

# Bihar Herald

## IN THIS ISSUE

- ★ What is Bihar Soil ?  
—P. R. Das
- ★ Studies in Islam — IX  
—Atulendu Gupta
- ★ China's Military Leaders  
—A Correspondent
- ★ America Takes Her Own  
Medicine —Alan Chalkley

## Bihar Assembly Dissolved

★ Our Special Representative ★

Patna, Dec. 31 : The Bihar Governor, Mr. Dev Kanta Barooah, on Wednesday dissolved the State Assembly with immediate effect under article 174 of the Constitution. The Assembly had earlier been summoned to meet on December 30.

Earlier in the day all Ministers submitted their resignations individually to the Governor.

The Governor has accepted the resignations of all the Ministers except those of the Chief Minister, Mr. Bhola Paswan Shastri and the Deputy Chief Minister, Mr. Ram Jaipal Singh Yadav. Mr. Paswan and Mr. Yadav will run a caretaker Government until alternative arrangements are made.

The seven-month-old Congress-dominated PVD Ministry resigned on December 27. Mr. Paswan had urged the Governor to dissolve the Vidhan Sabha and order a mid-term poll. The Paswan Government consisted of 35 Ministers.

The imposition of President's rule in the State has been delayed since the proclamation has to be laid on the table of the Lok Sabha within two months of the announcement, according to the Constitution, and the Lok Sabha is not meeting with that period, Raj Bhavan sources said.

The Lok Sabha's budget

session is likely to begin in the middle of March, 1972 due to Assembly elections in the country. Therefore, the President's rule is likely to be proclaimed in mid-January so that it could be laid before the Lok Sabha within the specified period, the sources said.

A press Note issued from Raj Bhavan says :

### Press Note

"The Governor has dissolved the State Legislative Assembly under Article 174 of the Constitution.

The Chief Minister had earlier submitted his resignation as also the resignation of his Council of Ministers. Since then, all Ministers, State Ministers and Deputy Ministers have individually submitted their resignations to the Governor. The resignations of all of them have been accepted, except that of the Chief Minister and the Deputy Chief Minister who, between themselves, will constitute a Care Taker Government to function till it is possible for the Governor to make an alternative arrangement".

According to a Press Note issued by the Bihar Vidhan Sabha Shachivalaya, the eighth session of the Bihar Vidhan Sabha scheduled to commence from tomorrow, December 30, 1971 will not be held.

The Governor of Bihar has, in exercise of the powers conferred on him by sub-clause (b) of clause (2) of Article 174 of the Constitution of India, dissolved the Bihar Vidhan Sabha today, December 29, 1971.

### Delhi Report

According to a Delhi report, Presidential proclamation imposing Central rule in Bihar following the resignation of the P. W. D. has been delayed until January 13, to meet the requirement of the constitutional provision in this regard.

It is pointed out in New Delhi that the two-man caretaker Ministry has been allowed by the Governor to continue for the time being only to meet the constitutional requirement as envisaged in Article 356 (3).

According to the provision, every proclamation under Article 356 shall be laid be-

fore each house of Parliament within two months of the issue of the proclamation. As the next session of Parliament is likely to meet by March 13, the time lag would exceed the required period. The Governor has, therefore, allowed the two-man caretaker Ministry to continue until it is dissolved with the presidential proclamation at best by the middle of January.

It is learnt that President's rule would have been imposed in Bihar on Wednesday as recommended by the Governor had the Parliament the normal schedule to meet in the month of February for the budget session. But the budget session of Parliament is not likely to meet before March 13 because of the Assembly elections in several States including Bihar. It was in this context that two-man care-taker Ministry has been allowed to continue and imposition of President's rule has been quite justifiably delayed.

## No Central Help To States With Overdrafts

New Delhi, Dec. 31 : The Centre is making it known to the States, through the Planning Commission, that it will no longer run to their rescue with ways and means advances to clear their overdrafts with the Reserve Bank.

The Commission is using the opportunity presented by the current discussions on the annual plans to impress upon the States the need for utmost financial discipline in view of the emergency and the difficult resources position in general.

But the Commission's approach to the problem does not seem to be unsympathetic. For, in effecting a general cut in the Central assistance to States for 1972-73, those with overdrafts are being let off with a cut of only three per cent, whereas the others are expected to bear a cut of five per cent.

### U.P. Protest

In fact, the U.P. Chief Minister Mr. Kamalapati Tripathi, took strong exception to "penalising" the States that had exercised greater financial discipline by not taking recourse to overdrafts when he met the Planning Minister, Mr. C. Subrama-

niam, here on Monday.

Another step taken by the Commission in concert with the Finance Ministry, is to impose a 10 per cent. cut in the market borrowings of State Governments and electricity boards in the next financial year. Only Punjab has been exempted from this in view of its special problems as a border State.

### Land Revenue

The two measures will together reduce the net availability of assistance from the Centre in 1972-73 but for that reason the Commission has not suggested any reduction in the size of the annual Plans of the States. On the contrary, the outlay is being raised over that of the current year in almost all cases.

This will undoubtedly entail a much larger resource mobilisation effort by the States than what they have been making in the last three years, as they will have to find resources not only to make good the reduction in Central assistance but also the severe curtailment in overdrafts.

In his discussions with the Chief Minister, the Planning Minister is underlining the need to raise revenue from those sections of the community that have benefited from the extension of irrigation and power facilities and the introduction of the high-yielding varieties of food crops.

Land revenue, in his view, is still low in most of the States. Similarly, the betterment levy charged in many States is not even Rs. five per acre. If Maharashtra can levy Rs. 250 per acre as betterment levy in the sugarcane growing areas, it should certainly be possible for other States to raise the existing deplorably low rates. Rationalisation of power tariffs will also make large revenues available to the electricity boards.

