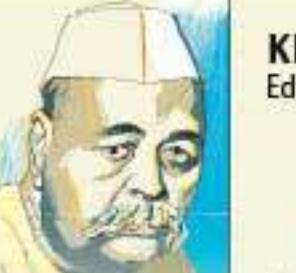
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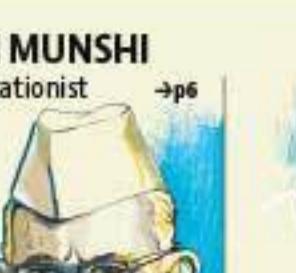
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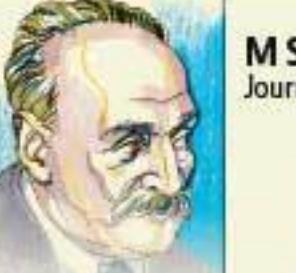
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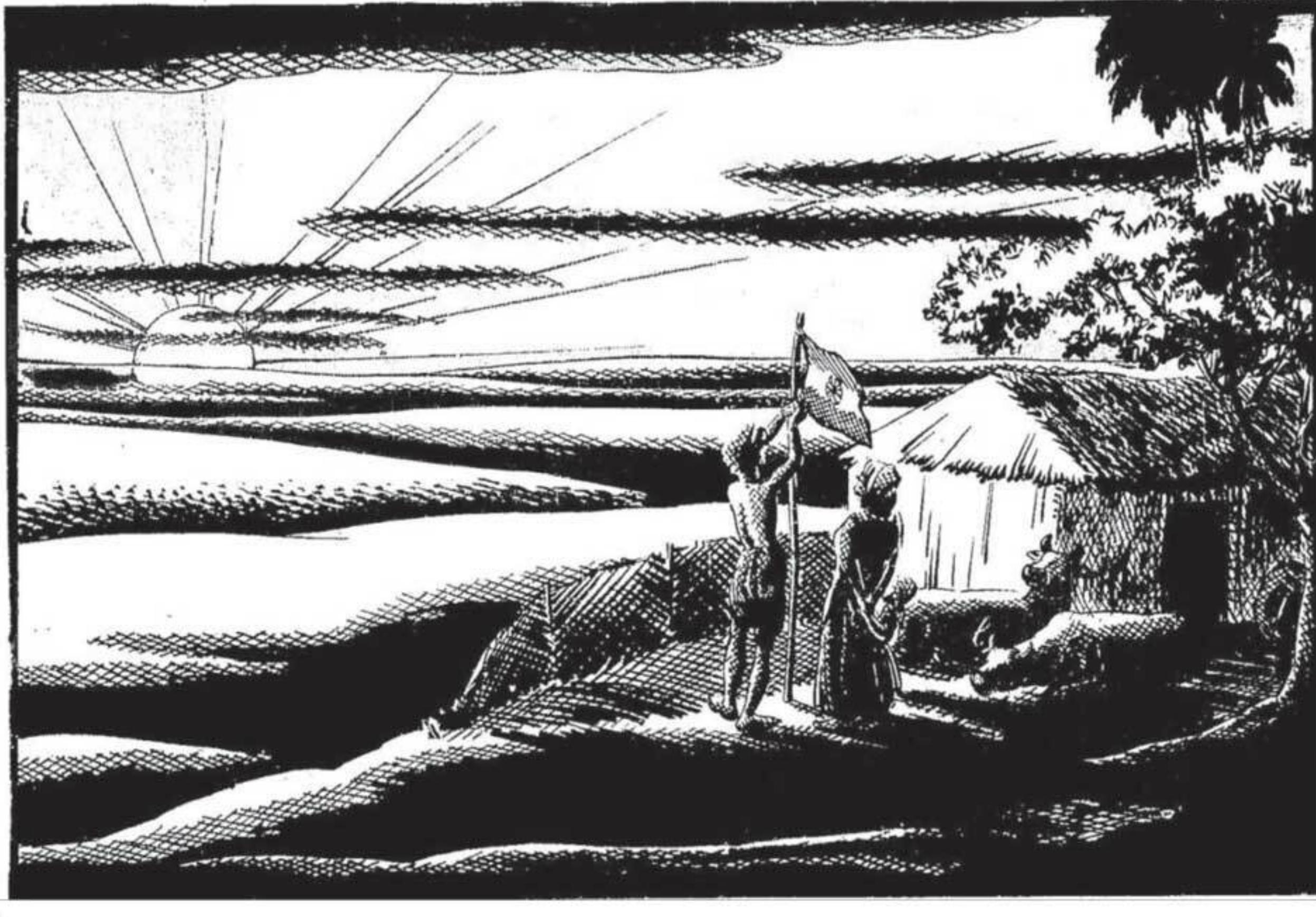
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INSIDE

SPOTLIGHT 75 YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE

COLLECTOR'S EDITION

On August 15, 1947, Hindustan Times published a special edition to mark India's Independence with pieces from eminent thinkers of the time. We bring to you exclusive articles from that issue to mark 75 years of Independence.



The Swaraj that has dawned has conjured up before the poor the prospect of Ram raj, for the middle class of assured employment, for the upper middle class of power, and for aristocracy, self-respect. The road by which India has travelled to the goal of freedom has been long and hazardous.



The article, titled 'Journey's end—beginning of another', as it was published in the Hindustan Times on August 15, 1947.



Durga Das

FORMER EDITOR, HINDUSTAN TIMES

Journey's end — beginning of another

Freedom has dawned. It has broken in upon us earlier than most Indians expected, much earlier than any Briton imagined. It is the greatest event in India's long and chequered history since it marks the end of the 1,000-year-old subjection to the rule of a succession of foreign conquerors.

It has happened because India had made up her mind to close the chapter of her slavery; it has come about suddenly because Britons made up their mind that their Indian business had become a liability and they must cut their losses.

World War I left Britain shaken but not insolvent. The income from its foreign investments and services filled the adverse gap in imports and exports.

World War II has impoverished that country. To hold India, Britain had neither the material strength nor moral. Labour, which came to power as a result of the internal social revolution in England, did not suffer from imperialist inhibitions and has seen their country's salvation in quitting India.

Apparently, it is an orderly withdrawal but Britons in India have done their bit to scuttle the ship of State. Only Mountbatten has attempted to stop the leaks so that it may keep afloat.

To change the metaphor John Bull is not handing over to us a governing concern. India under British rule was solidly knit, politically and administratively. The British plan of June 3 divided it into India and Pakistan and permitted the 600 odd states to become independent. This was a division with a vengeance. The entire British administration, built on a "steel frame", has been suddenly withdrawn and the successors are told that they can pick up its Indian parts and piece them together.

The State is far from solvent. The country's economic resources can feed and clothe only 300 out of 400 million. Since 1900, the population has outpaced the country's economic development for long, the joint family system served as a cushion to soften the blow; latterly we have lived by continuously reducing the living standards of the masses. Now starvation stares millions in the face. This is the direct result of the colonial economy British administrators pursued in this country. Had it not been for the enterprise of Indian businessmen, who built up industries despite heavy odds, the economic crisis would have occurred ear-

lier. But whatever good Indian enterprise had done was more than neutralised by the manner India's resources were used by Britain for World War II. With the use of the motives of profit and employment, this country was denuded of goods and materials to such an extent that today inflation is the biggest single danger to the stability of the State and corruption the worst cancer in the body politic. About three million lives were lost in the Bengal famine. And now the worst blow has been the division of the country, separating its agricultural areas from the industrial.

INTANGIBLE ASSETS

The assets we are inheriting are mostly the intangible ones – a well-organised administrative system, a large body of trained public servants, experienced in the working of parliamentary institutions, a mastery of the English language so useful for international contacts and commerce, modern business methods and a sound modern banking system. If Britain had wanted to hold on to India it would have had to become a blood bank for the next 15 years since this country needs investment of about ₹15,000 crores to be rejuvenated. The Tata-Birla plan has made that clear. Such an investment was impossible for Britain, living as she is on American doles, and the business would have been hazardous with the entire Indian people in revolt against foreign rule. Why, even judged by what Franklin Roosevelt did during the war and the average American's growing interest in India's freedom, Britain would have found it impossible to hold India in defiance of world opinion. In predicting over the liquidation of the British empire, Mr Clement Attlee has thus been a truer Briton than the fulminating Churchill. The Swaraj that has dawned has conjured up before the poor the prospect of Ram raj, for the middle class of assured employment, for the upper middle class of power, and for aristocracy self-respect. The road by which India has travelled to the goal of freedom has been long and hazardous. But there were a few Englishmen who had the vision to see the ultimate end of British rule. First among them was Macaulay who foresaw that education in English and contact with British institutions would make the nimble-minded Indian absorb their system and ultimately demand self-government. Ripon laid the foundation for popular rule by introducing local self-government. Edwin Mon-

tag appreciated the need for specifying responsible government as the goal of British policy in India. Irwin defined the goal as Dominion Status. Churchill under the stress of war acknowledged India's right to frame her own constitution and to leave the Commonwealth while also suggesting that the Muslim majority areas could secede from the country. Attlee resolved on quitting India by June 1948. Mountbatten advanced the date to August 15, 1947, vivisecting the country and making India and Pakistan two separate dominions in the bargain.

STINKING NAMES

There have also been Britons whose names stink – Curzon and Willingdon, O'Dwyer and Dyer, Hallet and Mudie. They boasted that they had crushed nationalism and the Congress. They were the heroes of the average Britons in India who would never entertain the idea of this country becoming free. Coming from a class-ridden British society, the middle-class Englishman found fulfilment in playing the aristocrat in India, the proper middle-class man in playing royalty, and the aristocrat in building up his family prestige. These Britons honestly thought that India offered an ideal country for permanent over-lordship. Their study of the succession of foreign rulers had convinced them that the main cause of the downfall of former empires was that in India's climate, the ruling class lost its virility and soon merged into the ocean of Indian humanity. So they devised a system under which British public servants, as well as businessmen working in India, would retire after 30 years, giving place to new blood. And they gave the public servant conditions of employment which made him economically sheltered and, with the advent of English women, he also became socially exclusive.

WHAT HAILEY SAID

During 30 years of close contact with scores of British civil servants in India, I found only one who had the vision to see what was coming. That was Sir Malcolm Hailey, now Lord Hailey. Once when I had a quiet lunch with him at Government House, Lucknow, he said: "The only party which can

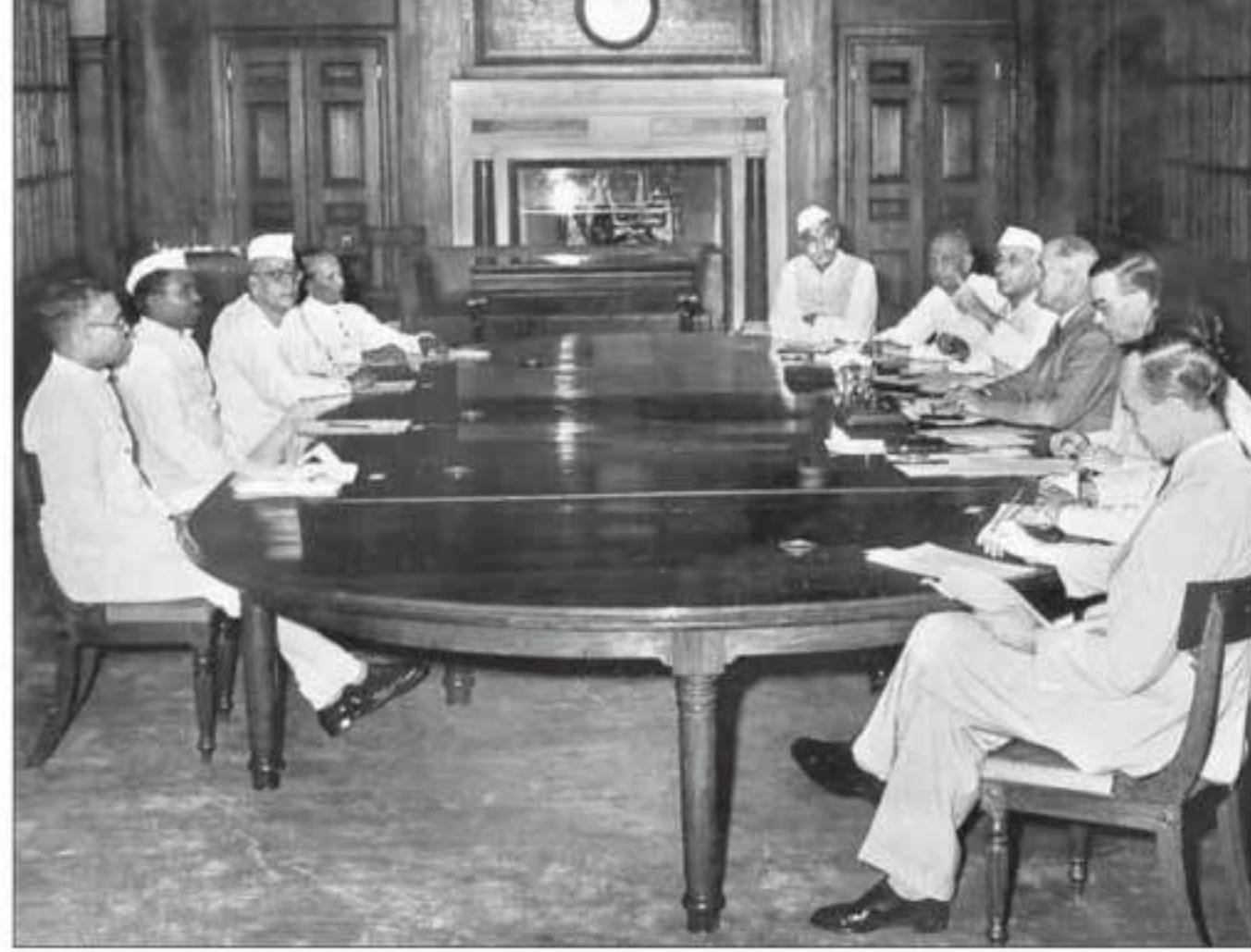
be our successor is the Congress. It alone is developing the strength to hold the reins of government. Administration requires character and that comes to a people ready to make sacrifices for their ideals. The talukdars and zamindars of the UP whom we call natural leaders are an effete body, if I want any one of them to donate a lakh of rupees for a public cause, he will not donate an anna on his own. So, you see, why we fight the Congress."

LINLITHGOW'S DREAM

But as late as 1944, two days before he departed from India at the end of the longest Viceroyalty, Lord Linlithgow talked to me in these terms in answer to a question as to what he visualised India's future would be. "I think it will take India 50 years to be completely self-governing. This country is a three-legged stool, the three legs being Hindus, Muslims and the British. If you remove one leg, the stool will fall. The British will provide the necessary leaven to make the Parliamentary institutions work and grow. Now that air-conditioning has made life tolerable, a large British community should settle down in India and make it their home. That way lies India's salvation."

The reason why Britons were so confident of their permanent position in India was their belief that the system of government they had built up was shockproof. On Hindu society, divided into castes, had been superimposed by the Moghuls a thick layer of the aristocracy. Without disturbing this setup the British further imposed on the structure a thick layer of Indian bureaucracy and a top layer of British bureaucracy. Every Indian in the Government's employ received several times his market value besides an opportunity for earning free grants of land and titles and for employment for his children and corruption. There was the overall attraction of prestige attached to the official class. Government officials by offering contracts to their favourites and British businessmen by offering import and export agencies to Indians further strengthened their hold on the country's caste and class leadership.

In Britain, parliament is supreme and in America the Supreme Court. But to this day the executive has been supreme in India.



Syed Ali Zaheer, Jagjivan Ram, Subhas Chandra Bose, Asaf Ali, Dr Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and HE Lord Archibald Wavell, during a meeting.

Thus even the judiciary and the administration functioned subject to the overriding consideration of loyalty to British rule. That is why justice was generally denied in political cases and the administration threw all its codes to the winds in dealing with disloyal elements and in showing preference to the loyal. This phase of executive supremacy was at its worst during the last war with the result that the administrative machine has become corrupt to the core, leaving a terrible legacy for the successor government.

India in winning her freedom has contributed something unique to the known history of mankind and has been influenced by the doctrine of "might is right". The Macedonian spear, the Spanish sword, the British gunpowder, the German flying bomb and the American atom bomb have been weapons of destruction invented by man's ingenuity. The weapon of Satyagraha is India's contribution and its success against the mightiest Empire in the world has opened a new chapter in the history of man's liberation. Believing in its efficacy several hundred thousands were shot down and hundreds flogged.

This novel weapon of the oppressed people was invented by Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi in fighting the battle of his people in South Africa against the racial tyranny of the Whites. Its success there emboldened its inventor to try it on a mass scale in his home land-India. Since in the English language he did not find an equivalent expression, Mahatma Gandhi translated it as "non-violent non-cooperation". And when he first announced this movement the then British Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, called it "the most foolish of all foolish schemes".