### Non-Fiscal Steps

In addition to these, the States should explore the possibilities of mopping up the savings of the people through non-fiscal measures. For instance, extension of banking facilities with attractive loan and savings schemes for cultivators could be a new way of tapping rural savings. Rural banks could also serve as the agents of the Life Insurance Corporation and offer savings schemes with risk cover for depositors.

On the question of agricultural income-tax, Mr.

(Contd. on page 31)

(Contd. on page 26)

## BAHINI HELPING RETURN OF PROPERTY TO OWNERS

★ By A Correspondent Lately in Dacca ★

Calcutta, Dec. 31 : "We are finding out the culprits who looted the property of our Hindu brothers and are returning the property to the owners" said the young man who hitched a ride on our car on our way to Tangail. The frail, rather sickly looking boy would not be more than 18, but his sincerity and the feeling of firm conviction in his voice were easily discernible.

In fact, reaching Bajitpur 'hat' only a couple of miles away from Tangail town, we found ample proof of this. The place is renowned for the handloom saris which are sold every Friday. The first shop that we visited was small and had a tin shed. The owner Jatindra Das of Nandail village. The adjacent shop belonged to Nagen Saha. We were greeted by both Das and Saha.

With the Government established at Dacca, the returning of property to the rightful owner has started in right earnest. And in most places we visited, it was the local Mukti Bahini command which had taken the initiative. We felt even if in the remote corners of Bangla Desh the long hand of the law would take some time to reach, the people had begun to undo the wrong that had been done in the last 9 months.

We were returning from Dacca and our goal was Gauhati via Mymensingh and Tura in Meghalaya. As our car reached Karatia village, our driver wanted a tea break.

We stopped at the nearest tea shop. And in no time we were surrounded by the local villagers who wanted to know the state of affairs in Dacca.

The first man who talked with us at the tea shop was a school teacher, a Hindu. A large poster on the split-bamboo wall of the shop said, "Hindus, Christians, Buddhists and Muslims all are Bengalis". In a few minutes a Mukti Bahini commando, who was a student till March, appeared. "The task before us", the young man said, "is resettlement of the people and returning the property to the rightful owners".

As if by magic, four people, their hands bound behind them, were produced before us. These men," the commando said, "had by force taken the property of Hindus during the Pak regime. We will try them and force them to return the property to their rightful owners."

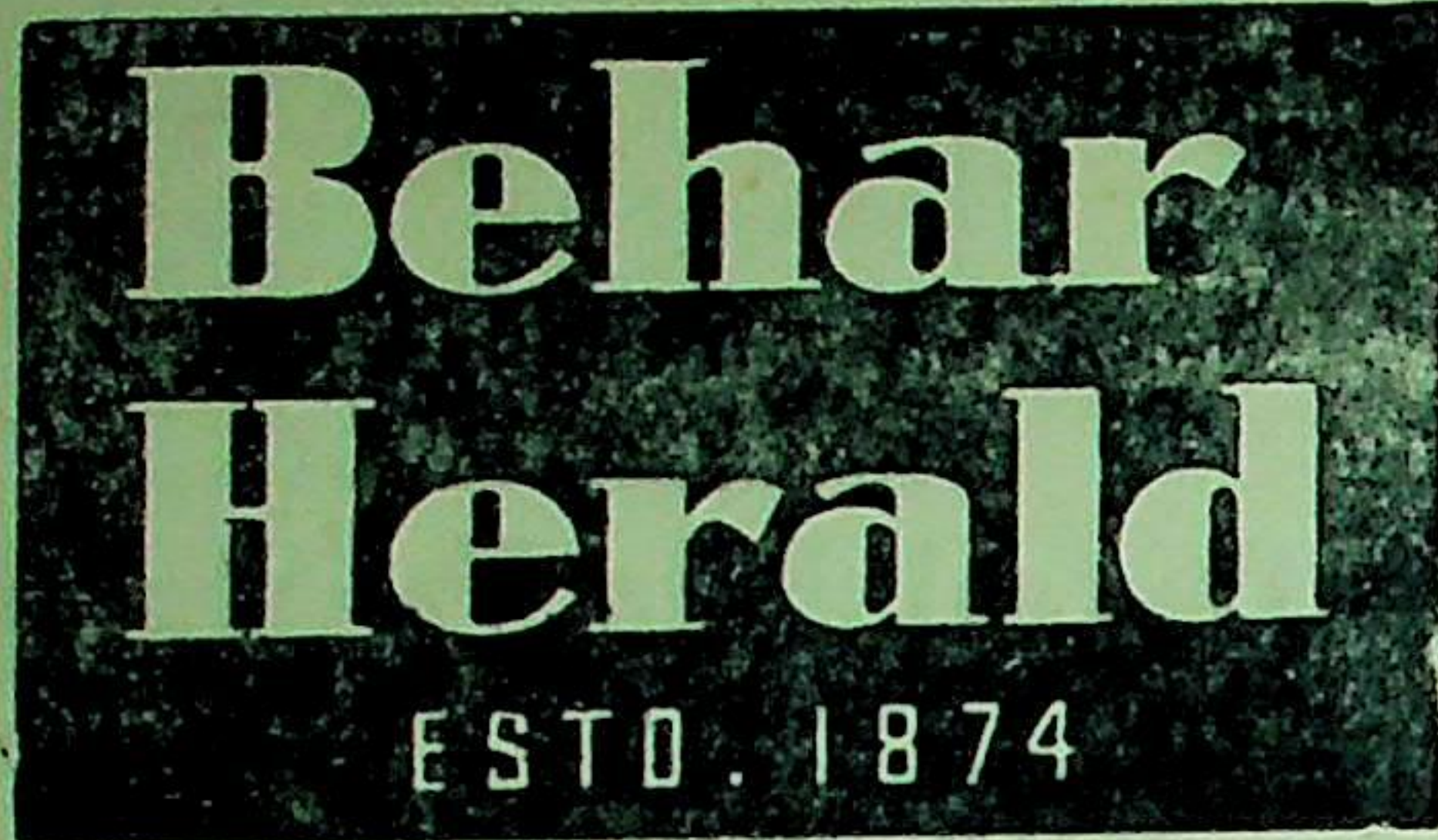
Karatia, which has a college, a gift of the local landlords, the Pannis, some of

### Obituary

## Dr. P.N. Dasgupta

Dr. Pramatha Nath Das Gupta, formerly Professor and Head of the Department of Mathematics, Science College Patna, who died on 23rd December 1971 at Patna, was born in 1891 in Tangail, now in Bangladesh. Standing second in order of merit in the Matriculation examination of Calcutta University in 1907 from Dinajpur Zila School, he had a brilliant career in the University. He stood first amongst all the candidates of M.A. and M.Sc. of Calcutta University and was awarded the Hemchandra Gossain Gold Medal. He joined Patna College in 1914 as a lecturer of Mathematics. Between 1927 and 1929, he worked under Late Prof. H. W. Turnbull F. R. S. and got his Doctorate in Mathematics from the University of St. Andrews, Scotland. In 1933, he was awarded the Elliot Prize by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal for the best research work on Mathematics. In 1947 he was Recorder of the Mathematics Section of the Indian Science Congress. He retired from Science College Patna, in 1948 but continued to take active interest in the advancement of Education in the State till his death. He was a voracious reader and his interest varied in all branches of Arts and Science. His erudition in religious studies earned him universal veneration. He had a sharp memory and could recognise by name even those who had studied under him more than 50 years ago.





### A POLITICAL NECESSITY

When there are still more than two years for the term of the present Bihar Legislative Assembly to expire, constitutionally, fresh elections are not at all called for in the State along with elections in eight other States. But it cannot be denied that this has become a political necessity in spite of the majority, though slender, enjoyed by the Progressive Vidhayak Dal Ministry, headed by Mr. Bhola Paswan Shastri. Because, in the first place, a large section of the Congress(R) Legislature Party has yet to reconcile itself to Mr. Shastri's leadership as would be apparent from the signature campaign recently started against him. Secondly, a new element of instability has been introduced with the withdrawal of support by the CPI. Thirdly, Mr. Shastri has little opportunity to take any bold initiative in the socio-economic sphere in conformity with the declared objectives of the Congress (R) as the appeasement of coalition partners absorbs all his time and energy.

Ever since the PVD assumed office six months ago, the unity of the coalition partners had been under a severe strain and it was extremely doubtful that the Government could have retained a majority in the House for long. The growing demand in both wings of the Congress (R) for a fresh poll in March along with elections in other State Assemblies is, therefore, easily understandable. If the Congress (R) high command, too, has endorsed the demand, the reason is quite clear. The political atmosphere has never been so advantageous for the Ruling Congress as it is today, specially after the liberation of Bangla Desh. The ruling party is hopeful of improving its position in all States, if elections are held all over the country. Though a final decision is yet to be taken on the holding of general elections to the State Assembly, the Union Government, according to present thinking, would like to have such elections for the State in February-March, 1972. If, as a consequence, the Congress (R) can secure absolute single party majority, it might put an end to the political uncertainty which Bihar has been passing through since the general elections of 1967.

But, in order to win decisively, there can be no doubt that the leaders of the Pradesh Congress will have to make a determined effort to sink personal differences and end the evils of groupism within the party. It is known to all that a running feud between the supporters of Mr. L. N. Mishra and Mr. Ram Lakhan Singh Yadav on the one hand and those of Mr. Daroga Prasad Rai on the other did much to bring the party into disrepute last summer. Ironically, after the fall of the SVD Cabinet in June last, Mr. Mishra and Mr. Yadav also fell out. The high command of the Ruling Congress later tried to patch up the rifts between the three factions by dissolving the Pradesh Congress Committee, and forming instead a 50 member ad hoc committee, consisting mostly of younger Congressmen who owe allegiance to none of the group leaders.

But the situation is not quite simple in Bihar. The signature campaign against Mr. Bhola Paswan Shastri was actually directed against a particular section in the Ruling Congress of the State whose dominance in the Ministry had begun to be widely disliked. It is also presumed that the CPI, too, was only utilising Mr. Shastri as a cover for its hostility to that section. At the time of selection of candidates as also during the election, the rivalry between the two camps in the Ruling Congress is bound to make itself felt though the result may not necessarily be disastrous. The Opposition parties in Bihar have strongly disapproved of the proposal for fresh elections. But it is the prerogative of a ruling party, so long as it is backed by a majority in the Assembly, to choose the time of new elections. If the situation is favourable to it, that cannot possibly be helped.

### No Central Help.....

(Contd. from front page)

Subramaniam seems to have succeeded in securing a general acceptance of the proposition by most Chief Ministers. The only hitch is that a few States refuse to barter away their constitutional right to levy the tax to the Centre.

The Planning Minister, however, believes that the Centre should administer the

system and collect the tax on behalf of the States and give it back to them fully. That alone will ensure that the income of a person from all sources is fully taxed. Further, it may be possible that one person may have income from agricultural property in more than one State. It is therefore, felt that the Centre must have the power

## The War : Reactions In Southeast Asia

★ By Harish Chandola ★

Singapore : Since the beginning of this month, over two million people of Indian origin in Malaysia and Singapore spend a good deal of their time sitting hunched over their radio sets, listening eagerly to every scrap of news from the India-Pakistan warfront. While buying vegetables in the mornings or eating lunch at coffee-shops, their conversation centres on this war and they generally express their joy and satisfaction over the tidings of Indian victories in the eastern sector.