India's freedom movement is thus largely a chronicle of Gandhi and his leadership. The Indian National Congress was born in 1885 and until 1906 its aim as described by Surendra Nath Banerjee was to secure by petitioning and arguing the increasing association of Indians with the administration. For the next 14 years, it asked for responsible government and offered responsive co-operation. The new goal was set by Dadabhai Naoroji who asked for Swaraj or "the system of government obtaining in self-governing British colonies." The policy of responsive co-operation was inspired largely by Tilak. The Rowlatt Act, the Punjab disturbances, the Martial Law regime and the Jallianwala Bagh massacre brought Gandhi ji on the scene, powerfully assisted by Malaviya, Motilal and CRD Hartal, as a political weapon, and satyagraha was first used as a protest against the Punjab atrocities in 1920. From 1922 onward Congress pursued the policy of non-cooperation, asking first for Dominion Status, next for independence and finally demanding that Britons quit India.

FAR-SEEING BRITONS

A few far-seeing Britons visualised the potentiality of the Congress movement when the wave of nationalism rose in Bengal against the partition of the province in 1905 and spread to other parts of the country, taking the form of a swadeshi movement. Some Britons inspired the birth of the All-India Muslim League as a counterforce. It was the Home Member of the Government of India who drew up a memorandum which the Aga Khan and others signed asking for separate electorates. The Minto-Morley reforms were thus vitiated. This evil genius said to himself: "I have sown a seed which will flower in a generation and yield bitter fruit."

From the day when the Aga Khan Deputation signed on the dotted line, Indian politics has been a series of conflicts between the British and the Congress. The British have a genius for giving a moral cover to their policies. In this matter, they satisfied their conscience by saying: "the Muslim is the underdog. We must save him from the Hindu."

SPOTLIGHT

•• COLLECTOR'S EDITION ••

Muslim leaders said to the Congress: "This business of separate electorates is a temporary evil. We shall discard it as soon as we are more advanced."

Congress leaders knew that the British were trying the game of 'divide and rule' but they submitted to the pleading of their Muslim friends.

LUCKNOW PACT

The Lucknow Pact of 1916 was thus born. It recognised separate electorates and gave substantial weightage to Muslims where they were in a minority and to somewhat counterbalance it reduced their majority in Bengal and the Punjab. The British expressed himself horrified at this 'injustice' to the Muslims, so the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and the Government of India Act of 1919 tore up the Pact and the Scheme and, outbidding the Congress, gave the Muslims higher representation in Bengal and the Punjab, while retaining the weightage in the other provinces. About this time Gandhiji came on the scene as an active political force. The Punjab atrocities had vitiated the atmosphere in which the Montford Reforms were launched. The war had resulted in the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire.

Gandhiji espoused the cause of Khilafat. He had a Khilafat deputation to the Viceroy in January 1920, and failing to get satisfaction, actually launched a non-cooperation movement in defence of Khilafat. The effect was electric. Muslim divines and masses all rallied to the Congress flag; even the Muslim League changed its politics and lined up with the Congress. The effect of this unity did not last long. The Khilafat issue became dead with Turkey's abandonment of religious leadership and her emergence as an independent republic. Hindu-Muslim riots occurred in many towns beginning with Multan. The Punjab cauldron began to boil with communalists' activities. A new cry rose. The Muslims asked for better representation in the Central Legislature, reservation in public services, a majority in the Punjab and Bengal legislatures, the carving out of Sind as a separate province and reforms in the NWFP.

Since the All-India Muslim League had become a nationalist body and Mr MA Jinnah, its permanent President, favoured joint electorates, another ad hoc organisation was set up by Muslim loyalists. This, too, was headed by the Aga Khan. It was called the All-parties' Muslim Conference. The Simon Commission and the British Government overnight accepted this body as the true spokesman of Muslim India. A unity conference almost succeeded in finding a solution but the Secretary of State torpedoed it by offering Muslims a little more. The Communal Award given by Premier MacDonald and a resolution making reservations in the services followed. It was said that that was the last word in appealing the Muslims.

Certainly, Fazl-i-Hussain, the inspiration for the award, meant it. But he died leaving the loyalist group leaderless. Then came the general election of 1936-37 leading to the establishment of Congress ministries in six provinces. The Congress in the UP made the mistake of allowing its Muslim members to seek elections on the Muslim League ticket. This province alone returned a fair number of Muslim Leaguers, Pandit Nehru failed to accommodate Chaudhury Khaliq-uz-Zaman and Nawas Ismail Khan in the Ministry. That annoyed Mr Jinnah. The British authorities saw their opportunity and directed Premier Sikandar Hayat Khan and Premier Fazlul Haq to go under Mr Jinnah's umbrella. This strengthened the League and the Lahore resolution asking for the separate Muslim states was drafted by the Punjab Premier.

APPEASING JINNAH

Meanwhile, World War II broke out. The Congress was threatening to disrupt the war effort. The order went forth that Mr Jinnah must be played up. For the first time, Mr Jinnah was treated as a rival to the Congress in the talks the Viceroy held with Gandhiji and Dr Rajendra Prasad representing the Congress and Mr Jinnah representing the League. The talks failed and the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, announced on August 8, 1940, placing veto in Mr Jinnah's hands. For some time Mr Jinnah's tactics annoyed British officials. At one time it looked like they would break the League leader. Premier Sikandar Hayat went to Bombay to disrupt the party. But at the last-minute word came from the Viceroy that for high imperial considerations Mr Jinnah's authority must be kept up. Lord Linlithgow is reported to have said: "Jinnah is arrogant, insufferable but he is the answer to the Congress."

The Japanese conquest of Burma and President Roosevelt's pressure made even Mr Churchill reconsider his attitude towards India. The Cripps proposals made in March, 1942, ostensibly intended to appease the Congress for the first time, gave reality to the demand for Pakistan. The Cabinet Mission Plan only covered it up with a thin veneer. The Mountbatten Plan conceded it.

The Lahore resolution was drawn up by the Punjab Leaguers, the word Pakistan was applied to the Lahore resolution by the Punjab nationalist Press, the two-nation theory was first pronounced by Savarkar, the theory of secession was invented by the Indian Office in Whitehall. Mr Jinnah's contribution to the achievement of Pakistan is the consummate way in which he practised blackmail and encouraged Hindoo-baiting. He knew the British people did not want to part the power and that the Congress was in a hurry to get power.

"A CHILD OF ACCIDENT"

Instead of outright rejection of the principle of secession embodied in the Cripps proposals, the Congress Working Committee under Pandit Nehru's inspiration formulated the theory of the Congress not wishing to coerce any parties to join the Union against their established will. Then followed the "CR" formula conceding the principle of Pakistan and the Gandhi-Jinnah talks based on this formula. During the negotiations with

the Cabinet Mission, Maulana Azad propounded the theory of a minimal Centre and grouping and it was embodied in the plan of May 16. At one stage the League seemed to have lost the game when the Congress formed the Interim Government. But Pandit Nehru relaxed and allowed Lord Wavell to see Mr Jinnah over his head. Later, when the League joined the Interim Government, the Viceroy failed to get a written undertaking from Mr Jinnah that the League would join the Constituent Assembly. Next Pandit Nehru went to London and agreed to further modification of the May 16 plan in the hope of appeasing the league. Finally, feeling frustrated by the activities of the League inside the Government, and overwhelmed by communal warfare, Pandit Nehru and his colleagues agreed to the country's partition. All this happened because the Congress was in a hurry to get freedom. Mr Jinnah cashed in on the British promises to the Muslims. Mr Jinnah is thus a child of accident. History will not assign him the greatness that contemporary opinion is inclined to thrust on him. Literally, Pakistan is a gift from the British. It has not been earned by sacrifices; it is largely the result of political blackmail. No people have yet reached up to a great State on such foundations.

GANDHI JI'S LEADERSHIP

What history will chronicle at length is the manner India won her freedom, and that chronicle will be woven almost entirely around the personality of Mahatma Gandhi. In the first three decades, the Congress movement was confined to the intellectual classes. During the following decade (1910-1920) it became the movement of the intelligentsia. Tilak's cry of "home rule is my birth-right" and Mrs Sarojini Naidu's call for "self-expression, self-realization and self-determination" (I heard it for the first time in Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore, in 1916) stimulated great interest among the educated classes. When Gandhiji took up the country's leadership he made the Congress a movement of the masses. It was in 1915 that Poet Tagore first called Gandhiji a Mahatma. The apt title became a great asset in carrying across his appeal to the masses. He symbolized in his person renunciation and truth which make the greatest appeal to the Indian masses. He became in the people's eyes an avatar. But Gandhiji's main task was to launch a two-pronged attack on British power. He clearly understood that economic ties provided the main motive force for British rule. He attacked these with the cry for Khadi and boycott of foreign goods. He also realised that the pillars of British rule were the classes, which provided men with services and processions. So he called for the boycott of schools, Colleges, courts and legislatures, and the surrender of titles. For a time he succeeded remarkably but soon a reaction set in. So strong has been the hold of the British Institutions that the main struggle inside the Congress has been fought on the council-entry and council-boycott programmes. Parliamentary activity and civil disobedience thus alternated in the struggle for freedom. But never during the ups and downs of the Congress struggle did the country or the Congress lose faith in Gandhiji's leadership or his method of warfare. The British paid him the compliment of encouraging the Muslim League ultimately to turn against the Congress the very weapons Gandhi ji had used against the British, and shape their ideologies to suit that of the Congress.

WORK IN LEGISLATURES

Fortunately Gandhi ji had two sets of workers for the parliamentary and non-parliamentary activities and they never lost contact with each other because of their common allegiance to Gandhi ji. From the point of view of effective nationalist propaganda in India and abroad and for demoralising the force of the Government, the work of Congressmen in the legislatures especially at the Centre, proved very effective. Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr Bhulabhai Desai as leaders of the Opposition in the Central Assembly, Mr Vithalbhai Patel as the first elected President of the Central Assembly and Mr Satyamurti as the most skilful "snipe shooter" did a lot to shake British morale.

Few realise the full significance of the part played by the Indian Press in winning the battle for freedom.

By habit and upbringing, a Briton is sensitive to Press criticism even more than to platform attacks. Gandhi ji, too, did as much to demoralize the ruling power by his political campaigns as by his writings in Young Indian and Harijan. It was in the Assembly that Pandit Motilal Nehru, while demanding a round-table conference based on Dominion Status extracted from Sir Malcolm Halleys the confession that the responsible government promised under the August 1917 declaration was not the same thing as Dominion Status. It was in this forum that excesses of officials against political prisoners and workers were exposed to the full blaze of publicity, and the repeated throwing out of the Finance Bill made the world realize that there was something radically wrong with the way India was being governed. But the strength of the pressure inside the legislature was largely the reflection of the strength of the political movement outside. That is why Gandhi ji throughout felt that the real battle for freedom must be fought outside the legislatures. In this, his staunchest Lieutenant were Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel and Dr Rajendra Prasad.

Gandhiji and the Congress became synonymous terms at the Nagpur Congress in 1920 when the new Congress constitution drafted by Gandhi was adopted and the goal of Swaraj "within the British Empire if possible and without it, if necessary" was adopted. This was the last Congress session at which Mr Jinnah figured. He opposed the new Congress goal and also the induction of religion into Congress politics illustrated by the Congress support for the Khilafat movement.

REPUBLIC IDEA

The first suggestion that India should

Mahatma Gandhi's interpretation of the flag

The new flag is merely an improvement upon the original. The spinning wheel has its undoubted honoured place on it. The wheel on the improved pattern bereft of the spindle and the *mal* may not be counted as a defect if it is purely due to the exigencies of art. After all, every picture has to leave something for the imagination. The spinning wheel in the picture has no slivers with the spinners at work on it. These are left for the imagination to fill in. This rule applies as well to the improved edition of the original. This conceived improvement must appear purely innocent to an unbiased mind. This Tricolour with the wheel will certainly consist of hand-spun and handwoven khadi. Our country has called it khadi whether it is woven from hand-spun cotton or silk. When the original conception is kept intact no one has the right to cavil at a touch of art. We must not be deliberately inartistic. When the country was at war with foreign power the fact of being so engaged was in itself a work of art. Now that it has succeeded there must be a place for art though perhaps of a lower type yet quite useful to perpetuate the memory of the valour such as is open to a weak nation. If any further but not inconsistent interpretations are added to this indispensable interpretation the additions will certainly be harmless. It is undoubtedly open to a rich mind to see in the same colours a suitable meaning. The unity of design lies in the diversity of colours in the whole universe. Some will recall through the wheel the name of that Prince of Peace, Asoka, the founder of an empire who ultimately gave up the pomp and circumstance of power to become the undisputed emperor of the hearts of men and became the representative of all the then known faiths. We would call it a legitimate interpretation of the wheel to seek in it the Wheel of Law ascribed to that living store of mercy and love.

The spinning wheel thus interpreted adds to its importance in the life of billions of mankind. To liken it to and to derive it from the Asoka disc is to recognise in the insignificant-looking Charkha the necessity of obeying the ever-moving Wheel of the Divine Law of Love.

Harijan - Aug 3, 1947



The article titled 'Flag of Independent India' was published in the Hindustan Times on August 15, 1947.



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become a republic was made at the Khilaifat Conference in Karachi. A special session of the Congress under the presidency of Lala Lajpat Rai accepted the policy of non-violent non-cooperation. The Ahmedabad Congress in December, 1921, while rejecting the goal of independence evolved the first revolutionary programme by sanctioning civil disobedience and investing Gandhi ji with the sole executive authority of the Congress with power to appoint successors. The next session at Gaya proclaimed allegiance to Gandhi ji and the programme of non-cooperation. When the non-cooperation movement subsided, communal disturbances started. In September, 1923, a special Congress session allowed the Swarajists to capture the legislatures. In December, 1924 Gandhi ji presided over the Belgaum session of the Congress. It was at his insistence that Jawaharlal Nehru was made the working secretary of the Congress and thus he started his political career. In September, 1925, Gandhi ji found his other colleagues engrossed in parliamentary activity and organised the All-India Spinners' Association. The Independence resolution was successfully opposed by Gandhi ji at the Gauhati Congress in 1926, but a year later, it was adopted at the Madras Congress. In December, 1928, Pandit Motilal presiding over the Calcutta Congress still pleaded for Dominion Status, but Jawaharlal and Subhas Bose combined and defeated him in favour of a resolution stating that "If Dominion Status is granted by the end of 1929, India would demand independence".

INDEPENDENCE RESOLUTION

Lord Irwin announced on October 31, 1929, that Dominion Status was the natural goal of India's political evolution and Indian leaders were invited to a roundtable conference. Gandhi ji, Motilal, Jinnah, Sapru and

VJ Patel met the Viceroy, and since there was no definite promise of Dominion Status the Lahore Congress voted on December 29, 1929, for complete independence, and at zero hour on December 31 Pandit Jawaharlal unfurled the flag of independent India. Therefore, January 26 has become the day on which the Independence Pledge is remembered by Congressmen. There followed another civil disobedience movement in which over 100,000 were imprisoned. In the Gandhi-Irwin Pact of March 4, 1931, Gandhi ji attended the Second Round Table Conference as the sole representative of the Congress. Nothing came of it except Gandhi ji's resolve to fast unto death if separate electorates were proposed for the depressed classes. What was feared happened and Gandhi ji undertook the fast. This led to the Poona Pact which deprived the British of the second line retreat they were building up for maintaining their hold on India. Had the determination that Gandhi ji showed then been shown by the authors of the Lucknow Pact, the Pakistan problem too would not have arisen.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

In May, 1934, the Swaraj Party became an integral part of the Congress organisation because Gandhi ji realised that the parliamentary mentality had seized Congress leaders. In October, 1934, Gandhiji severed his official connection with the Congress since its Session in Bombay threw out the creed of non-violence. As a sop to Gandhiji the Congress resolved to set up a Village Industries Association. But Gandhiji still remained the guide and mentor of the Congress. In December 1933, Jawaharlal, presiding over the Faizpur session, for the first time demanded a Constituent Assembly for India. The various provinces in which Congress Ministries were in power adopted this demand through their legislatures.

INDIAN STATES

The Congress had, under Gandhi ji's advice, abstained from interfering in the affairs of the Indian States, but by openly supporting Lord Willingdon's action against the Congress, the States broke the unwritten pact. Writing on December 3, 1938 Gandhi ji said: "If the Princes believe that the good of the people is also their good they would gratefully seek and accept Congress assistance. It is highly in their interest to cultivate friendly relations with an organization which bids fair in the future, not very distant, to replace the Paramount Power." Apparently, this advice left the States unfluenced in that the Tripura Congress held in March 1939 resolved to support the people's movement in the States.

What has happened since the outbreak of the war in recent history.

Besides the pressure of the Congress the British were appealed to repeatedly by Franklin Roosevelt and also by Marshal Chang Kai-shek to satisfy India's thirst for freedom. But Churchill was unrelenting and Linlithgow malicious. The August 1942 movement frightened the British, who saw in it the shades of the 1857 mutiny, and tried to loosen the knots but was outwitted by the League-civilian combination. Mountbatten cut the knot. But as Lord Bailey said recently in the House of Lords speaking on the Indian Independence Bill, if the amount of drive and determination which Mountbatten showed in dividing India had been shown earlier, there would have been no partition.