They make no secret of their rejoicing over what they consider as "a whacking" being administered to Pakistan by India. They feel proud that India is able to wage a successful war and their chauvinism for a country they have long ago forsaken knows no bounds.

The attitude of nearly nine million Chinese in Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore is generally sympathetic to India. But this has been a negative kind of sympathy, born out of the Chinese dislike for the Moslems who besides being the original people of this region also constitute its majority. The Chinese find themselves overwhelmed by the Moslems, a situation they dislike but have to accept.

Of late, however, the Chinese newspapers in this region have been playing up the Russian role of support to India. The result therefore is that the Chinese are slowly coming to believe that the Indo-Pakistan war is the result of Soviet incitement. If one asked a Singapore Chinese taxi driver what he thought about the war, he would say that the Soviet Union was behind it.

The Moslem population of this region is of course greatly worried about the result of this war. Is Pakistan, as an Islamic State going to vanish, the wonder ?

More important than the reaction of the population, is the attitude of the Governments of this region towards the conflict in the Indian sub-continent. Except Singapore, all the other Governments (Malaysia, Indonesia and Philippines) have addressed appeals for an immediate cease-fire, and two of them, Indonesia and the Philippines,

to levy the tax though the revenue from it will go wholly to the States.

What has evidently satisfied the States that have so far had discussions with the Commission is the latter's assurance that no worthwhile scheme will be allowed to suffer for want of finance. Mr. Subramaniam has gone a step further and told the States that they should increase their outlays on power and irrigation projects and social service programmes without hesitation, and the commission would stand by them. A clearer picture of the State Plans for 1972-73 will, however, become available only at the end of the discussions next month.

have offered their good offices in helping to bring the fighting to an end.

The Singapore Government has officially said nothing, but its abstention in voting in the UN on the cease-fire resolution of December 8, is definitely an indication of its sympathy for India. Privately, however, both in Delhi last month and here earlier, the Singapore Prime Minister, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, has made no secret of his support for India both on Bangla Desh and on its other problems with Pakistan.

The Military Government of Thailand has banned all comments on the India-Pakistan fighting in its newspapers. It has said that both countries were its friends and it would not want to offend either. The biggest English-language daily there "Bangkok Post" has however carried comments of other newspapers like "The Guardian" in London, which were favourable to India.

The Indonesian Government too wanted its newspapers to keep themselves from commenting on the Bangla Desh struggle or the India-Pakistan fighting. Jakarta newspaper have, however, printed guarded comments expressing their anxiety about the future of Pakistan.

The US attitude of holding India responsible for starting the fighting, is reflected in its publicity material widely circulated in this region. For instance, the US Information Service has been circulating only those editorials in US newspapers which criticise India and predict dire consequences for it. The USIS also circulated the speeches of the US Ambassador to the UN, Mr. George Bush, in which he accused India of being the first to send troops "across the border of East Pakistan". Several US commentators, like Mr. Walter Cronkite, have criticised the US Government for not exerting sufficient efforts to settle the Bangladesh, problem, which has degenerated in the fighting. But such commentaries have not been included in the USIS handouts.

Because Malaysia and Indonesia have not come on the side of India in the present crisis, one cannot say that they have adopted an anti-Indian attitude. They are still friends of India and in spite of their overwhelming Moslem populations they have not taken a pro-Pakistan position".

It is, however, a fact both these countries possess rabid Islamic political parties. The religious leadership in these countries consisting of teachers and preachers of Islam and the Islamic political parties find it difficult to accept the possibility of disintegration of Pakistan as an Islamic State. They are fully aware that without the religious sentiment of its population, Pakistan would lose its present basis of existence. This prospect of Pakistan not remaining a staunch Islamic State frightens the religious

and politico-religious leaderships in Malaysia and Indonesia. These leaders would like the two Governments to come out in favour of Pakistan. But these Governments have withstood this internal pressure.

There would be no use hiding the fact these countries, and even others in this region, have been surprised by the determination India has shown this time in helping militarily the people of Bangla Desh to establish an independent country of their own. They are still more surprised to find India not reacting to the UN General Assembly resolution on a cease-fire and withdrawal of forces. They believe that this marks a departure in the pattern of behaviour of India.

All southeast Asian countries are greatly concerned over the possibility of the India-Pakistan fighting becoming a long-drawn-out affair or of other powers getting involved in it. This would create a serious situation in the area, they think, and might even drag some of them in the conflict directly or indirectly. This, they believe, would be a tragedy because only last month the five of them who form the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), (Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand), had at their Foreign Ministers' meeting at Kuala Lumpur, declared this area as a region of peace, freedom and neutrality. They were going to seek guarantees from the Super Powers of non-interference in the internal affairs of the region, when the India-Pakistan fighting broke out. This fighting has been a setback to their plans of creating a neutralised south-east Asia.

All of them believe that the Super Power Soviet Union now fully backs India. The Thai newspapers, in spite of their neutral position on the fighting, have called on the Soviet Union to "disengage itself from this conflict and leave the area alone". Indonesia resents the Soviet military presence in the area and its leaders have made several statements in the past against the growing naval strength of the Soviet Union in the Indian Ocean. These countries believe that if the India-Pakistan fighting continues, the Soviet naval presence in the Indian Ocean is bound to increase, thus jeopardising the chances of obtaining a neutralised southeast Asia. Therefore the leaders of these countries are all the more keen to seek a cease-fire and get the conflict in the Indian sub-continent stopped.

It would not be proper to consider this attitude as anti-Indian. It is an attitude of concern, because the countries of this region are afraid of the prospect of the India-Pakistan fighting developing into a long-drawn-out affair and assuming the proportion of a larger conflict with the involvement of super powers in it. —(H. S.)

'Sons widely u different who del speaking he speak he is tr no doubt part of other. and ill-c a search MODEK three ye dom ha and resl and Bih changed article i whole a

As it Congress that the children and are privilege to them is necessa the q Bihar so where co tion that thing cal but I w purpose c that the called Bi Biharis question what is E

I may centuries have been ment. M the lear Editor of shown th Bakhtiya Bihar an governm Bakhtiya mediate Bihar w Bengal Bihar wa Bengal w peror Al was plac Governor Jani. O Emperor annexed Bengal when E Tughlak Bihar be kingdom 1397. Bahadur Khan, as in Biha Shah M 1498. S came mo the Mus Hussain Shah. U Emperor formed i but und it again along Great B North B been ger Musalm (see Rij footnote above r somewhat Bihar so For goe history o with tha centuries must b what in For much o Akbari. out wil edition.



# WHAT IS BIHAR SOIL?

By P. R. Das

'Sons of the Soil' is an expression that is being widely used—and misused—in recent years. It means different things to different persons. There are many who delude themselves into believing that the Bengali-speaking Bihari is not a 'son of a soil' merely because he speaks the language of one of the minority groups; he is treated as no better than a parasite. There is no doubt that this kind of irrational attitude on the part of one leads to bitterness on the part of the other. It was to prove the fallacy of such ill-founded and ill-conceived notion that the late P. R. Das made a searching analysis in an article contributed to the MODERN REVIEW (August, 1938). In these thirty-three years the country has seen many changes. Freedom has come, political cards have been shuffled and reshuffled, the geographical boundaries of Bengal and Bihar have been reorganised. But in spite of the changed set up much of what P. R. Das said in that article is applicable even today. Hence we reproduce the whole article below.—Editor B. H.

As it is claimed by the Congress Ministry in Bihar that the Biharis are the children of the soil of Bihar and are entitled to all the privileges which appertain to them as such children, it is necessary to enquire into the question, — what is Bihar soil? I have elsewhere contested the proposition that there is any such thing called the Bihar Soil; but I will assume for the purpose of the present enquiry that there is such a thing called Bihar Soil of which the Biharis are children. The question still remains, — what is Bihar soil?

I may point out that for centuries, Bengal and Bihar have been under one government. Maulavi Abdus Salam, the learned translator and Editor of *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, has shown that from the days of Bakhtiyar Khilji portions of Bihar and Bengal formed one government. In the time of Bakhtiyar Khilji and his immediate successors, South Bihar was included in the Bengal Viceroyalty. South Bihar was separated from the Bengal Viceroyalty by Emperor Altamash in 622 H, and was placed under a distinct Governor named Alauddin Jani. On withdrawal of the Emperor, Bihar was again annexed to be a part of the Bengal kingdom till 1320, when Emperor Ghiasuddin Tughlak again separated it. Bihar belonged to the Sharqui kingdom of Jaunpur from 1397. Again under Ibrahim, Bahadur Khan, son of Darya Khan, assumed independence in Bihar with the title of Shah Muhammad at about 1498. South Bihar again became more or less subject to the Musalman kings of Gaur, Hussain Shah and Nasrat Shah. Under the early Moghul Emperors, Bihar was again formed into a distinct Subah but under the later Moghuls, it again became incorporated along with Orissa in the Great Bengal Viceroyalty. North Bihar appears to have been generally included in the Musalman kingdom of Bengal (see *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, p. 59 footnote). It is clear from the above narrative that it is somewhat difficult to separate Bihar soil from Bengal soil. For good or for evil, the history of Bihar was bound up with that of Bengal for many centuries. Still an endeavour must be made to ascertain what in fact is Bihar soil?

For these purposes, we must obviously go to *Ain-i-Akbari*. My reference throughout will be to Galdwin's edition. In *Ain-i-Akbari*, Subah

Bihar has been divided into seven Sircars. (1) Sircar Bihar, which obviously included the modern district of Patna and Gaya; (2) Sircar Monghyr, which included Bhagalpur; (3) Sircar Champaran; (4) Sircar Hajipur; (5) Sircar Saran; (6) Sircar Tirhoot and (7) Sircar Roh-tas. Later Sircar Rohtas was divided into Sircar Shahabad and Sircar Rohtas. It is clear that we could not find either Purnea or Chotanagpur or Santhal Parganas in Subah Bihar. So far as Purnea is concerned, there is no difficulty whatever; for Purnea is one of the Sircars in the Subah of Bengal (see Vol. II, p. 198). It is clear that the river Kosi formed one of the boundaries between Bengal and Bihar.

So far as Chotanagpur is concerned, it is said that it has been shown in *Ain-i-Akbari* as part of Sircar Bihar. So far as I know this theory is based upon a passage in a learned paper contributed by Prof. Blochmann to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. As I shall have to refer to this paper constantly, I may say that this is to be found at p. 111 of Vol. 40 of the *Journal*. Professor Blochmann says at p. 117:

"...of Ramgarh, I have hitherto found no notice in Muhammadan historians. It must have been at an early time dependent on Bihar because Chai Champa, according to Ain, was a parganah belonging to Bihar."

It is significant to note that there is nothing in the Muhammadan historians to suggest that the hilly tracts of Ramgarh were subjected by the Muhammadans. I do not myself find Chai Champa mentioned as one of the Mahals in the Sircar Bihar. I find, however, that Jaey Champa is shown as a Mahal of Sircar Bihar. What ground is there for suggesting that Jaey Champa is the same as Chai Champa of Hazaribagh district? I do not think that the reference is to Chai Champa of Hazaribagh for the following reasons:

1. There is no record at all of the subjugation of Ramgarh by the Muhammadans at all. This is admitted by Blochmann.
2. If Chotanagpur was part of Subah Bihar, the reference would not have been to Chai Champa. I do not find Chai Champa even

mentioned by name in Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XVI. On the other hand, Chota Nagpur was well known to the Muhammadan historians as Jharkhand. The domains of the Maharaja of Chutia Nagpur were also well known to the Muhammadans by the name of Kokrah. It is quite impossible to accept the theory that Chai Champa, even if mentioned as one of the Mahals of South Bihar, means Chota Nagpur, since the Muhammadan historians knew Chota Nagpur as Jharkhand and the domains of the Maharaja of Chutia Nagpur as Kokrah.