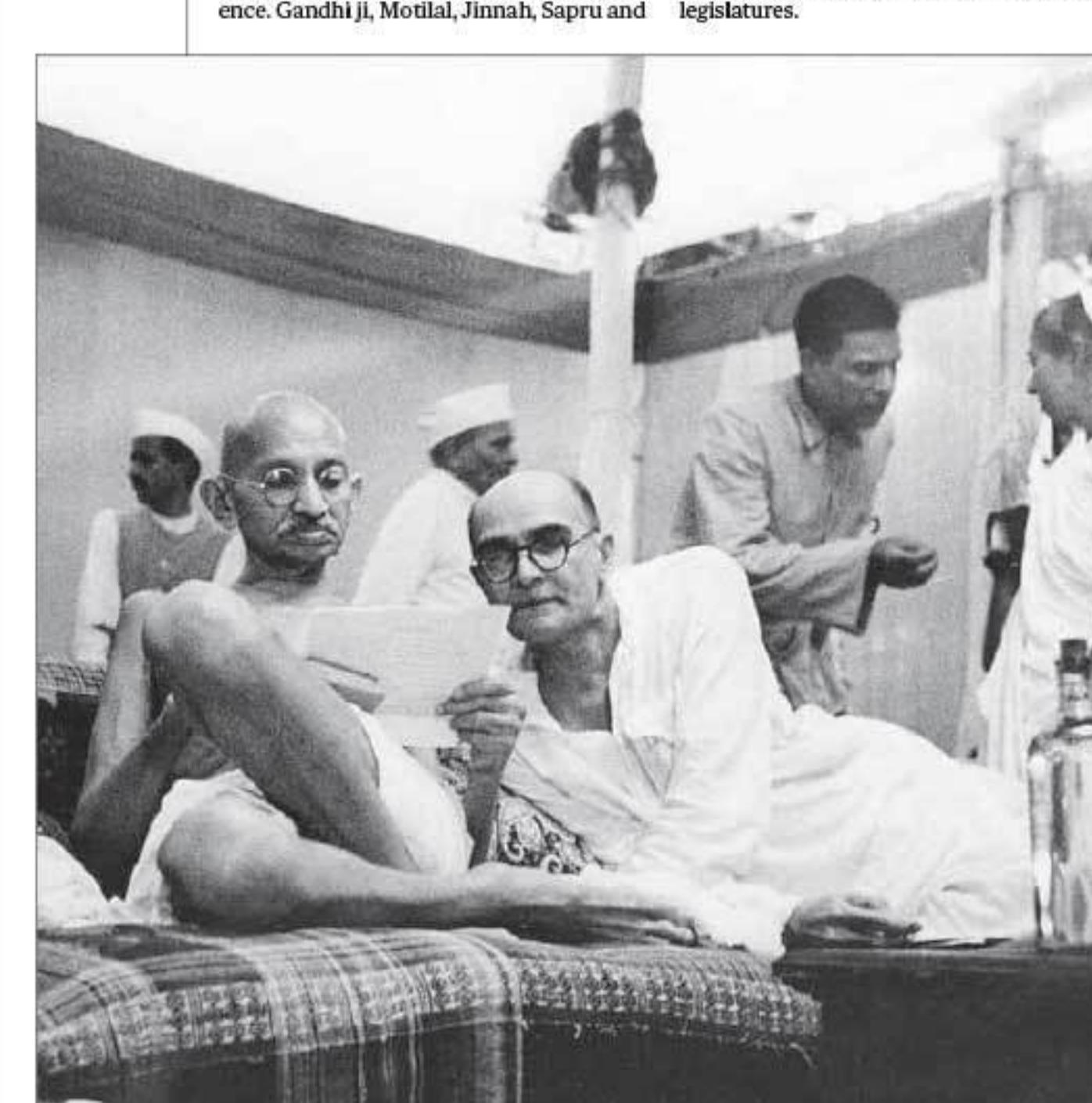
DIE CAST

So long as there were only two camps in India - the British and the Congress - the former thought it could fight but the British with their own hands set up a separate camp for the League. They soon discovered that there were none left in the British camp and that they must pack up and depart. In doing so they have done their bit for their friends. Perhaps they expect to linger on in Pakistan for some time longer as a reward for their services to Jinnah. The British can claim a spurious victory in that they have manoeuvred to make India, too, a Dominion. The very Jawaharlal Nehru who built his popularity on Leftist politics and as the spearhead of the independence movement has to reconcile himself to Dominion Status for the present.

But the die has been cast. Jinnah has reaped in five years the fruit of 60 years of Congress struggle. Jinnah's religious cry has, however, saved the Hindu community the five years it would have normally taken to integrate.

As a reaction, League politics has created in the rest of India a feeling of nationalism of oneness and of the community of purpose which would have otherwise grown slowly. Today the demand is for a strong Centre, while only a few years ago the Congress Working Committee voted for maximum provincial autonomy and the vesting of residuary power in the provinces.

Perhaps we have parted to unite. Gandhi ji's decision to live in Pakistan for the rest of his life shows that he has not yet done with Jinnah. Maybe we have parted for good. India, including the states, has to be one. The Princes are showing wisdom and acting patriotically in rallying around India's banner. The Big Three of this India are Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and Rajendra Prasad. Gandhi remains their guide. If the country rallies around them we will have wiped off the curse of a thousand years of slavery and given India once again the leadership of Asia. This is the end of the line journey and the beginning of another. The new watchword must be "Country above self".



Mahatma Gandhi with his secretary Mahadev Desai during an assembly of the Indian National Congress in Bombay, in 1942.

GETTY IMAGES

SPOTLIGHT YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE

• COLLECTOR'S EDITION •



Peace must come through the realisation by the nation that no government, either Leftist or Rightist, functions for long unless people learn to live a disciplined and constitutional life. They should learn their duty, know their responsibility and fight for their rights.



The articles titled 'Tasks ahead' and 'Dawn of new era' were published in the Hindustan Times on August 15, 1947.



GD Birla

ENTREPRENEUR, REFORMER AND PHILANTHROPIST

Tasks ahead

SWARAJ is but a means to an end. Swaraj by itself can either be Ravana-raj or Rama-raj. We need not aspire for something impracticable. Yet we would be perfectly justified in demanding a Surajya, that is good government without which Swaraj would not be worth a candle. What is good government? The composition of the ministry must be good, to begin with. But the team must eventually bring about results. Every government in the end is judged by the result it achieves.

NEED OF OVERHAUL

The personnel of the central government is quite strong. It may turn out to be a good team. The same, however, cannot be said of all the provincial governments, if their achievements are to be the criterion, then I fear we need great overhauling in some of the provincial governments. If there is no such overhauling, results may not be very satisfactory.

What are the achievements that we

expect? Putting them in the layman's simple language, they are as follows:

First of all, we need peace — internal and external. For this purpose, we need a good, efficient, disciplined and loyal army. It should be a terror to the wicked and solace to the well-meaning. For this, we have to provide a reasonable budget. But peace that is established merely with the help of the police and the army will not be a living peace. It will be the peace of the graveyard.

Peace must come through the realisation by the nation that no government either Leftist or Rightist, functions for long unless people learn to live a disciplined and constitutional life. They should learn their duty, know their responsibility and fight for their rights. Satyagraha, defiance of the law, "hunger-strikes and such other demonstrations may be good weapons to dislodge a foreign government. But it would be nothing short of national suicide to adopt them to dislodge a government of our own which we do not like".



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DANGER OF CONFLICT

A violent revolution or a satyagraha campaign to turn out a Government in power to replace it with another of one's own choice is not a normal feature of democracy. It becomes necessary only when either is a totalitarian. The government in power sticks to its post against the popular will or the totalitarian party that rebels are in a minority has no popular backing and has to resort to arms. Where such unconstitutional methods are adopted the successor government should be prepared for another counter-revolution against itself. The country thus becomes an arena for personal power and eventually is ruined.

In a democratic government — and this is the best form of government — constitutional means are open for dislodging any unpopular government. We in India have a mind of democracy. It would, therefore, be most 'unpatriotic' to adopt either 'revolutionary or embarrassing' means to dislodge any government in power. Those, therefore, who are talking of direct action, satyagraha and such other stunts for the purpose of embarrassing the first National government are doing the greatest disservice to the cause of the nation. They are playing the role of traitors. People must tell them so plainly.

The government's duty is clear. They must maintain law and order by all legitimate means, and if they forfeit the confidence of the country they must walk out.

But law and order should not be maintained merely by the help of the police and the army, even if the government is backed by a majority. The government in power should be able to create by their deeds confidence in a substantial majority of the people.

This again they can do only by achievements and not by speeches and statements. Peace must thus be brought about by popular acts.

Next to peace comes the question of the supply of goods and commodities. This problem can be tackled and must be tackled. It will require bold action with a wider vision. The government must review the policy of the past five years and find out how far this policy has helped. If not, have they a new policy? What is that policy?

FIGHTING IGNORANCE

Then comes the question of education. We must make an immediate decision beginning towards fighting national ignorance. Education does not mean turning out pedants and clerks from colleges and schools. It must mean knowledge in the fullest sense of the term. Education must be imparted in our language. But at the moment we don't even have textbooks in our own language. They must be prepared.

Education must be based on the culture which we have inherited, and the life which we have lived for thousands of years. Our 'lingua franca' must be Hindi, and 'Military training and manual work' should form part of our education.

Health is another problem. Twenty-six years is the average span of life of an Indian. We get barely 1,600 calories of nourishment per day instead of 2,500 calories which is needed to build up a robust body. With intensive cultivation, we can produce the needed food, but only with hard and concentrated work and not by speeches and rhetoric. It may take even ten years to produce sufficient food. Until we increase the average span of our life, we shall live the most uneconomic life.

TOWN PLANNING

Allied with health is the question of sanitation. "Back to the village" may be an attractive slogan but it is not a practical one. World forces are working against it. The town is fast becoming a unit whether we like it or not. Towns, therefore, must be so planned that with all the amenities of town life the best of village life is also provided.

With this object, all big towns must be remodelled and converted into beauty spots. They must inspire the villages. If they are clean and healthy, and the people there are educated and cultured, they will help to improve the villages in the long run. We need better roads, better transport, more irrigation facilities and more of everything. In short, we need to convert India into a nation of healthy, educated, clean and prosperous people.

HARD WORK NECESSARY

But all this means hard work cannot bring about plenty, and comfort. It is only a devil's workshop. Those who think that everything cannot strike and lock out idleness are produced through idleness, indiscipline, hunger strikes, satyagraha, direct action, and strikes. They should search their minds and realise the deadly results of such a psychology. The task ahead will be accomplished not through talk and slogans but by work.

If every man in the nation, be he a politician, a professional worker, a business man or a labourer, realises that India can be built only with hard work and perseverance, the task will be done. Let us be realistic and devote ourselves to the task ahead. The task though most difficult is worth doing.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

GD Birla was a reformer who gave shape to India's industrial journey. He acquired the Empire newspaper and renamed it as New Empire. He also took over the Hindustan Times newspaper.



GB Pant

FREEDOM FIGHTER, FIRST CHIEF MINISTER OF UTTAR PRADESH

Dawn of new era

THIS is the day of our liberation. The emancipation of four hundred million people from foreign yoke by non-violent means is an event unknown in history. It marks the end of a dismal chapter and the dawn of a new era. The full significance and magnitude of the change do not seem to have been adequately appraised and correctly appreciated.

We have after all gotten rid of the conditions which involved galling humiliation, and degradation, and exploitation from hour to an hour and day to throughout the year and again from year to year. The insufferable agony of subjection is over. It is an occasion for joy.

This is one of the days about which the poet had remarked that to be born in a craven and to be alive is bliss.

STRANGLEHOLD BROKEN

We are regaining our birthright after several centuries. Foreign rule was naturally interested in maintaining its stranglehold and everything else was subjected to that domineering objective. Despite the facade

of representative government here and there, all authority and power were essentially vested in foreign hands. There was neither any true liberty nor any fundamental unassailable basic rights. All that, and even our very existence, rested on the mercy of the alien power. None could retain anything like liberty, honour or property, against their will or except by way of suffering on their part. The army, which is the bulwark of every State, was kept in strict segregation and any attempt on the part of a soldier to contact any public man, a servant or leader of the people was regarded as an act of treason entailing almost capital punishment by court-martial.

Even the highly placed civil servants of the Government of India could befriend the distinguished patriots only at grave peril. In the very land of our birth, we were no better than helots.

NO INTERNATIONAL STATUS

It was a matter of pride, privilege and profit to be born to or to belong to territories and states situated far and away from our own. The position was inevitably still

worse there. India simply did not exist on the international plane. We were looked upon with derision and contempt wherever we went. What looked like voluntary surrender on the part of four hundred million of men and women to a handful of foreigners whose domination over them was as unmistakable as it was all-comprehensive, domineering and overbearing was incomprehensible to the free people and the baffling riddle seemed insoluble.

Despite the large space occupied by India on the map of the world, nobody seemed to recognise its existence or to take any notice of the vast numbers residing here. Even the tallest of Indians, the most distinguished and eminent among men, failed to receive due appreciation. Their merits were underrated because they belonged to a subject country.

END OF THE JOURNEY

While independent states ignored and some perhaps detested our Countrymen because of this unnatural state of subordination to a foreign power, insults were heaped upon our nationals in the colonies which formed an integral part of the British Empire. It was an intolerable state. One could only manage to live by struggling against a vicious system with the object of annihilating it.

All that has, however, changed now. The fight for freedom has ended and thus we are observing the day of triumph all across the country today. We have reached the our cherished goal. The achievement of freedom for so many millions is by itself a great event. How this consummation has been attained adds to its glory. We have, for the first time in history, vanquished the formidable forces arrayed against us by non-violent means.

DEBT TO GANDHI JI

At this hour, we must express our feelings of profound gratitude to Providence for this unique success. India now or hereafter, the people of today and their descendants, for all time to come will never forget the debt they owe to Mahatma Gandhi. He has led us through gloom, despondency and darkness and to him we owe our victory. He is the fountainhead and the invincible architect of our freedom and the prayer will go from all hearts that he may live long to build the new India of which he has laid the foundations securely and firmly.

At the same time, many other names will remain enshrined in the history of our country for their unflinching determination and devotion, courage and sacrifice.

On the 15th, the Tricolour will be hoisted on all the forts, Government Houses, Courts and other State buildings. It will be the emblem of our freedom and also symbolize the fundamentals of our creed.

CONTROL OF ARMED FORCES

From now on, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who has navigated our ship through difficult and stormy weather, will be in charge of the Government and the Defence Forces including the Army, the Navy and the Air Squadrions, will all be under the control of the national leaders. They will be entitled to the co-operation and support of every citizen of the Union of India and everyone interested in the progress and advancement of the country and more sin in its masses will, it is hoped, do his best to add his utmost to promote the schemes approved or initiated by the government.

POWER FOR THE PEOPLE

Amid these rejoicings, we cannot forget our countrymen living in other parts which have not acceded to the Union of India. We all wish the unity of our country had not been disturbed even temporarily. But it is nevertheless a matter for gratification that no part of India will now be subject to foreign rule. All people, whether in the states or the provinces, will be free from foreign yoke.

The parts which have not been ceded from but a small fraction of the territories comprised the Union of India. Ours will be still, a very vast and extensive State and for the first time there will be organic unity, the States will form an integral part of our Union and the artificial distinction between the states and the rest of India will be eliminated. This is a very satisfactory feature.

Besides, for the first time, power will be vested in the people themselves and their chosen representatives will be at the helm of affairs at the Centre as well as in the provinces. This will mark the beginning of a new era. The shape of things to come has been outlined in the Objectives Resolution that was passed by the Constituent Assembly in December last.

All will work for the reconstruction of a new social order based on justice, fair play, understanding, goodwill and equality of opportunity for one and all so that our Union may be great non only materially, but also morally and spiritually and the light of wisdom emanating from it may illuminate and remove the gloom; from every dark spot in the world.

If we dedicate ourselves to this task, we will not only raise the status of our people and country but also secure the restoration of the complete and perfect unity of India much earlier than even the optimists among us have no reason to expect.



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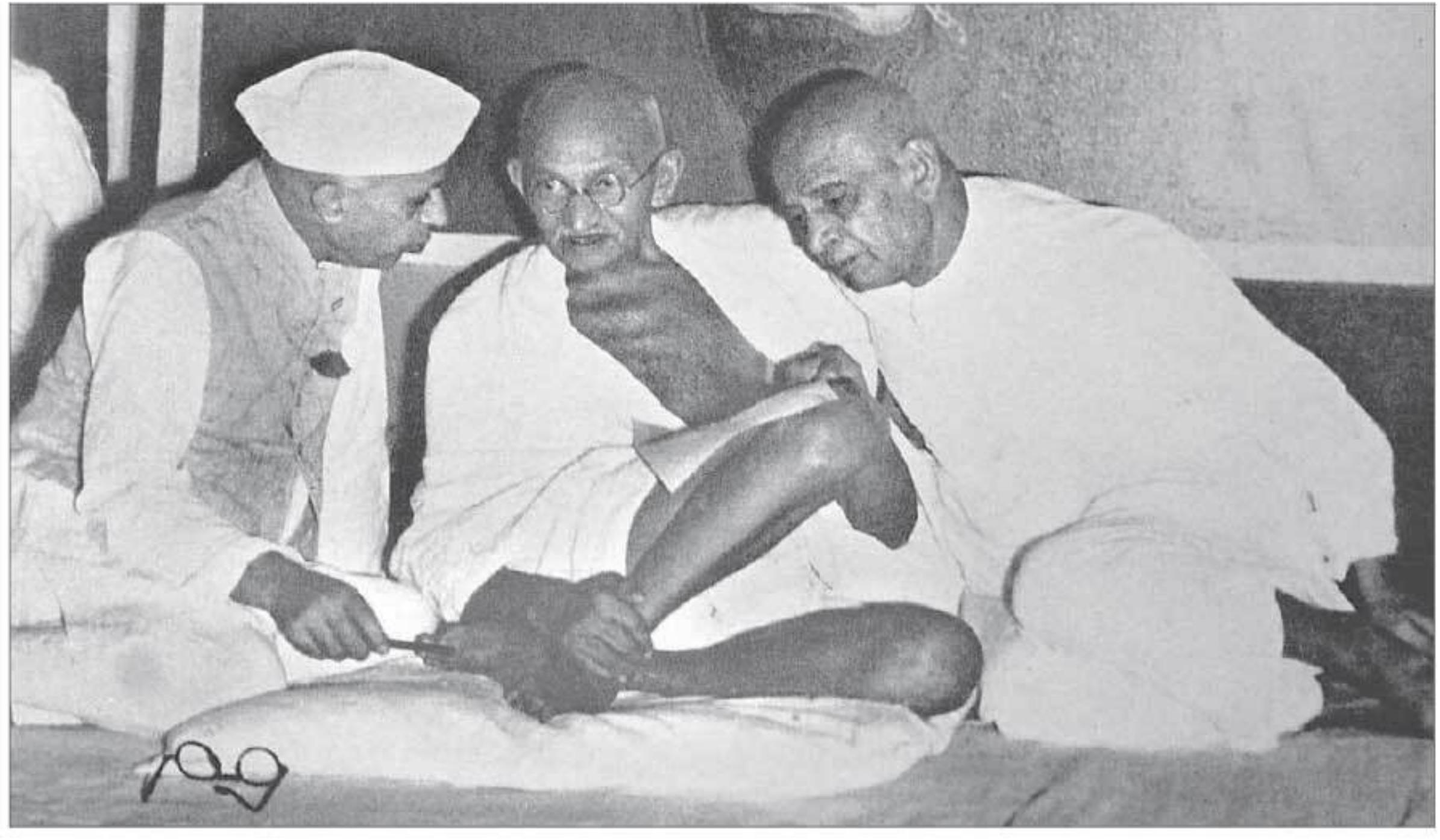
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ATMANIRBHAR BHARAT KE LIYE**

SPOTLIGHT YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE

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Every man has to be made to feel strong and self-confident, ready to defend his right.



Mahatma Gandhi (left) with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in 1947; this article (top), as it was published in HT on August 15, 1947.
HT ARCHIVE



KM Munshi

EDUCATIONIST, FORMER GOVERNOR OF UTTAR PRADESH

Independence - a stock-taking

INDEPENDENCE has come sooner than I dreamt, more like the end of an inartistically woven plot — abruptly, almost inconsequentially. In 1905, under the influence of Shri Aurobindo, I began dreaming of independence. Last year, after years, I felt independence was far away. But it was not; it was round the corner. Two world wars, a far-seeing party in power in Britain, and a man with British tact and German thoroughness as Viceroy and it has come.

When I joined the great venture of the Constituent Assembly, the plan of May 16 was the despair of my life. Whichever way I turned, the malignant spirit that Prof. Coupland had raised confronted me. Then came the plan of June 3. It was nothing new; but it brought the two-states scheme into practical politics. Realism — the child of stark naked reversal to barbarism in some parts of the country triumphed. It tore the plan of May 16 to pieces.

STEP TOWARDS UNITY

For a moment, the plan came to me as a shock. Akhand Hindustan is a matter of creed with me, was the mother whom I worshipped to be destroyed? I humbly asked. "No," came the emphatic answer. "India was one, is one and shall be one." This was only a step in the march towards real unity, unembarrassed by the military occupation of a foreign power.

The plan of June 3 did not destroy Akhand Hindustan; only its pattern was changed. India was not divided; only parts of it were administratively consolidated to form a new government. They were to be bound to the Motherland but not by the visible bonds of administrative unity imposed by foreign rule. The not too perceptible bonds of the hard facts — the common military frontier, the economic interdependence, the unity of an age-old culture — were to be brought into free play, maybe to produce a closer unity.

At a conference, it was suggested that the Independence Act should give India the power to amend the Act itself. It was the lawyers' contribution to asserting independence. Within a few hours, the reply was flashed that HMG agreed to the proposal. My heart sang with joy. India was independent!

II

A GREAT thing happened in the history of man. The whole of India practically, for France and Portugal still occupy odd spots, was rid of foreign occupation after. I do not know how many hundred years. And it was done by non-violent means. The bloody world wars, the military reputation of the Indian Army and the not too non-violent activities of some of our patriots during the "Quit India" movement, no doubt, were not inconsiderable contributory factors.

Whatever the contribution of non-violence towards our gaining Independence, this was the first event in the history of man when an Imperial power handed over independence to a subject people with the care and courtesy of handing a cup of tea. That is a landmark in this war-ridden, little globe of ours.

BIRTH OF A POWER

Further, a great Asian world power has

been born, Japan did emerge as such after the Russo-Japanese war, but she did not evoke Asian loyalty. Free India is easily the cherished leader of Asia, Pandit ji's latest announcement of policy — the Nehru doctrine of Asia — comparable only to the Monroe doctrine is the triumphant assertion of her leadership of Asian nations.

One notable event, almost of world importance, is that one age is one and another has slipped in without anyone even noticing it. The age of Gandhi ji is gone, of Nehru come.

FATHER OF THE NATION

Gandhi ji won the freedom of the nation and became its "Father", a father whom everyone worships and hears with reverence but does not necessarily follow. He has risen in stature in proportion to his shrinkage in actual leadership — a fate reserved only for very lucky national leaders.

Washington and Lenin remained leaders to the end to be only "Fathers of the Nation" after Bismarck shrank in leadership towards the end of his life and was denied the fatherhood of the nation he had created. Gandhi ji has the technique of a rishi; his duty done, he has receded to a nobler role and a higher, though distant, pedestal.

In 1942, he asked me to leave the Congress, for I could not reconcile myself with his strict non-violence. Now some of his disciples are ardent conscriptionists. At many an evening prayer-time, he bemoans the division of the country, which some of his disciples consider the last word in practical wisdom. He wants August 15 to be a day of sorrow: the country is celebrating it as the day of deliverance. He wants Hindustani and two scripts: an overwhelming majority of Congressmen want Hindi and Devanagari.

The national mind has been shocked into an appreciation of the realities, despite the "Father's" hypnotic touch. But he still dominates as the guardian angel, the adviser, the "cementor" — as the conscience-keeper of leading statesmen. No longer a prophet fettered to the patriotic needs of one nation, he is fast emerging as a world prophet.

LEADER OF ASIA

The other event of almost equal importance is the emergence of Pandit Nehru on the world stage. This erstwhile prisoner of British power has, in a moment, become the nation's leader, the acknowledged leader of Asia, and one of the four great leaders of the world.

He claims to be nothing but a politician; but there is an undercurrent of deep spirituality in him. Once I said to him that he is the only great politician in the world who has genuine faith in democracy; and, I think, the world shares the view too. He loves great and noble causes, temperamentally. The first Prime Minister of Free India has, from the moment of its birth, become the foremost champion of world reconstruction among the nations of the world.

"INDOMITABLE" SARDAR

Independence has given a tremendous opportunity to the Sardar too — the "indomitable" Sardar, as I once styled him. He is made of the iron fibre of which Bismarcks and Steins are made. His vastly alert mind,

his uncanny insight into human weakness and his great power for the organisation have found scope and fulfilment in the free India of today. His hard-headed realistic view of things and the dread that he generally inspires are invaluable assets in the new venture. With him at the helm, Kerenskyism could not be thought of.

The partnership of Pandit ji and Sardar is a novel phenomenon in world politics. Two men of the highest calibre and yet of the most contrary temperament and outlook—one elegant, handsome, courteous, fond of social graces fascinated with distant values; the other old, stocky, mysteriously silent, his feet planted on earth — both are gathered in an unbreakable bond of mutual understanding by Gandhian influence.

This seems to be the greatest piece of good luck for independent India.

III

I cannot forget the Constituent Assembly. How can I? For nine months it has been almost my sole preoccupation.

India's greatness can legitimately be assessed by this Constituent Assembly, the first sovereign legislature of India. What a galaxy of stars of the first and second magnitude! Few, indeed, of world assemblies have contained the statesmanship, the wisdom, the brilliancy and the eloquence that this Assembly can claim.

GUIDING SPIRIT

Its spirit is represented by Dr Rajendra Prasad. All his great moral qualities combine to make him the head and symbol of that body. Sweet-smiling, patient, indulgent, he makes everyone feel at home; guides gently, without anyone feeling that he is being guided. He curbs turbulence by his very presence; he pulls up loquacity with an air of almost encouraging the speaker.

Every section of the House has confidence in him. And he has to pay the price — a heavy one. Whenever parties or interests disagree, they quietly leave it to the President. There was a storm at the party meeting over the singing of Vande Mataram. Suddenly someone proposed to leave it to the President. There was almost unanimous voting to leave it to him. The Assembly is always in a "Leave it to Psmith" sort of mood — to use the phrase of PG Wodehouse.

YOUNGEST DEMOCRACY

The Assembly has done great work. Fundamental rights and an independent judiciary will establish the rule of law in this land. Untouchability is banned under the threat of dire penalties; no more shall it divide man and man. Adult suffrage and a bicameral legislature will provide it with a parliamentary apparatus. Responsible governments at the Centre on the British model and in the provinces in a slightly modified form will give it a front-rank place among democratic governments. Free India will thus be the youngest of democracies.

"No one shall be deprived of his life or liberty without due process of law" in India, the Assembly decided the other day. This formula which the English barons extracted from King John in 1215 AD travelled all over the world through centuries to come to us in almost the self-same words in 1947. We are building on the constitutional fundamentals of Australia, Canada, the USA, and, of course, England, naturally and spontaneously.

A doubt, however, has arisen in many minds. The English model, which has failed in so many countries, will it succeed in this climb? But a scrutiny of the subconscious mental processes of many of us, while discussing different proposals, will show how deeply we have made the British democratic tradition our own.

India is perhaps the first Asian country which has accepted this great inheritance so avidly and there is the least likelihood of its having to be sorry for it. At the same time, the Advisory Committee has swept away separate electorates: that wretched system, born of British imperialism, which has made this country a cauldron of violent passions.

IV

Will the independence endure? I have no

doubt it will. The Independence Act has given us complete independence, as also a constitutional nexus with the British Commonwealth. India will be a Dominion, for some time at any rate, and the continuity of institutional life will be preserved. It makes the transition break-proof.

What is wrong about Dominion Status except for its name, which, despite Shakespeare, does not smell as sweet? It is independence. It gives us a secure place in a world system and it gives us the help we need.

The Dominion of India (less the seceding parts) will be just the old India with most of the States—but at the same time, a new, independent, democratic nation. This revolution does not look like one—particularly as Lord Mountbatten continues to be the Governor-General. It was a great act of statesmanship—this election of a whirlwind of a glamorous Englishman as the first Governor-General of Free India. No power in history but Britain would have conceded independence with such grace, and no power but India would have so gracefully acknowledged the debt.

But for Lord Mountbatten the present solution would not have come; the partition would not have been swift and easy; India and Britain would not have been friends; nor the matter of fact. India and Pakistan. And but for him, perhaps, my friend Sir C.P. Scott would still have been making the evening and morning papers "hideous" — to use a well-known quotation—with his flamboyant resolve to keep Travancore independent.

This new Dominion of ours is the flower-

ing of the process of unification which British military occupation enforced. Most of the Indian States are going to accede to the Dominion. The Rulers are no longer the enemies of popular forces—the hunted of the Praja Mandals. These instruments of foreign rule, in a moment, have been converted into partners in the great democratic experiment for which the Dominion stands.

India will be the gainer, not only in compactness but because of the accretion of a great steady force to its political life.

V

THUS begins our voyage of independence, in smooth waters, with seasoned guides, with chart and compass well tried and trusty. But there are dangers and not easy ones either. This great but arduous venture begins on the morning of the most catastrophic war known to men; amid starving continents and jostling international ambitions; with Soviets sprawling over Asia and Europe; with dollar diplomacy overshadowing the world. And it also begins with an unnatural division of what God and man have made one.

WISHFUL THINKING

During the last thirty-five years we have been brought up on a slogan; the naturalness and inevitability of Hindu-Muslim unity. That this was wishful thinking has been proved in Noakhali, Bihar, and Rawalpindi—in a hundred villages, by tens of thousands of men, women and children fleeing for safety.

The Muslim—a hard realist—knew and exploited the hollowness of the slogan; the Hindu cherishes it still. Hindus love words and ideals. They subject themselves to self-hypnosis and believe what they wish to. For a moment we woke to realities, but a self-complacent outlook is already creeping over us again. We have divided the country, thank Jinnah! And now India and Pakistan will walk down the aisle of history arm-in-arm, trusting and trusted, beloved partners of life!

NEED FOR STRENGTH

This may happen: it may not happen; something else may happen. But the man who hypnotizes himself into this belief is a danger to independent India. The sovereign states are sovereign and he would be a fool indeed if a statesman trusted in God and forgot the other half of the adage.

The only way to escape the danger is to acquire strength, financial, administrative, military and material, fast enough. A strong nation need not be aggressive or covetous; but a weak and divided nation, hugging the phantom of pacifism is a temptation to

aggressive nations, and, therefore a positive danger to world peace.

The characteristic outlook of an average Indian has, therefore, to be altered by prescription, if necessary. Every man has to be made to feel strong and self-confident, ready to defend his right. Any deviation from this straightforward path will destroy our independence.

The next danger arises from the sagging economic structure of the country. Inflation, rising wages and lessening production; labour strikes and a perverted social opinion which enjoys them; scarcity of food and cloth; a depleted civil service creaking at every joint; and a vicious system of controls providing festering sores of corruption, and strangling economic life—these are portents of a disaster which no mere political independence can avert. Independence will be weighed on the scales of essentials of life. If they are not forthcoming, the political structure is sure to collapse.

But the first and foremost obstacle to independence is a sense of frustration which has overtaken us. We wanted Akhand Hindustan: we have two countries. We said we were one nation: we are now two. We have one crore and seventy lakhs of suffering Hindus across the frontier and Heavens, we know not how to rescue them. We have the Day of Independence—yes, but we must do penance in sackcloth and ashes. From the Father of the Nation to the man in the street, a sense of frustration has seized hearts, demoralizing outlook, converting a triumph into defeat, shattering the will to victory.

PSYCHOLOGICAL HURDLES

Our will to victory is impeded less by objective difficulties than by psychological hurdles. We are still tied to the fragments of our old ideological chariot; of India administered as one unit; of appeasement as the invincible weapon against barbarism; of spontaneous processes based on diversity generating an irresistible national consciousness; of agitational attitudes producing strength by some miraculous process.

If independence is to be real, this sense of frustration must be overcome. We must develop faith, enthusiasm and a passionate creative spirit. Pakistan may provide serious problems. A third World War may come sooner than we imagine. The British framework may go. And we dare not take the risk.

We must therefore develop confidence in what are facts: first, that India as we have it is a great modern power; second, that exigencies of life demand a strong national consciousness as also material strength.

FRUSTRATION MUST GO

This is first and foremost a psychological problem, without solving which nothing else will succeed. Frustration—the defeat of the soul—has to be fought, and transmuted into victory. Externally, due to Pandit ji's policies and pronouncements, we have gained the confidence of other nations. Internally, the problem has yet to be tackled.

Negatively, India will not feel the joy of independence unless controls are removed and the Hindus in Pakistan are protected or helped. Positively, India will only be enthused if production waxes, if one national language and script are introduced.

The last one is not a matter of sentiment nor of policy. It is a matter of life. It alone will swiftly open the floodgates of faith which lie hidden in the Collective Unconscious of the nation.

IMPORTANCE OF DEVANAGARI

Devanagari, it must be remembered, secured 63 votes against 18 in the Congress Party, against the wishes of some of its cherished leaders. Script unity is both the basis and instrument of national consolidation. The Sanskrit element in our languages is the golden thread which glistens in the whole country, through idiom, song and story; through social habits and institutional devices; through religion, philosophy, art, beauty, grace, love; through the art of life itself.

If these are denied, frustration will grow deeper, and life itself will be denied fulfilment. If these are given, faith will leap from heart to heart, and India will be lit up with mighty enthusiasm.