3. Chutia Nagpur was over-run by the General of Akbar for the first time in 1585. (see Prof. Blochmann's paper, p. 130) Raja Todar Mull's Settlement of Bihar was in 1582, so that it was quite impossible for Raja Todar Mull to include any part of modern Chota Nagpur as part of Subah of Bihar.

I contend, therefore, that so far as *Ain-i-Akbari* is concerned, there is no pretence for supposing that the modern division of Chota Nagpur was treated as part of Bihar.

Here I must sound a note of warning. Chutia Nagpur as the Muhammadans knew it, must not be confused with the modern Chota Nagpur. This is made clear by Prof. Blochmann at p. 112, where he points out as follows:

"The Fifth Report of Bengal Finances under the E. I. Co. by Grant has still Chutea Nagpur. On Renell's maps, we find 'Chutia Nagpur' and only in modern times do we find 'Chota Nagpur', as if it was 'Lesser Nagpur' in contradistinction to the Nagpur of the Central Provinces. But Chutia (near the modern Ranchi) was the residence of the old Raja and was selected as capital by the fourth in descent from Phani Mukuta 'the serpent crowned' the legendary ancestor of Chutia Nagvansi Rajas. Abul Fazl calls Chutia Nagpur by its old name Kokrah, which is still the name of one of its Perganahas....Kokrah was known at the Moghul Court for its diamonds and it is evidently this circumstance which led the Generals of Akbar and Jehangir to invade the district."

It is necessary to remember this, because I have seen in responsible newspapers the invasion of Akbar of Chutia Nagpur or Kokrah being referred to as the invasion of Chota Nagpur. This is a pure delusion. The Muhammadan emperors has no charm for the hilly tracts of Chota Nagpur. They were attracted to Kokrah or Ranchi because of its diamond mines; and, as I shall presently show, there never was an occupation of Chutia Nagpur or Kokrah by the Mughal Emperors. Their invasion meant the taking away of the diamonds from the dominion, of the Ruler of Kokrah. At the present moment, it is sufficient to say that Chutia Nagpur means Kokrah or the zemindary of the present Maharajah of Chota Nagpur and did not include either Ramgarh or the rest of the modern Chota Nagpur.

I think I am right in pointing out that Bihar, as Emperor Akbar knew it, did not include Chota Nagpur. The following passage on p. 447 of Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XVI is of interest:

"The hilly country now comprised in the Chutia Nagpur division remained independent both in name and in fact, during the Muhammadan period, until the Musalman Governors of Bengal and Bihar failed in their attempts to push their conquests farther to the east and therefore turned their arms towards the west and south. Their earliest inroads, however, were directed not against the frontier Chiefdoms of Ramgarh and Palamau but against Kokrah or Chutia Nagpur, proper, which was celebrated at the Moghul Court for the diamonds to be found in its rivers".

On p. 450, it is pointed out that "natives of Bihar were considered foreigners in Chutia Nagpur". It is now said that the Biharis are the children of the Chota Nagpur soil.

It is to be remembered that Chota Nagpur properly belongs to the aboriginal tribes who have nothing whatsoever in common either with their neighbours of Bihar or with those of Bengal. Sir Hugh McPherson (as he afterwards became) points out as follows in his *Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operation in the District of Santhal Parganas* on p. 12:

"The striking proportion of the aboriginal elements marks the district out at once as a place apart from its neighbours in Bihar and Bengal. It finds its counterpart in the more retired districts of Chota Nagpur, being more strongly aboriginal than the two nearest districts of that division, Manbhum and Hazaribagh, which connect it with the great plateau of Central India".

Mr. Grand in his celebrated *Historical and Comparative Analysis of the Finances of Bengal* refers to Chota Nagpur, namely Palamau and Chota Nagpur, as "foreign dependent Government". He says that these districts are inhabited by people "who are an original savage race differing extremely in appearance, religion, language and manners from the Hindus".

If Chota Nagpur had ever become annexed to Bihar, it could only have become annexed by conquest, and it would be ridiculous to say that Biharis are children of the soil conquered by the Muhammadans and annexed to Bihar for purely administrative reasons.

I now propose to deal with the different districts of Modern Chota Nagpur division. I will first begin with Manbhum. The name Manbhum is of course the creation of Regulation XIII of 1833. Pachet was, however, familiar to the Muhammadan administrators. It is not mentioned in Todar Mull's Settlement at all: but Sircar Madarin is shown as the frontier Sircar of Subah Bengal (see *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. 2, p. 179).

Jaffar Khan's Settlement of 1722 shows that Pachet is in Bengal. As is well known, Todar Mull's Settlement divided each Subah into different Sircars. But Jaffar Khan adopted a different plan; he divided each Subah into different Chucklehs. Chuckleh Burdwan was formed out of Sircar Sharifabad, Madarun, Paschush, the greater part of Salimabad with a portion of Satgong and included the rich zemindary of Burdwan and one-third of Birbhum and the whole of the tributary districts of Bishenpur and Pachet (see Firminger's Edition of Fifth Report, Vol. 2, p. 189). At p. 193, Pachet is described as "the large west zemindary of Bengal, bounded by Chutea Nagpur and Ramgur the southern districts dependent on the Subah of Bihar". Pachet is throughout shown as part of Bengal (see pps. 243 and 259, 2nd Vol., Fifth Report) and situated in Sircar Madarun, Chuckleh Burdwan (see Fifth Report, Vol. 2, p. 398).