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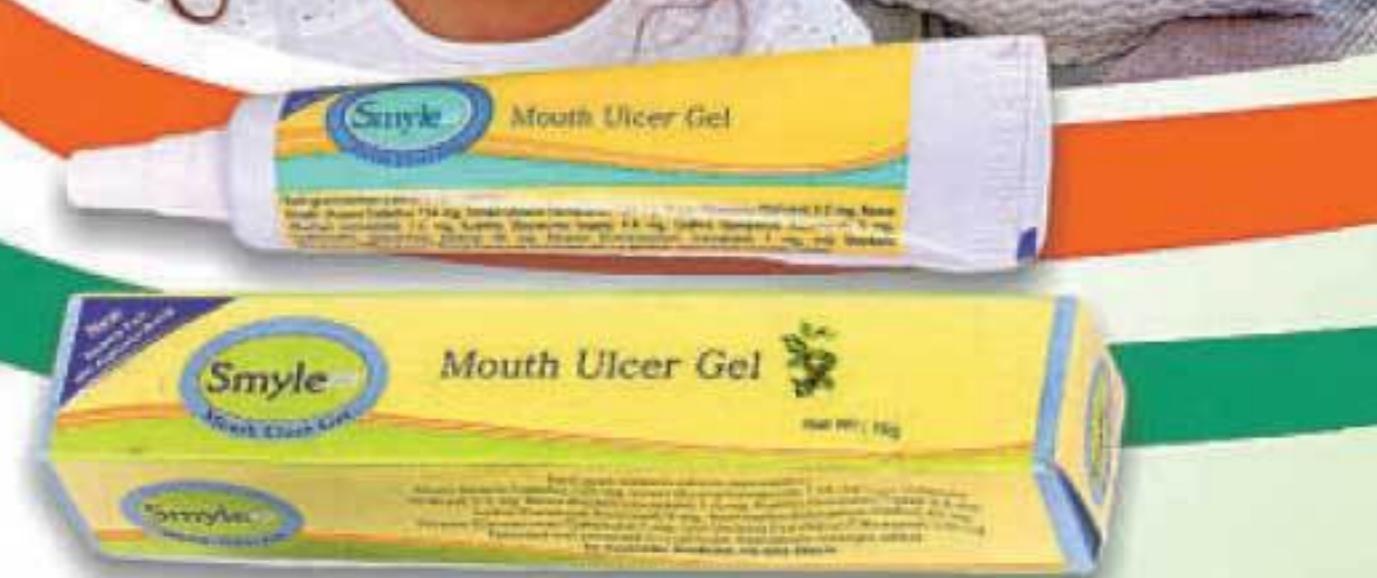
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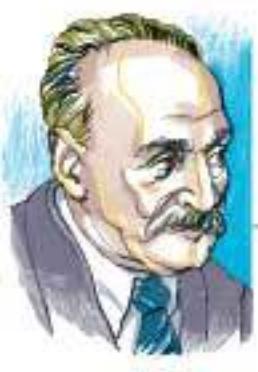
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SPOTLIGHT 75 YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE

• COLLECTOR'S EDITION •



Arthur Moore

JOURNALIST, EX-MEMBER OF THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Appointment with freedom

NOW is the appointed Day. Now is the day of salvation. If we start right, we can continue right. For every one of us who lives in India, be it in the Indian Union or Pakistan, there is a personal responsibility to start this day with our thoughts right. For, it is out of our collective thinking that will spring the actions and attitudes of ministers and legislatures, masters and men, communities and trades unions and chambers of commerce.

Long have I lived and hoped for the day when Greater India, an India that includes what was British India and the Indian States, should take its place in the equal councils of the world, conscious of essential unity in its admired diversity, conscious of the truth that we are members one of another though every member has his own function and none is in all respects like any other.

To me such a day was to be the fitting climax of the intertwined story of Britain and India, the fulfilment of Britain's mission, a mission carried out, under God, with many failures to sense its greatness, with some inevitable personal yielding to the lure of pomp and circumstance, of the pride and glory of this world and the love of money; but for all that a mission writ in the stars of east and west, and discharged from the British Throne and the High Court of Parliament downwards with a large and steady faithfulness, through ever rarer good report and ever-increasing ill report.

Now the day has come, and what was British India is resolved into two States. Let us waste no tears on that. The essential thing is to preserve and foster the unity of systems and of outlook that exists. Let us abhor the awful example of Europe, which is a recurring cockpit because it lacks good Europeans, and has only good Frenchmen, Germans, Spaniards, Russians and the rest.

BREAK-UP AND REASSEMBLY

Consider the case of Russia. Under the Tsars there was a single vast country, such as India has been under British rule. Then came war and revolution, and new sovereign States were carved out—Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia as well as a great Poland. Western Europe in the name of democracy resisted and resented Russian efforts to draw them back into a federation of republics. That is because of the ideological warfare between the revolution in Russia and capitalism cum social democracy in the west.

But the Indian Union and Pakistan started together without a revolution and with equal goodwill from the rest of the world. Let us not build the ideological fence that separated the young Baltic States and Poland from Russia and produced eager partisanship for one side or the other in great countries who normally should not meddle in Eastern Europe at all.

The sure way to create that eager partisanship would be for Indian spokesmen to use threatening language, or seem to be exerting economic or military pressure. The lines are drawn between the two States, the issue is settled. Let us start as two self-respecting States respecting each other, and inheriting common systems of administration and handling problems. Let us have as many and as long standstill agreements as possible. Remember how easily the separation of Burma and India was effected in 1935, with a standstill tariff agreement for five years.

INDIAN COMMONWEALTH

And what is true of the Indian Union and Pakistan is true of the Indian States. If some States wish to retain their new independence at any rate for a time, what is the harm provided they remain good Indians and through standstill agreements they preserve the unity of greater India? Such States are far bigger in area and population than several of those independent European countries that the shortage of good Europeans necessitated.

Let us get back to brotherhood. Consider the British Commonwealth of Nations. The nations are separate sovereign States, but they have a common as well as separate citizenship, a common defence policy for their separate armies, navies and air forces, common postage and telegraph rates between themselves and communications and tariffs planned in consultation.

Let us, while we still lack a Federation of Greater India, produce our own Indian Commonwealth. I do not doubt that the British Commonwealth will eventually federate itself, so urgent is the need for closer coordination in economic and foreign affairs; but if separatism is still strong in the British Commonwealth, would we be dismayed that the Indian subcontinent is not at once ready for federation? It is good to aim at perfection, but let us not interpret as a failure the delays that the time factor causes.

CLOMUNALISM IN BRITAIN

Consider the case of the United Kingdom. Ten years before I was born, no Roman Catholic could go to Oxford or Cambridge

nor, though Ireland was a predominantly Catholic country, could he go to Dublin University. Fifty years before I was born, Catholics were just obtaining the right to vote and even to sit in Parliament, but the vote itself was the privilege of only a small percentage of the adult population.

Much of my boyhood was spent in a pocket borough which returned a member to the House of Commons from an electoral roll of perhaps two thousand people; while great manufacturing cities such as Birmingham and Manchester were by comparison grossly underrepresented.

In 1905, I had a conversation at Salonika with Hilmi Pasha, the Turkish Governor-General of the Macedonian vilayets. We talked of the terrible animosity between Serbs, Bulgars, and Greeks, and I made bold to put forward the argument we are familiar with in India, that possibly the presence of a foreign ruling Power (in this case the Turks) contributed to the struggle. Each subject nationality had its own form of religious orthodoxy and even bishops and archbishops were active in organizing murder bands of *komitajis* who forcibly converted villages.

Hilmi Pasha vigorously rebutted the suggestion that these feuds were in any way connected with the Turks, or that there existed any Turkish imperial policy of "Divide and Rule."

Later, he visited England and being a man of intense intellectual curiosity he took every opportunity to study English institutions. His research led him to Kensington Workhouse Infirmary. There his observant eyes noticed that one lot of old women had tea at separate tables from the rest. He inquired the reason and was told that it was found best to separate the Protestants from the Catholics as they were apt to quarrel. With a twinkle in his eye he retailed this incident to me and said, "Vous voyez, Monsieur Moore, c'est précisément la même chose à Londres et en Macédoine."

CONFLICT IN IRELAND

Having been born in Ulster I know something of communal riots and passions. My father, an Irish parson, was counted dangerously liberal by some of his congregation because he was on social terms with the parish priest, and even took me, a small boy, to a funeral mass for a priest.

My mother, who descended from small Huguenot settlers in the west of Ireland, was a good and devout woman but less advanced. She believed that all Catholics were inherently bad men who after death would burn forever in everlasting fire and I think she felt that she could spot a Catholic at fifty yards. In the country parish where I lived between the ages of three and eleven, there had been a pitched battle some years earlier between Orange and Green, which is still celebrated, though with diminishing ardour, by the Orangemen of Ulster as a glorious victory.

So let us not be dismayed by the fierceness of the communal passions that rage in India today, or by the terrible events of the past year. Time is a sure healer, and we cannot cut out the time factor just because we have read a lot of liberal stuff in books, or because religious persecution has died out in Britain.

Here in India, we are fortunate in having a long start. We have had no penal laws against Muslims or Hindus or Sikhs such as the struggle between Protestantism and Catholicism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries produced in Britain. We begin with religious freedom for all and with the concept of the higher unity of all true religions; of one God and Father of us all. Also, the pace is faster now and we can quickly reach the attitude of tolerance that grew so slowly but has now flowered so finely in Britain.

TROUBLES AHEAD

Great and immediate troubles of a non-communal kind confront the Indian Union and Pakistan alike. To solve their problems, they will be forced to bend their common energies. Let me list some of these problems.

First, there is the root difficulty that the Indian Peninsula, like Great Britain, does not grow enough food to keep its population alive. In the past, Britain solved the problem by large food imports for which she easily paid by exporting manufactures and by services, and in any case, the rate of her population was slackening. India solved her problem by progressively lowering the diet of the masses and simultaneously aggravated the problem by increasing the population at a high rate. Year by year she has been drawing nearer to mass starvation.

Western Pakistan is the only considerable self-sufficient and comparatively well nourished administrative area. Eastern Pakistan and the Indian Union are faced with a grim winter prospect. From the outside war-shattered world little food can be expected. Burma, the nearest country with a rice surplus, is in turmoil. Harmonious relations between Western Pakistan and the rest of India, and free trade in goods and services alone can mitigate the coming ordeal of the masses.



Long have I lived and hoped for the day when Greater India, an India that includes what was British India and the Indian States, should take its place in the equal councils of the world, conscious of essential unity in its admired diversity, conscious of the truth that we are members one of another though every member has his own function and none is in all respects like any other.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru with British Premier Clement Attlee (top), in Washington, the article titled 'Appointment with freedom' (right), as it was published in the Hindustan Times on August 15, 1947.



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LABOUR UNREST

Secondly, we must face the fact that this shrinkage of food coincides with a revolutionary stirring amongst the workers. They will insistently press their demands, not merely for the maintenance of the old standard but a rising standard in food, housing and other necessities and amenities, and educational facilities.

Amongst the "Haves" there is also an awakening of the social conscience and they will be confronted by the "Have-nots" with their lavish promises of wealth and freedom and full employment for all.

The new States may, therefore, expect some large-scale strikes and industrial unrest, and every wage concession won by workers in one part of the country will have reactions elsewhere.

For their mutual benefit, let us have healthy competition between all the provinces as to which can do most to increase the fertility of the rural soil, industrialise the urban areas and give every child in town and country at least the power to read and write.

Next, there is the certainty of new fatal contacts with the outer world. In the great single solid Eurasian continental landmass that stretches from Lisbon to Kamchatka and from the Arctic Ocean to Comoros, Russia today is incomparably the strongest Power, militarily and ideologically. She is India's neighbour, while Britain with whom India has stronger cultural and politico-scientific links is far away and America further still.

For generations, the British, suspicious of Russian designs on India, have refused to allow Russians to visit the North-West Frontier Province. We may be sure that not many weeks will pass before the physical proximity of the Soviet Republics to the newly independent States of the Indian Peninsula becomes more manifest than when India's foreign relations were conducted from London.

RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA

Here there is a need for us to watch our step, and a close understanding between Pakistan and the Indian Union is essential. It is reasonable to assume that Russia will seek to draw the Indian Peninsula into her orbit of influence in what the Soviet leaders

regard as an economic struggle with the U.S.A. and in a lesser degree with Britain and Western Europe.

Obviously, the inhabitants of the Indian Peninsula have strong reasons for being on good terms with such a powerful nation as Russia. On no account must they find themselves in a military camp definitely aligned against Russia, if unfortunately for the world such a camp were to come into being.

What are the prospects of a good understanding with Russia?

SUPPORT FOR NATIONALISM

A strong point is the Soviets' encouragement of nationalism. Ever since the Oriental Conference at Baku in 1921, it has been a settled policy of the Bolsheviks to encourage national movements in Asia. In 1942, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the revolution, Stalin stated his ideals and war aims:

"Abolition of racial exclusiveness; equality of nations and integrity of their territory; liberation of enslaved nations and restoration of sovereign rights, the right of every nation to arrange its affairs as it wishes."

Observe the emphasis on sovereignty. And today at every international conference the Soviet delegates invoke the principle of national sovereignty to veto proposals for common actions by the nations.

But, there is a contradiction here because Russia's respect for the sovereignty of other nations is not sufficient to prevent her from dictating the foreign policy of her neighbours. Czechoslovakia accepted France's invitation to consider the Marshall Plan but had to withdraw because of Russia's displeasure. Finland, Hungary and the Balkan countries have also had to debar themselves from the prospect of American reconstruction aid, because of Russian opposition. Even Sweden made her attendance at the Paris Conference conditional on avoidance of offence to Russia.

LIMITATIONS OF SOVEREIGNTY

Despite this paradox, it is clear that Russia will invoke to the utmost the principle of absolute national sovereignty. Wendell Willkie made the shrewd comment on Stalin's statement of policy which I have

quoted that it and the Atlantic Charter had a common fallacy: they both forecast the re-creation of Europe in its old divisions of small nations, each with its own political, economic and military sovereignty. He advocated the re-creation of the separate nations as political units, but not as economic and military units. Indeed the pressure that Russia can exert on the nations of Eastern Europe and that America can exert on the nations of Western Europe proves that sovereignty has forced limitations and that no nation can stand alone.

NO ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM

Does this mean that India must choose between Russia and the West? By no means. All the evidence goes to show that Russia's admiration for nationality is not entirely lip-service. She has nowhere been militarily aggressive, and she is responsible for the creation of several new republics on none of which she has imposed economic imperialism. The new wealth of Central Asia gives local prosperity to Turkomans and Tatars and is not drained in dividends to Moscow.

The subservience of war-ravaged Eastern Europe to Russian foreign policy is easily understood, but were there more spirit left in the Czechs and Hungarians this subservience might not be required. It is in marked contrast to the former fronts maintained by Asiatic countries. Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan, are militarily weaker though they have so far kept the reins of foreign policy in their own hands, and Russia has recognised their national right. There is no reason to doubt that the Indian Union and Pakistan can do the same and that Russia, if she is convinced that they are not in a hostile camp, will accept that position.

And beyond this horizon, India has a higher mission. It is for her to convince the Soviets that this doctrine of unbridled sovereignty is the seed of all wars, and will no longer serve. The world is one and the nations can only find their peace by delegating some of their sovereign powers to a federal world Government deriving its authority from the citizens of the World.

Please and the ways of peace. Let us pursue her paths in all things. Now is the appointed time.

SPOTLIGHT  YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE

• COLLECTOR'S EDITION •

Those who have led the nation to Independence



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SPOTLIGHT 75 YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE

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The freedom for which the Press has always been fighting is the freedom to enable it to discharge its duties to the public, without interference or restriction from the powers that be. It was Lord Mansfield who defined the freedom of the Press as liberty 'to print, without any previous notice subject to the consequences of the law'.



The article titled 'Role of the press in the fight for freedom', as it was published in the Hindustan Times on August 15, 1947.



M Subramaniam

JOURNALIST, FORMER SENIOR EDITOR AT HINDUSTAN TIMES

Role of the press in the fight for freedom

WHAT contribution did the Indian Press make towards the success of the struggle for freedom in the country? Today when that fight is over and India stands at the gateways of her destiny, contemplating the glorious future that is unfolding itself before her eyes, it may not be amiss to assess the worth of that contribution, not so much for the purpose of claiming more than our fair share of credit, as with the object of preparing ourselves for the nobler role we have to play in the future.

No impartial student of the history of our national movement is likely to minimise the part which the Press played in the freedom struggle of the country. Every time the forces of nationalism clashed with the forces of imperialism, whether it be during the Swadeshi agitation of 1905-11, in the Home Rule agitation of 1915-17, the non-cooperation movement of 1920-23, the Civil Disobedience movement of 1930-32 or the Quit India campaign of 1942, the Press inevitably came into conflict with the Government who rightly or wrongly, felt that these seditious movements found in the Indian Press the most powerful medium for the propagation of their ideas.

The Indian Press, ever since it was established, began fighting the Government even though some of the early founders of the Press in India were Englishmen and not Indians.