It is clear, I think, that Pachet was part of Bengal in Muhammadan times.

In British times, there is no doubt whatever that Pachet was part of Dewany lands inserted in the Settlement of Mohammad Reza Khan (see Appendix to the Minute of Mr. Shore, dated 13th June, 1789, Fifth Report, Vol. 2, p. 123). It is to be noted that Mr. Shore, as he then was, was dealing purely with Bengal in his Minute dated 13th June, 1789. We then find that Pachet was included within Birbhum (see District Gazetteer, Manbhum p. 61). This is distinctly acknowledged in Regulation XVIII of 1805 which brought into existence the jungle mahals carved out of different districts. Section 2 of the Regulation provides as follows:

"The districts called jungle Mahals constituted in Zillas of Birbhum, Burdwan and Madarun shall be separated from the jurisdiction of a district officer to be dominated by Magistrates of the Jungle Mahals".

Section 3 shows that Pachet was taken out of the Zilla Birbhum. It is clear that upto 1833 Pachet was in Bengal.

( To be concluded )

The advertisement features a central logo of a traditional oil lamp (diya) with a flame, set against a dark background. Below the lamp, the word "Asoka" is written in a large, elegant, cursive script. Underneath "Asoka", the word "BREAD" is printed in a bold, blocky, sans-serif font. At the bottom of the advertisement, the text "ALWAYS AVAILABLE" is written in a small font, followed by "ASOKA BREAD & BISCUIT FACTORY" in a larger, bold, sans-serif font. The entire advertisement is enclosed in a decorative border.



## CONSERVING CANADA'S WILDLIFE

(Contd. from last issue)

An interesting little booklet entitled *Wildlife Land Management*, written by Vernon P. Husek, has been issued by the Fish and Wildlife Branch of the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests, Toronto. In its 22 pages it describes and illustrates what can be done by land owners for the preservation of wildlife.

Hedges play an important part in the existence of small animals and birds, particularly if they include some fruit bushes. Trees and shrubs provide shelter and refuge and the privacy that wild creatures desire.

To take even a small part in providing for wildlife is to bring conservation down out of the clouds where it is so often obscured, and to help to make the world a better place for humans to live in. Conservation is not merely preserving life for future generations, but something also for here and now. Every moment of every day we are affected by what is around us, and our lives become enriched when we pay attention to it.

Some people speak ill of the evangelistic ardour of conservationists, but missionary zeal is needed to offset the dismal history of wildlife destruction if man is to be saved from the results of his own folly. It is not desired to lock up and preserve all resources that are left, but to *conserve*, which means allowing the use of a renewable resource without impairing its ability to reproduce itself.

### Canadian Wildlife Service

The Canadian Wildlife Service and the provincial agencies are the trustees of Canada's wildlife. They are moving in a positive way to preserve wildlife. Outside the national parks, wildlife, with the exception of migratory birds, is the legislative responsibility of the provincial and territorial governments.

Besides its work with migratory birds the Wildlife Service advises other federal agencies on wildlife in federal areas, and the territorial governments on wildlife in the Yukon and Northwest Territories. It offers research services to the provinces on request. In 1966 it began a programme of scholarships of dollar 1,200 each to assist graduate students in various fields of wildlife biology. Federal-provincial wildlife conferences are held annually.

If the governmental activities were participated in and supported by a union of the thousand and one private conservation organizations it would be a beneficial move. The Task Force on Ecological and Environmental Factors, Mid-Canada Foundation, has proposed that an agency be formed, with authority to oversee the implementation of environmental protection programmes and the responsibility for continuing public education.

### Wildlife management

It is not enough to leave wild creatures to fend for themselves. Men are encroaching upon the places where they live, changing them beyond the power of wildlife to cope.

The main objective of Canadians concerned with the future of wildlife is that it should be managed properly as a renewable natural resource. That management must be based upon sound biological principles.

Wildlife cannot continue to contribute to our way of living unless we set aside adequate living space for it. The alteration or destruction of habitat is more subtle than shooting, but just as deadly. When a plan to change the use of land or to build a road or a pipeline is in the making, a thought should be given to wildlife in its vicinity. A small modification in construction or location can perhaps ensure the future welfare of wildlife without appreciable economic loss.

Wild creatures do not ask us for much: a handful of essential foods, an assured water supply, and a safe refuge or cover.

In 1969 there came into being the Mid-Canada Foundation, designed to establish a level of long-range planning to Canada's mid-north. Its policy and programme, like those of the Canadian Wildlife Service, are designed to translate national concern about wildlife into guidelines for co-ordinated action by Canada and the provinces.

Also under way is the Canada Land Inventory, a comprehensive survey of present land use and its capability for various purposes, including agriculture, forestry, recreation and wildlife. This is a co-operative federal-provincial operation. The vast amount of information obtained will be stored on computer tapes to become a working tool in resource planning and in rural development plans. Maps on land capability have been published and may be purchased from Information Canada.

### Parks and Sanctuaries

In 1887 a bird sanctuary, the first on the continent, was established at last Mountain Lake in Saskatchewan. Today the Canadian Wildlife Service administers 94 migratory bird sanctuaries throughout Canada, and there are sanctuaries administered by Ducks Unlimited, the Jack Miner Foundation, and scores of other agencies.

To naturalists it is most important that reserves should be under effective control to prevent modification of the habitat or disturbance of the animals using them.

Canada has provincial parks and national parks. The provincial parks, totalling 76,051 square miles, are of five kinds: primitive, preserved from resource exploitation and sophisticated resort development; wild river parks, protected from incompatible land and water uses; natural environment parks, landscapes of outstanding aesthetic or historic significance, protected from resource use that would conflict with recreation and education; recreation parks, where the environment may be substantially modified for human use; and nature reserves for scientific and

educational use, where public access is only permitted if it will not be detrimental.