James Hickey established the first English newspaper in India, namely the Bengal Gazette, in 1780. He was in a perpetual state of war with Warren Hastings and Elijah Impey within the first ten months of publication, his paper was proscribed and Hastings ultimately strangled it. William Dune of the Bengal Journal was ordered to leave India in 1793 because of a few paragraphs which appeared in that journal. James Silk Buckingham who founded the Calcutta journal was similarly deported from India and his activities were made the excuse by John Adam, when he acted as Governor-General, to promulgate what came to be known as Adam's Regulations, regulating the publication of newspapers. The Rules were laid as was then the practice, before the Supreme Court at Calcutta, which approved of the regulations even though a petition had been submitted to it by Ram Mohan Roy, Dwarkanath Tagore and others protesting against the promulgation of these rules as an

infringement of the liberty of the Press.

When Indian newspapers began to appear, they too began to feel the iron hand of repression the very first to be thus suppressed was Ram Mohan Roy's Persian journal Mirat-ul-Akhbar with the coming of Lord Bentinck, a more Liberal policy was followed until at last Metcalfe repealed the notorious Adam's Regulations in 1835.

Again in 1857, Lord Canning passed what came to be known as the Gagging Act to deal with the situation created by the Mutiny. The next landmark in the history of the fight for the freedom of the press was the vernacular press Act of Lord Lytton to get out of whose clutches the Amrita Bazar Patrika changed overnight from a vernacular into an English newspaper.

At the time of the anti-partition agitation, Aurobindo Ghosh's Bande Mataram, Brahmapurab Upadhyaya's Sandhya and Bipin Chandra Pal's New India did notable work in awakening the enthusiasm of the people for the new ideals of freedom and nationalism. Their intense popularity was an eyesore to the bureaucracy and it was to deal with such journals that the Newspapers Act of 1908 and the Press Act of 1910 — the spiritual ancestor of the Indian Press Emergency Powers Act of 1931 — were forged.

PRESUMPTION OF GUILT

Very early in its dealings with the Indian nationalist press, the Government discovered that sending the editor to prison was not much of a deterrent to those who were fighting at the same time for the freedom of the Press as well as the freedom of the country. If an editor went to prison, many others were only too willing to assume his responsibility. The bureaucracy sought to counter these tactics by penalising the press instead of the editor. Papers were asked to deposit securities when they took out a declaration. These securities were later forfeited and larger securities demanded the punishment for more serious offences being the forfeiture of the press itself. There was provision for appeal to the High Court but only after the security had been paid or forfeited, and not before. Thus, British administrators in dealing with the Indian Press threw to the winds the elementary principles of British jurisprudence that an accused should be assumed to be innocent until he is proved guilty and that



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no man should be punished until he is tried and convicted by a duly constituted court of law. In the case of the Press, the presumption was immediate. After the security had been paid, it was open to the press to go to the High Court and try to establish its innocence if it could. Instead of the onus being on the prosecution to establish the guilt the responsibility was placed on the accused to prove his innocence. The alleged offences for which the Government could demand or forfeit securities were couched in such vague language that courts before whom cases came were astonished at the injustice involved, which they were asked to uphold. In the case in which the late Maulana Mahomed Ali's pamphlet "come over into Macedonia and help us" was forfeited, Sir Lawrence Jenkins, the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court observed:

The provisions of Section 4 are comprehensive and its language is as wide as human ingenuity could make it. Indeed, it appears to me to embrace the whole range of varying degrees of assurance from certainty on the one side to the very limits of impossibility on the other. It is difficult to see to what lengths the operation of this section might not plausibly be extended by an ingenious mind. They would certainly extend to writings that may even command approval. An attack on that degraded section which lives on the misery and shame of others would come within its widespread net — the praise of a class may not be free from risk. Much that is regarded as standard literature might be caught.

The colleague of the Chief Justice, Mr Justice Stephen, observed:

So wide indeed are the powers which the legislature has conferred on the Government that they would be able to confiscate a newspaper containing words that might cause one man to hate or even to condemn a class. If such there unhappy be who sought to embarrass the Government of the country by murder and robbery... I find myself in a position which is unfamiliar to me and in which so far as I am aware no judge in the British Empire has been placed since the remote days of early English jurisprudence. I have to decide a question of fact on such evidence as is supplied by one document. The side on whom the onus of proving his case is cast is not in a position to give evidence. As the other side has not called any witness no cross-examination has taken place.

The Act of 1931, if anything, spread the net wider and the definition of offences more comprehensive. The newspapers, which were asked to deposit securities and whose securities were forfeited, were innumerable. There is not a single responsible Indian newspaper in the country which at one time or other did not fall a victim to this Act. The Hindustan Times itself, like many of its contemporaries, had to pay heavy securities and the paper had to actually close down on two occasions owing to the impossibility of functioning under the restrictions placed on the Press by the Government.

THE BLANKET BAN

The second World War brought the Government to a head-on collision with the largest and most well-organised political party in the country, namely the Congress. Early during the war when Gandhi ji started his civil disobedience movement, the Government had recourse to the authority of the Defence of India Regulations, to the all-comprehensive device of placing a complete ban on the publication of all news connected with the movement. This was a challenge which the Press can refuse to take up only on the peril of ceasing to exist. To prevent the Press from publishing all news of the movement was to

cripple its utility in a vital respect. A conference of editors was convened in Delhi to fight the new menace and preserve the freedom of the press in face of the grave threat to its existence.

Even before the conference met, however, the Government realised they had overshot the mark and withdrew the order. But the All-India Newspaper Editors Conference had by then been born.

Many hold that the conference never functioned satisfactorily and that had it not been there the more advanced section of the press would have put up a bolder fight. By the very nature of its composition, including as it did the section of the press was staunchly loyal to the Government. It could not risk action which involves an open breach with the Government but taking up its record as a whole. It is largely true that whenever the Government launched a new attack on the freedom of the Press, it was able to present a united front to the Government which, ultimately, yielded. That even before the first session of the Conference met, the Government withdrew the ban placed on the publication of news of the civil disobedience movement was to its credit. The Conference also did good work during 1942 when many papers were forced to close down because they found it impossible to observe the restrictions placed on them by the Government consistently with the discharge of their responsibilities to the public.

The end of the war and restoration of responsible Government in the provinces brought with it its problems. Some of the popular Governments showed that they could go to the same length as the old bureaucracy when it came to muzzling the press. In combating this tendency and consolidating the position of the Press in these provinces, the conference did useful work though the response it received from these so-called People's Government was poorer than what it received from the old autocratic Government of India. A bit with the coming of the Congress at the Centre, the landscape began slowly to change.

The Press began to breathe a little more freely, though the acrid communal situation and the entry of the League into the Interim Government brought about further complications. The new Government, however, began steadily to pursue a more liberal policy whose latest manifestation is the appointment of a committee to examine all laws relating to the Press and to recommend to the Government such measures of reform as it might consider expedient. The committee is carrying on its investigations and there is every reason to hope that it will recommend the repeal of all the laws which impose restrictions on the Press functioning truly and freely as the Fourth Estate of the Realm.

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS

With the removal of these restrictions and the achievements of the freedom of the country, the Press will play a more important and more responsible role in the future. The freedom for which the Press has always been fighting is the freedom to enable it to discharge its duties to the public, without interference or restriction from the powers that be. It was Lord Mansfield who defined the freedom of the Press as liberty 'to print, without any previous notice subject to the consequences of the law'. The insistence on taking out of a declaration became something like licensing while the special laws applicable to the press still further restricted freedom. Lord Chief Justice Russell of Killowen said in Reg v. Gray 1900: The Liberty of the Press is no greater and

no less than the liberty of every subject of the Queen. The press never claimed special privileges for itself. It merely wanted the right to function freely subject to the law and public morality. A newspaper is as much subject to the law of the land as any other citizen. For violations of the ordinary law, it is as liable to punishment as the ordinary citizen. But when special laws are passed and new offences created especially for the Press the latter has a legitimate grievance, not so much for itself as for the limitations these impose on its usefulness.

During all these years the people of this country were, as though, in a state of war with the foreign Government. As was the duty of the citizen in times of war, the Press rallied to the side of the fighters for freedom in unflinching loyalty to the cause. That was as it should be. But with the attainment of freedom, there is no longer the same obligation to support those who played such a notable part in freeing the country, even to the point of suppression of honest differences of opinion. The Free India of tomorrow is bound to have a democratic form of Government. While those in authority can legitimately claim the support of the Press in the fulfilment of the great tasks ahead of them, namely, provision of enough food and clothing for the people, free education in the elementary and secondary stages, sanitation, medical relief, water supply and above all, full employment for all citizens to enable them to earn a decent living and lead decent lives, while our leaders can claim the support of the Press in tackling these tasks, the Press cannot disown its responsibility to criticize the activities and policies of the Government when their actions and policies merit criticism, without ceasing to be a force for good in the body-politic.

An independent and free Press, not linked to any political party or sectional interest, will be the best safeguard for democracy. Eternal vigilance is the watchword, not only of liberty but of democracy as well. Though the nationalist Press in this country has been generally following the same line of policy as the Congress, very few newspapers, if at all, are financed or controlled by the Congress as such. This is a fortunate circumstance as the Press is thus free to take up a critical attitude towards the Congress, if the need arises. It will be a novel experience for some of our leaders who have risen to eminence partly, at least by the adulation showered on them by the Press, to see their erstwhile admirers turn into critics. But criticism is the life breath of democracy. Without realizing it and without resenting such development we hope our leaders will welcome it as a necessary concomitant of democracy.

It was the realization of the power that an independent Press can wield which made Sheridan say in a historic speech in the House of Commons:

"Give me but the liberty of the Press and I will give to the Minister venial House of Peers. I will give him a corrupt and servile House of Commons, I will give him the full swing of the patronage of office, I will give him a whole host of ministerial influence. I will give him all the power that palace can confer upon him, to purchase submission and overawe resistance and yet, armed with the liberty of the Press I will go forth to meet him undismayed, I will attack the mighty fabric of that mightier engine, I will shake down from its height corruption and abuses it was meant to shelter."

As in the past and the future: the Press has a great role to play, and the Indian Press I am sure will discharge it with credit to itself and benefit the country.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

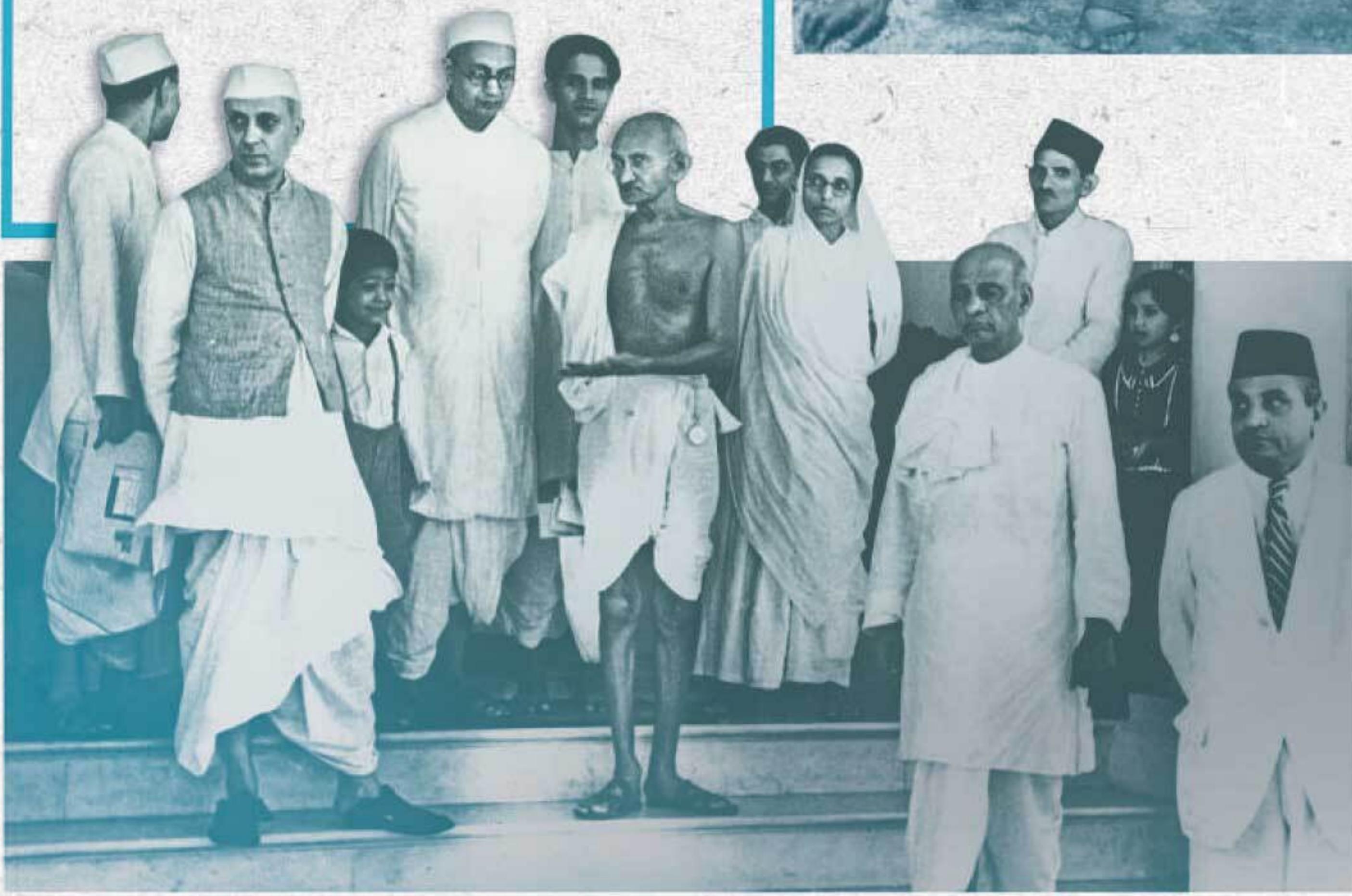
M Subramaniam was part of the senior editorial team at Hindustan Times. He used to write a column called 'Inside Pakistan' from Madurai. A nationalist, he wrote only khadi.



CELEBRATE THIS INDEPENDENCE DAY WITH GLORIOUS MOMENTS FROM INDIA'S HISTORY.



On August 15, 1947, as India awoke to life and freedom, Hindustan Times published a special issue with pieces from eminent thinkers of the time about the nation they wanted to help shape. Today on the occasion of 75 years of Independence, HT has brought to you exclusive articles from that issue in this special Collector's Edition.

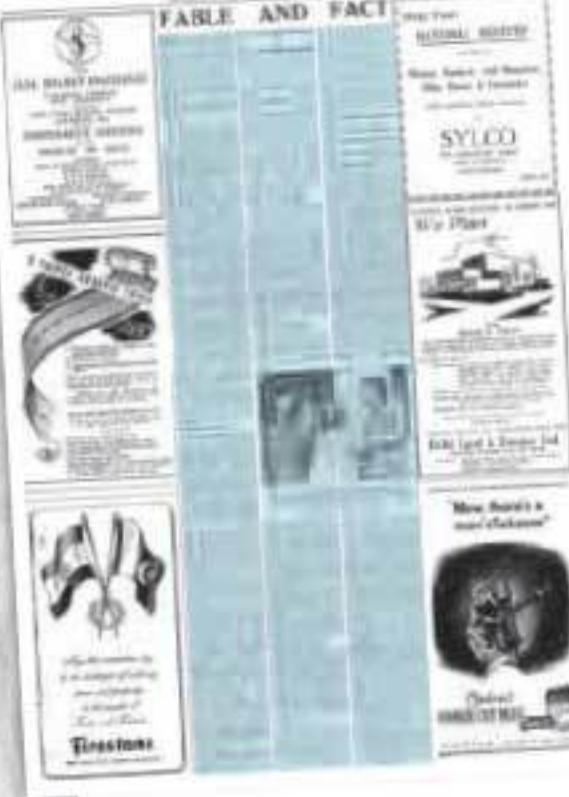


SPOTLIGHT 75 YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE

• COLLECTOR'S EDITION •



In the triangular struggle between British imperialism, Muslim communalism and Indian nationalism, it was natural that each party should try to divide the other two and obtain an ally for itself.



Lord Louis Mountbatten meets Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, JB Kripalani, Sardar Baldev Singh, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Liaquat Ali Khan and Muhammad Ali Jinnah; the article (top) titled 'Fable and fact', as it was published in HT on August 15, 1947.

HT ARCHIVE



K Santhanam

JOURNALIST, FORMER UNION MINISTER

Fable and fact

Most of us have read the fable of "Jack the Giant Killer." One day Jack suddenly found a magic beanstalk near his house and began to climb it. It grew and grew till it finally landed him in the land of the giants. This story is not more incredible than the true story of Mr Jinnah and Pakistan. Mr Jinnah had no more to do with the idea of Pakistan and its growth than Jack did with that of his beanstalk. Mr Jinnah's feat was the same as that of Jack namely, obstinately clinging to the magic plant. Other forces did the rest.

How did this idea of Pakistan come into existence at all? When was its seed sown and who watered it? What will be its flower and fruit? The ultimate genesis of Pakistan may be traced to the thousand-year-old conflict and cooperation of Hindus and Muslims in this country. But unless one selects events to suit one's prejudices it will be difficult to demonstrate that Pakistan was the inevitable result of this history. Let us look at the geographical distribution of Muslims. If Hindus and Muslims were generally in conflict each community would have become segregated centuries ago. But what do we find? In Delhi and a large area roundabout, which were perhaps the longest under Muslim Rule, the vast majority of the people are Hindus while the largest concentration of Muslims in this country is to be found in the distant districts of East Bengal. Scattered Muslim settlements are to be found in overwhelmingly Hindu provinces while in the North West Frontier Province and Sindh many Hindu families have lived in peace and security throughout the centuries. To every dispassionate student of history, it must be evident that these things could not have happened unless after the first shock of conflict the two communities had agreed to adopt an attitude of general toleration towards each other and to let each grow peacefully by the operation of natural forces. It is possible to find exceptions to this attitude. Fanatical Muslim rulers have tried to impose Islam by force and occasionally indulged in all kinds of atrocities. Hindu Princes and Chiefs have retorted though in their case there was no question of forcible conversion. Not only the distribution of Hindus and Muslims all over the country but also their occupational co-operation refutes any idea of irreconcilable antagonism. In certain areas, the Muslims are the weavers and the Hindus the spinners and vice versa. In the UP, the Muslims are landlords and the Hindus the cultivators. In Bengal, their roles are reversed. Certain kinds of trade are monopolised by the Muslims and certain others by the Hindus, this division of labour would never have been possible if communal antagonism had been the dominant factor. It may, however, be admitted that when the Europeans arrived on the scene, the Hindus and Muslims had not become completely assimilated into a single people. This arrest in the process of assimilation may justly be held to be one of the remote causes of Pakistan.

DIVIDE AND RULE

We emerge from the region of speculation into the field of certainty when we come to the policy of divide-and-rule, which was necessarily one of the principal foundations of foreign rule in India. Till the Indian Mutiny, this principle was not applied on a communal basis. The rivalries of Indian Princes and Chiefs, who had established for themselves a precarious state of independence when the Moghul Empire collapsed, provided sufficient material for the early British empire-builders. After the Mutiny, the importance of the Princes declined. A large part of India came to be directly administered and the remaining Indian States had become thoroughly subservient to the British. A new method had to be found to administer the policy of divide-and-rule. At first, this was sought to be forged by the creation of a new middle class, educated in English, dependent on British favour for its livelihood and completely segregated from the religious and conservative leaders on the one hand and the illiterate and impoverished proletariat on the other. When this new instrument became hostile and the English-educated middle class became the breeding ground of Indian Nationalism, British imperialism turned towards communal division as its mainstay. The Muslim deputation led by HH the Aga Khan in the year 1906, which waited upon Lord Minto and as a result of which separate electorates were incorporated in the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909, may justly be considered as the formal sowing of the seed of Pakistan. The vicious possibilities of this political segregation were then hardly recognized by the national leaders of India. The great Gokhale accepted it. When this evil system was expanded in the Lucknow Pact of 1916, it was hailed by the leaders of both communities as a great step in Hindu-Muslim unity. When in later years the leaders of Indian nationalism came to recognise its true import they were powerless to do anything about it. The British government had fully recognized its significance and was not prepared to forgo it. Hence all attempts to establish joint electorates by the concession of more seats to Muslims were frustrated by an offer of a greater number of seats together with separate electorates. In 1925 the principle of communal representation was extended to the Services. The Communal Award of 1933 established statutory communal majorities in all provinces. But as the Hindus were represented by the non-communal National Congress, the mischief of separate electorates became particularly evident in the Muslim majority provinces.

Looking back, it has been admitted that the acceptance by Indian nationalism of separate electorates in 1909, 1916 and 1933 and its failure to replace it by joint electorates in the All Parties Convention and the negotiations during the second roundtable conference must be considered to be a contributory cause for the creation of Pakistan. In the triangular struggle between British imperialism, Muslim communalism and Indian nationalism, it was natural that each party should try to divide the other two and obtain an ally for



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itself. The British Rulers began to play the cat-and-mouse policy with both the Congress and the Muslim League. For Indian nationalism, however, the only chance was to try to detach Muslim communalism by some form of appeasement. That this had been a failure is clear enough now. But to condemn those who pursued this policy is to be wise after the event. Unconditional resistance to separate electorates must have appeared to the leaders of Indian nationalism of those days as an impracticable policy calculation to prolong the struggle for freedom.

ONCE A NATIONALIST

In all this struggle between Indian Nationalism and communalism, Mr Jinnah was either on the side of Nationalism or neutral. He was a member of the Lucknow Pact of 1916 but so also were all the other national leaders of that time. Giving evidence before the Joint Select Committee of Parliament in 1919, Mr Jinnah claimed to speak as an Indian nationalist and expressed the view that separate communal representation of Muslims would disappear soon. In 1927, he declared from a Muslim League platform that he was not wedded to the principle of separate electorates though the majority of the Muslims were attached to it. In 1928, Mr Jinnah joined the Congress in Bombay in the boycott of the Simon Commission and that caused a split in the Muslim League. To the extent that separate electorates constituted a cause for the birth of Pakistan, Mr Jinnah cannot register any special claim to have promoted it.

BIRTH AND GROWTH

The first tentative proposal of Pakistan was made by the late Dr Iqbal in December 1930, in his presidential address at the All India Muslim Conference held at Lucknow. His plan was not so much to constitute a sovereign state as to consolidate the Muslim majority areas of the Punjab, NWFP, Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan into an autonomous political unit loosely connected with the rest of India. The Muslim League did not accept it. But the idea was taken up by one Mr Rahmat Ali in Cambridge. Till 1939, it found little support in Muslim circles. But suddenly at its annual session in Lahore on March 26, 1940, the Muslim League adopted the famous Lahore resolution, committing the League to the creation of an independent State for the Muslim majority areas in the North-West and Eastern zones of India. The cause of this sudden precipitation of a vague idea into a positive policy is not clear. It seems likely that at first it was only considered the best way of obtaining the maxi-



Mahatma Gandhi meets Lord Louis Mountbatten and his wife Lady Edwina Mountbatten, in 1947.

overnment. But Congress' non-cooperation at a time when Britain was engaged in a life-and-death struggle provoked the British Imperialists to apply the policy of divide-and-rule ruthlessly.

PAKISTAN'S GROWTH

During the seven years between the date of the Lahore Resolution and the formal acceptance of Pakistan by the British Government and the Congress on June 3, 1947, the attitude of these two parties in the political wrangle of India was confused and erratic. Broadly speaking, the British Government tried to utilise the Muslim League as a counterblast against the Congress and at the same time tried to resist the demand for the division of India. On the other hand, the Congress offered violent emotional resistance to the idea of Pakistan but was impotent to resist it in practice.

I shall content myself with a few illustrations.

In his declaration on August 8, 1940, Lord Linlithgow said:

"It goes without saying that they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of Government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such Government."

But later on, the same Lord Linlithgow speaking at Calcutta on December 17, 1942, declared: "Geographically India for all practical purposes is one. I would judge it to be as important as ever was in the past, nay more important, that we should seek to preserve that unity. In so far as it may be built up consistently with full justice for the rights and claims of the minorities, whether those minorities be great or small."

Both he and Lord Wavell adopted the policy of giving the Muslim League veto over the Congress and keeping to themselves veto over the Muslim League.

WHAT CRIPPS AIMED AT

The Cripps proposal embodied this dual policy. The proposal to empower a province to secede was understood by both the Congress and the Muslim League as a response to the League demand of Pakistan. At the same time, the proposals taken as a whole sought to make the realization of Pakistan as difficult as possible. There was to be a single constitution making body. All the provinces were to take part in constitution-making. The right of secession was to accrue singly to each province and that was only after the constitution was finally drafted. Sir Stafford Cripps assured in private and even hinted publicly in his press conferences that while his proposals yielded to some extent to Muslim sentiment, they were designed to prevent Pakistan and preserve Indian unity. The Cabinet Mission tried to work out an ingenious formula by which the demand for Pakistan and unity was sought to be reconciled. The Constituent Assembly was to work in three sections and each section was empowered to craft the constitutions of provinces belonging to it and constitute itself into a group. No machinery was devised to coordinate the Central Provincial and Group constitutions. It is difficult to say how the plan would have worked if the unfortunate disputes about interpretation had not occurred.

The Congress attitude towards the war must be held to be one of the primary factors in the precipitation of Pakistan. I do not say that the Congress should have cooperated with the Allies in the war under the niggardly terms offered by the British Gov-

ernment. But Congress' non-cooperation at a time when Britain was engaged in a life-and-death struggle provoked the British Imperialists to apply the policy of divide-and-rule ruthlessly.

The Working Committee recognised this fact in its resolution of August 22, 1940. It said: "The British refusal to part with power and responsibility in favour of the elected representatives of the people is a direct encouragement and incitement to civil discord and strife. The issue of the minorities has been made into an insuperable barrier to India's progress. The Congress policy of non-violence also militates against effective resistance to the idea of Pakistan. The Muslim demand was conceded in principle when the Working Committee decided in April 1942 about the Cripps Proposals that "the committee cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any territorial unit to remain an Indian Union against their declared and established will." The only way in which division could be resisted was to be ready like Lincoln to fight for unity with all possible weapons including violence. The Congress had no organized body for a violent fight at its disposal and its doctrine of non-compulsion conformed with its proclaimed principles. It is futile to speculate as to what might have happened if the All India Congress Committee had accepted in April 1943 the formula of Mr C Rajagopalachari logically expanding this principle of non-compulsion. Even in 1944, when this formula was put in precise terms and accepted by

Gandhi, neither the Congress nor the Muslim League was ready to accept it. Many further attempts to find a common solution and finally one year of fratricidal conflict were needed to bring the three parties together to agree to the inevitable logic of that formula.

It may be asked: "Has the Congress yielded to violence?" I think the answer is both yes and no. I doubt whether the Congress would have voluntarily accepted the division of India but for the dreadful communal outbreak which started in Calcutta on August 16, 1946. But these very conflicts frightened also the Muslim League and forced it to reconcile itself to the partition of Punjab and Bengal. It is no use saying that neither party was swayed by violence. There was nothing wrong with recognizing that, if a political settlement were delayed longer this violence would grow in volume and intensity.

Thus all the three large parties – the Muslim League, the British Government and the Congress – have contributed their share to the growth of the idea of Pakistan and its final materialization. Mr Jinnah had merely stuck firmly to his magic beanstalk and arrived at his destination.

But his difficulties will begin now. He has to fight the big giants that are lying in wait for him and I wonder if hereafter he will have the same luck as Jack in the fable. Immediately on the assumption of office, he has to face the giants of religious fanaticism, primitive rural economy and the geographic separation of the two parts of Pakistan. If he is not able to control the vagrant religious aspirations for a medieval theocracy which have been aroused during the political campaign of the last few years, Pakistan will soon become like the States of the Middle East. If he cannot reorganize agriculture on a modern scientific basis, tap all sources of power and build modern industries, the Central Government of Pakistan cannot pay for its defence and administration. After the first enthusiasm has cooled down, it will become increasingly difficult to hold the North-East and North-West together. It is not only distance but also culture, language and social customs that separate the two. Compared to the problems which Mr Jinnah and his colleagues have to face, the leaders of India have comparatively simpler problems.

SPOTLIGHT  YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE

• COLLECTOR'S EDITION •



Peacefully and without coercion, the numerous units of Princely India take their place in the polity of a new Indian Union which today assumes its rightful position among free nations of the world.



Mahatma Gandhi leaves the Delhi residence of Muhammad Ali Jinnah in 1939; the articles titled 'The states and the dominion' and 'A free Pakistan' as they were published in HT on August 15, 1947. GETTYIMAGES



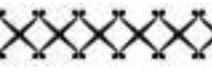
KM Panikkar

FIRST EDITOR OF THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, EX-AMBASSADOR TO CHINA

The states and the dominion

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

The first editor of the Hindustan Times, KM Panikkar produced a vast amount of literature. He later served as the Indian ambassador to China.



THE political controversy regarding the independence of states on the laps of paramountcy which a few ambitious Princes, helped by some disgruntled and unpatriotic politicians from British India, started now seems like a nightmare of the past.

All through July, the controversy raged and the newspapers were flooded with statements from Mr CP Ramaswami Aiyar pointing out why Siam and Iraq could be independent States; unconquered Travancore could not also have its place in the sun. Rulers went hither and thither by air, the Maharaja Holkar even flying to London to consult Privy Councillors on the nature

of independence.

TORY HOPES SHATTERED

A survey of the British Conservative Press of June and July would show how all the enemies of India were pinning their faith on these dissentients to break up the unity of India. The prospect of a strong Indian Union emerging from the uncertainties which followed the announcement of June 3 seemed to frighten them and the editorial comments of the Tory newspapers reflected the hope that at least some of the major states would stand out from the Union and look to the British for support. Today, we can see that the danger that

loomed so large has been overcome. The great majority of states have acceded to the Indian Union and thereby helped to create a central government which can claim without question to speak for a unified nation. From the Ravi to Assam, an integrated State has come into being, such as never existed before in Indian history. The Mauryan Empire in its glory did not extend beyond Mysore. A State greater in extent than what Asoka was able to realise, or Akbar was able to establish, which Marathas could not even conceive, has come peacefully into being.

But let us not forget that out of the cooperation of a few determined and patriotic Princes things might indeed have turned out differently. After the secession of the Pakistani provinces, the area of what was British India was not very much more than what was under the sovereignty of Indian Rulers. Apart from the Gangetic Valley, the rest of the India outside the coastal tracts was predominantly under the rule of Indian Princes. The great central stretch from the eastern boundaries of Sind and Bahawalpur to the Orissa coast was not included in the Dominion of India, as established by the Indian Independence Act. If the majority of States had decided to remain out of the Union, the inevitable result would have been chaos and anarchy, and India could never have emerged as a strong or united nation.

ANNEXATION PLANS

This is indeed what the Princely advocates of Pakistan had planned. They had planned corridors to the sea, confederations

of States, which hoped to be recognised as Dominions and had even worked out alliances among themselves which could carve out and annex portions of British India to their States.

The reality of these dangers was obscured by the major issue of partition and the legalistic controversy about paramountcy. All that can now be said is that this sinister conspiracy came very near to success and failed only because the States near Delhi, to whom the problem appeared differently, came to the firm conclusion that their interests lay in the creation of a central government strong enough to ensure peace and tranquillity in India.

The great Rajputana States bordering Pakistan, Bikaner, Jaipur, and Jodhpur have by their geographical position, to think in terms of the close relationship with a central government. The same is true of Patiala and Gwalior. It is the determination and patriotism of the Rulers of these States who jointly decided to support the Interim Government and to create by participation in the Constituent Assembly a Union in which the Princes will have an honourable place that tipped the scales at a crucial time. Their presence in the Constituent Assembly and their close association in the work of framing the constitution made it impossible for the reactionaries in the Princely camp to press forward with their schemes of independence either for units or for groups.

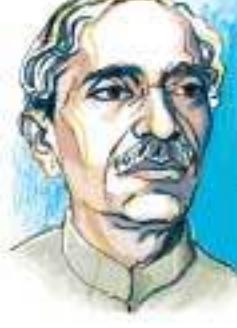
STANDSTILL PACTS

Though the danger of Balkanisation was thus eliminated, a new and no less grave

situation faced the advocates of the Union. The Cabinet Mission plan had not contemplated an interregnum. Power was to be transferred to a Union of which the States were to be integral parts. But the plan of June 3 had not taken into consideration the question of the States. British India was to become a Dominion on August 15. What was to happen to the States? Legally they became completely independent and the entire administrative system would have fallen to pieces if concurrently some measures were not devised to keep together the structure that had been raised during the last 100 years. A limited accession on the three subjects of defence, external affairs and communications and a standstill agreement about the administrative and economic arrangements in force were the methods devised to meet the situation.

GREAT ACHIEVEMENT

Again, it was the progressive group of States, reinforced now by Mysore and Nawangar, that led the way. Now all but a handful of States have acceded to the Union and under the standstill agreements, the administrative structure of India continues as it was before. It is a major achievement, a unique example of constructive statesmanship, for which the credit belongs equally to the British Indian leaders, no less than to the Princes and their Ministers. Peacefully and without coercion, the numerous units of Princely India take their place in the polity of a new Indian Union which today assumes its rightful position among the free nations of the world.



NR Malkani

LAWYER, FORMER MEMBER OF RAJYA SABHA

A free Pakistan

AUGUST 15, 1947, will be a memorable day in the annals of the history of Pakistan and India. On that day two great dominions of the British Commonwealth will be born in Asia by what is called a peaceful transfer of power. And this transfer will be made by the white people to brown people. The transfer of power to the United States, to the Dominion of Canada, South Africa, and the republic of Ireland by the United Kingdom was only through blood and tears.

It is said that history repeats itself. But this looks like new history for the world since the last six thousand years of known records. It is possible, even probable, that the freedom of Pakistan and India by peaceful means may lead to the freedom of the many semi-dependent Asian countries, mostly Muslim, by similar means. This tremendous phenomenon in the history of the world is happening almost without notice, much less exhilarating, in both the new Dominions, we are far too obsessed with the fact of internal division to note the event of freedom and the phenomenon of peaceful transfer of power. The passions of the day blur the significance of the times.

Unfortunately, there is an additional factor that helps to conceal this new trend in the history of the world. India has become free of British rule mainly by "peaceful and legitimate" means. The celebration of Independence Day at midnight on August 14-15

will be a genuine event, for which India has been striving since January 26, 1930. The end has been achieved mainly by moral or amoral means by the Indian nation. The same cannot be said for the birth of the Dominion of Pakistan. The object of the Muslim League has been the independence of the British in form, but independence from so-called Hindu rule in fact; and this end has been achieved, by all means, fair or foul, not as in love but out of calculated hatred; the victory is not of any Pakistan nation but of the Muslim community of all India, half of which now finds itself under the hated "Hindu rule". The Dominion of Pakistan will be free on August 15, but its freedom will be a queer mixture of fact and fiction that will very much dull the edge of rejoicing and sharpen the need for self-examination.

WHO REJOICES?

The Muslim League rejoices and wants the Hindus of Pakistan to rejoice in the dawn of freedom from Hindu rule. The Congress rejoices and wants the Hindus and Muslims and Christians and Parsis to rejoice in the birth of freedom from British rule. It is obvious that rejoicing will be more hearty and more true. The Hindus of Pakistan are bound to weep with one eye and be forced to smile with the other. It will be highly interesting for a cartoonist who looks out for contradictions in life, but deeply tragic for the party concerned. Even a bird



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does not sing in a cage made of gold. The Hindus are not singing birds and the cage has the glitter of steel. But will the rejoicings of Muslims—even the Muslims of Pakistan—be truly spontaneous? I doubt it very much. What is based on fiction or possible fact or probable future cannot yield genuine satisfaction. The cry against Hindu raj was mainly fiction, a small fact in some places, and largely a chimera arising out of future fears. In no Pakistani area has there been an actual Hindu raj or much Hindu tyranny. Bengal with a small majority of Muslims has ruled or misruled the province since the advent of provincial autonomy. The tyranny of the League Ministry and bureaucracy has been rising in crescendo, leading to the massacre of the minority in Noakhali. The corruption and inefficiency of that Ministry have a dark history, in which the Bengal famine was the blackest spot. Punjab had a Unionist Ministry under Mr Sikandar Hyat Khan that was more Muslim than Hindu and looked more to agricultural than industrial or commercial interests. The Khizil Hyat Ministry was weak, perhaps neither Hindu nor Muslim but British and bureaucratic in its outlook. The Allah Bux Ministry of Sind was but an interlude between the Ghulam Hussain, and Mir Bunde Ali Ministries, which were essentially Muslim Ministries working for Muslim interests. The Allah Bux Ministry was supported half-heartedly by the Hindus but it never injured any single Muslim interest. It did not hurt the Hindus but it did not help Muslims at the cost of Hindus. In the Frontier Province, both the League and Congress Ministries have been Muslims, under which the Hindus have been either hostages or hostesses. They have remained either harassed or protected minorities. And yet the Muslims of Pakistan want to jump with joy at their liberation from Hindu raj and tyranny! The Muslim community is a highly emotional community that feels much more than it thinks. Perhaps it dare not think lest the fact of jubilation is marred by the fiction of liberation. And yet this fiction if indulged in any further will spell a tragedy for the Hindus of Pakistan. The fiction, carried into the realm of hard fact will mean the perpetual

rule of a majority over a minority, of a Muslim majority over a Hindu minority. Those who want the Hindus to dance to the tune of Pakistani music should think, at least for a moment, about what it means to the other party.

The Muslim League has always treated the fact of British rule as almost a fiction adopted to save its face with India and the modern world. One can cheat some people for some time, but not all people for all time. I am not one of those who have believed the Muslim League and its President to be in the pay of the British, to be British agents, to be enemies of Indian independence as such. I believe that Mr Jinnah is a great Muslim political leader and that the League is a powerful Muslim party. It has served the interests of the League to coalesce with the British and vice versa. On the whole, the League has had the best of the compact. The British postponed the evil day to quit India but could not avoid it. The League has made an impossible demand for Pakistan possible. But are the British going to quit Pakistan as they have been made to quit India? With one or two British Governors in Pakistan, several British Civilians of the most reactionary type in Pakistan Services, with many British officers and probably a few British regiments on Pakistan frontiers the British power will not be distinguished by its absence from Pakistan. Add to this the slow and sure infiltration of British industrial, commercial and financial interests throughout Pakistan, and the substance of the economy not also some political power will remain in foreign hands. It is not only Muslims who are now migrating to Pakistan. The stream of British and European migration is directed to the same haven of protected minorities. And yet the Muslims of Pakistan want to jump with joy at their liberation from Hindu raj and tyranny! The Muslim community is a highly emotional community that feels much more than it thinks. Perhaps it dare not think lest the fact of jubilation is marred by the fiction of liberation. And yet this fiction if indulged in any further will spell a tragedy for the Hindus of Pakistan. The fiction, carried into the realm of hard fact will mean the perpetual

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SPOTLIGHT 75 YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE

• COLLECTOR'S EDITION •



Rajendra Prasad, president of the Constituent Assembly, signs the new Constitution of the Indian Republic.

HT ARCHIVE

No discrimination against minorities

Addressing the historic midnight session of the House, Dr Rajendra Prasad assures minorities that they will receive fair treatment; hails Gandhi ji as 'our beacon light, guide and philosopher'

An assurance to the minorities in India that they will receive fair and just treatment and that there will be no discrimination in any form against them was given by the president of the Constituent Assembly, Dr Rajendra Prasad, addressing the historic session of the House at midnight on August 14 on the assumption of power.

Dr Rajendra Prasad addressing a hushed House expressed thanks to the Almighty and recalled in grateful remembrance the services of all those, known and unknown, who sacrificed themselves for the attainment of independence. "Let us also pay our tribute of love and reverence to Mahatma Gandhi who has been our beacon light, our guide and philosopher during the last 30 years or more," he said.

The following is the text of Dr Rajendra Prasad's speech:

"In this solemn hour of our history when after many years of struggle we are taking over the governance of this country, let us offer our humble thanks to the Almighty Power that shapes the destinies of men and nations and let us recall in grateful remembrance the services and sacrifices of all those men and women, known and unknown, who with smiles on their face walked to the gallows or faced bullets on their chests, who experienced living death in the cells of the Andamans, or spent long years in the prisons of India, who preferred voluntary exile in foreign countries to a life of humiliation in their own, who not only lost wealth and property but cut themselves off from near and dear ones to devote themselves to the achievement of the great objective which we are witnessing today."

THE BEACON LIGHT

"Let us also pay our tribute of love and reverence to Mahatma Gandhi who has been

our beacon light, our guide and philosopher during the last 30 years or more. He represents that undying spirit in our culture and make-up which has kept India alive through the vicissitudes of our history.

"It is he who pulled us out of the slough of despond and despair and blew into us a spirit which enabled us to stand up for justice, to claim our birth right of freedom and placed in our hands the matchless and unfailing weapon of truth and non-violence which without arms and armament has won for us the invaluable prize of 'swaraj' at a price which, when the history of these times comes to be written, will be regarded as incredible for a past country of our size and the teeming millions of our population.

"We were indifferent instruments that he had to work with but he led us with consummate skill, with unwavering determination, with an undying faith in our future, with faith in his weapon and above all with faith in God. Let us prove true in that faith. Let us hope that India will not in the hour of her triumph give up or minimise the value of the weapon which served to rouse and inspire her.

ASSURANCE TO WORLD POWERS

"Let us then assure all countries of the world that we propose to stick to our historic tradition to be on the terms of friendship and amity with all that we have no designs against anyone and hope that none will have any against us. We have only one ambition and desire and that is to make our contribution to the building up of freedom for all and peace among mankind.

"The country which was made by God and Nature to be one stands divided today. Separation from near and dear ones, even from strangers after some association, is always painful. I would be untrue to myself if I did not at this moment confess to a sense of sorrow at this separation. But I wish to

send on your behalf and my own our greetings and good wishes for success and the best of luck in the high endeavour of government in which the people of Pakistan, which till today has been a part and parcel of ourselves, will be engaged.

NO NEED FOR PANIC

"To those who feel like us but are on the other side of the border, we send a word of cheer. They should not give way to panic but should stick to their hearths and homes, their religion and culture and cultivate the qualities of courage and forbearance. They have no reason to fear that they will not get protection and just and fair treatment and they should not become victims of doubt and suspicion. They must accept the assurances publicly given and win their rightful place in the polity of the State where they are placed by their loyalty.

FAIR AND JUST TREATMENT

"To all the minorities in India, we give the assurance that they will receive fair and just treatment and there will be no discrimination in any form against them. Their religion, their culture and their language are safe and they will enjoy all the rights and privileges of citizenship and will be expected in their turn to render loyalty to the country in which they live and to its Constitution. To all, we give the assurance that it will be our endeavour to end poverty and squalor and its companions, hunger and disease, to abolish distinctions and exploitation and to ensure decent conditions of living.

"We are embarking on a great task. We hope that in this we shall have the unstinted service and co-operation of all our people and the sympathy and support of all the communities. We shall do our best to deserve it."

India independent: British rule ends

of the President, They included Mr Shanmukham Chetty and Dr SP Mookerjee.

"The Beacon Light"

The members and visitors stood up when the proceedings were opened with the Vande Mataram sung by Mrs Kripalani. Dr Rajendra Prasad then addressed the House first in Hindi and then English for ten minutes.

Twice he was cheered, once when he paid a tribute to Mahatma Gandhi "our beacon light, our guide and philosopher," and again when while confessing sorrow at the separation he expressed good wishes for the people of Pakistan.

The House and the visitors next stood in silence for two minutes paying tribute to the memory of those "who have died in the struggle for freedom in India and elsewhere."

Pandit Nehru next moved the adoption of the pledge. The House cheered the sentiments he expressed especially when he mentioned that the service of India that they were about to pledge themselves to meant the service of the millions who suffer. He ended with the words: "We have to build the noble mansion of free India where all her children may dwell."

The motion was seconded by Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman, leader of the Muslim League. In a brief, but most appropriately

worded speech, he said that the fight for freedom had ended and now they had to serve mankind. They could do this only if they placed the country above their personal interests and took the pledge in all sincerity.

PLEA FOR CONCORD

Mr Radhakrishnan spoke impressively in support of the motion. The House cheered him when he contrasted the British action in India with that of the Dutch and the French and admired the political sagacity and courage of the British people. He said whatever the causes which had led to the Partition, it was necessary now to avoid words of anger and passion.

They must instead try to preserve the cultural bonds between the two parts if they wished the people to become one again. From today they would not be able to blame the British and must destroy corruption, root out black-marketing and profiteering. Concord must be their watchword.

Thereafter, the motion was read out in Hindi, Urdu and English and adopted. Thirty seconds later the zero hour struck and the House and the visitors felt thrilled. The feeling was heightened as conches began to blow. A backbencher raised the cry: Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jal. The hall resounded with the cry.

The members then stood up and took the oath simultaneously. It was repeated in Hindi, Urdu and English.

FROM PAGE 1

There was a burst of cheers as the President proposed that it should be intimated to the Viceroy that "the Constituent Assembly of India has assumed power for the governance of India."

There was another burst when it was stated that the selection of Lord Mountbatten as first Governor-General was endorsed by the House.

The President announced that he accepted the poem presented by the Chinese Ambassador.

FLAG PRESENTED

Mrs Hansa Mehta, who had played prominent part as Dictator in a civil disobedience movement, then presented the National Flag on behalf of the women of India.

A hundred thousand of them, she said, had asked her to do so. It was appropriate, she added, that the flag that would fly over the House should be a gift from India. Mrs Mehta was wearing a saffron colour saree to mark the solemnity of the occasion.

The proceedings came to a close on two songs sung by Mrs Kripalani, Iqbal's song Hindustan Hamara and the first verse of Jana Gana Mana Adhikayaya Jaye He.

It is amazing how the capital has gone in the twinkling of an eye. Paper control, cloth control and colour shortage notwithstanding, millions of National Flags and bunting were manufactured during the past week or fortnight and they appeared in such abundance that hardly any house

or shop was without them.

The most significant aspect of the celebrations is the way in which the humble and the poor have shared in the joy of freedom. Not only cars and cycles but even the sis and tongas and lorries carrying workers have been going about flying the Tricolour.

The Fire Brigade Office, the Telephone Exchange, the Telegraph Office, the Government Press. In fact every public institution wore a festive appearance.

New star rises in the East

the peasants and workers of India; to fight and end poverty and ignorance and disease; and to build up a prosperous, democratic and progressive nation, and to create social, economic and political institutions which will ensure justice and fullness of life to every man and woman.

"We have hard work ahead. There is no resting for any one of us till we redeem our pledge in full, till we make all the people of India what destiny intended them to be. We are citizens of a great country, on the verge of bold advance, and we have to live up to that high standard. All of us, to whatever religion we may belong, are equally the children of India with equal rights, privileges and obligation. We cannot encourage communalism or narrow-mindedness, for no nation can be great whose people are

narrow in thought or in action. "To the nations and peoples of the world we send greetings and pledge ourselves to co-operate with them in furthering peace, freedom and democracy.

"And to India, our much-loved motherland, the ancient, the eternal and the ever-new, we pay our reverent homage and we bind ourselves afresh to her service."

TO INDIANS OVERSEAS

The following is the text of Pandit Nehru's message for Indians overseas: Today (August 15) is a fateful moment in history for India, for all Asia, indeed for the entire world. After long years of suffering and sacrifice India attains her freedom and independence. A new star rises, the star of freedom in the East. A new hope fills the world.

On this day of liberation the motherland sends her affectionate greetings to her children abroad. She calls them to her service and to the service of freedom wherever they might be. Every Indian abroad is a representative of India and must ever remember that he has the honour of his country in his keeping.

That is a proud privilege and responsibility. None of India's children, wherever they be, may submit to anything which is against national self-respect or against the cause of freedom.

They must preserve their own freedom at all costs and respect the freedom of others — Jai Hind.

Greater triumphs await India

Period of ill-fortune ends, says Nehru; adds that the service of India means the service of the millions who suffer

"**L**ong years ago we made a tryst with destiny, and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially," declared Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Premier, moving a resolution prescribing an oath for the members in the constituent assembly on the midnight of August 14-15.

He added: At the stroke of the midnight hour when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom.

A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance. It is fitting that at this solemn moment we take the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity.

At the dawn of history India started on her unending quest and trackless centuries are filled with her striving and the grandeur of her successes and her failures. Through good and ill-fortune alike she has never lost sight of that quest or forgotten the ideals which gave her strength. We end on Friday a period of ill-fortune and India discovers herself again.

The achievement we celebrate is but a step, an opening of opportunity, to the greater triumphs and achievements that await us. Are we brave enough and wise enough to grasp this opportunity and accept the challenge of the future?

WORK AHEAD

Freedom and power bring responsibility. That responsibility rests upon this Assembly, a sovereign body representing the sovereign people of India. Before the birth of freedom we have endured all the pains of labour and our hearts are heavy with the memory of this sorrow. Some of those pains continue even now. Nevertheless, the past is over and it is the future that beckons now.

That future is not one of ease or resting but of incessant striving so that we might ful-

fil the pledges we have so often taken and the one we shall take now. The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer. It means the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity. The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye. That may be beyond us but so long as there are tears and suffering so long our work will not be over."

And so we have to labour and to work and work hard to give reality to our dreams. Those dreams are for India, but they are also for the world. for all the nations and peoples are too closely knit together today for any one of them to imagine that it can live apart. Peace has been said to be indivisible, so is freedom, so is prosperity now, and so also in disaster in this One World that can no longer be split into isolated fragments.

THE PLEDGE

To the people of India, whose representatives we are, we make an appeal to join us with faith and confidence in this great adventure. This is no time for petty and destructive criticism, no time for ill-will or blaming others. We have to build the noble mansion of free India where all her children may dwell.

I beg to move, Sir, that it be resolved that—

(1) After the last stroke of midnight, all members of the Constituent Assembly present on this occasion do take the following pledge:

"At this solemn moment when the people of India, through suffering and sacrifice, have secured freedom, I, a member of the Constituent Assembly of India, do dedicate myself in all humility to the service of India and her people to the end that this ancient land attain her rightful place in the world and make her full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind."

(2) Members who are not present on this occasion do take the pledge (with such verbal changes as the President may prescribe) at the time they next attend a session of the Assembly.



Jawaharlal Nehru addresses the midnight session of the Constituent Assembly of India, on August 15, 1947.

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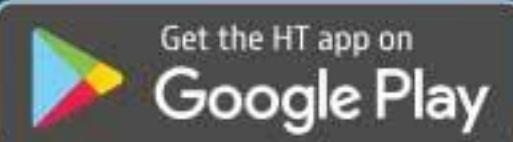
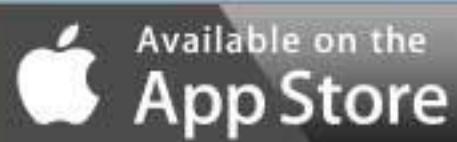
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