An effort is being made to protect natural parks from human erosion. For example, some provinces prohibit or restrict the use of snowmobiles where there are fragile ecological or geological areas. The coursing of snowmobiles can easily break off the tops of young seedlings. Irresponsible drivers can damage water fowl habitat, and Ontario has documented examples of sadistic hunting in which animals have been run under the snowmobile tracks. Other all-terrain vehicles, dune buggies and motorcycles, are invading wilderness areas in increasing numbers.

### "To preserve for all time"

Canada's twenty-four national parks add up to 30,000 square miles.

The purpose of a national park is to preserve for all time the most outstanding and unique natural features of Canada. They are dedicated forever to one use—to serve as sanctuaries of nature for rest, relaxation and enjoyment. No exploitation of resources for any other purpose is permitted.

Robert Scharff wrote in *Canada's Mountain National Parks*: "Most visitors to Canada's mountain parks have two main objectives: first, to view the magnificent scenery, and, second, to see the wildlife that animates the scenery." In most parks, the public has access to wildlife habitat under public control to watch, study or photograph the animals. Public appreciation of nature is encouraged through provision of nature trails and guides who are naturalists; nature museums, movie and slide shows, lectures, and other interpretative activities.

Those who administer parks, both national and provincial, are under constant pressure to open up parts of them for permanent and transient housing and for the establishment of commercial enterprises.

The government's policy statement of 1964 forbidding exploitation of parks that would lessen their scope as sanctuaries of nature provided the administrators with the armament needed to prevent the parks being turned into recreational honky-tonks as have been so many in other countries.

### Wildlife has rights

Nature's children are all straightforward creatures with very simple intentions. There is nothing vulgar in nature. People, too, need to practise outdoor manners.

When primitive tribes hunted game to satisfy their basic wants, they almost always entertained beliefs that involved respect for the animals they sought. When today's people intrude into an environment belonging to the native animals they cannot do less than respect them. Courtesy is part of the Canadian creed, and it is a small thing to ask that it be extended to humble fellow-creatures.

## HOMAGE TO "SHAKTI"

India's triumph against the Bellicose neighbour has justifiably evoked spontaneous praise and admiration even in those quarters which had, in the past, missed not a single opportunity to run us down, and preach homilies to, or decry, our leadership. That the courageous and inspiring leadership provided by Mrs. Indira Gandhi was largely responsible for the resounding military and diplomatic victory is universally acknowledged.

*The Economist* of London has called her the "Empress of India". But this country seems to cherish its ancient religious traditions more than imperialist associations of the British. "She is truly Shakti", gushed a D.M.K. Member of Parliament in sheer ecstasy. Not to be outdone, a Tamil Nadu M.L.A. has described the Prime Minister as the 20th century "Yahya Mardini".

While the masses are equally adulatory, and leaders vie with each other in putting the Prime Minister on a divine pedestal complete with halo, expressions of such sentiments must indeed be personally embarrassing to her. She has attributed the victory to the dedicated spirit of the

Perhaps animals, as well as humans, deserve to have a Bill of Rights. Ernest Thompson Seton, Naturalist to the Government of Manitoba and author of many books, wrote in *Wild Animals I Have Known* (1898): "Since, then, the animals are creatures with wants and feelings differing in degree only from our own, they surely have their rights."

To see that they are given these rights is the obligation of human beings, the dominant species. The fact of our superiority imposes special responsibilities. Man was given "dominion over the fish, fowl, and every creeping thing", and he was told to dress his Eden and to keep it.

Aside from the personal ethical reasons for discharging our stewardship of life with compassion, there are survival reasons against upsetting ecological balances deliberately or thoughtlessly. Nature is something existing in its own right, demanding our respect and attention; it is also something imperative to our enjoyment of life.

To carry out our responsibilities well we need an intellectual re-conditioning. Children should be brought up to enjoy the more primitive aspects of the out-of-doors, and their education should include appreciation of their place in nature.

Knowledge about their surroundings and knowledge that they are a part of all created things is the only way to prevent their accepting Disneyland's *Jungle Land* as a substitute for the wonder and beauty of the real world.

If misunderstanding of his place in nature should lead man to depreciate other animal life, and to transgress the characteristics which distinguish him as man, he would be turning back down the road he has climbed with such difficulty over the ages.

—R. B. C. (Concluded)

nation that rallied round her as one man at the critical juncture.

Victory has a hundred fathers and defeat is an orphan". President Kennedy recalled after the Bay of Pigs campaign against Cuba had failed miserably, though he did not shirk from bearing full responsibility for the fiasco. This aphorism, comprising in it a world of wisdom, hardly needs any embellishment. It is only appropriate, therefore, that a grateful nation should, in its hour of glory, remember with pride and appreciation its fallen heroes and their deeds of valour on the battlefield and honour those of the living who are still with us or in captivity, including the many who have suffered physical losses.

It is in keeping with our established traditions that the President has lost no time in honouring the Prime Minister with "Bharat Ratna," the most precious jewel that this nation can award to anybody in its gratitude for her magnificent stewardship of the ship of State. Yet, one wishes that the genius of this country could devise some new and unique way of saluting her and recognising her services.

"With the conferment of Bharat Ratna, Mrs. Gandhi is the first of India's daughters to join the select galaxy of the illustrious recipients, three of whom are still happily in our midst. Significantly, Jawaharlal Nehru was the first of our Bharat Ratnas, and Indira Gandhi richly deserves the honour not only for having kept the indomitable Nehru spirit glowing brightly in the country, but also for bringing to the world—and in Bangla Desh—a little more of freedom, democracy and human values, ideals that he deeply cherished.

x x x

It also behoves us, as a mature nation, not to run away with our emotions and lose our sense of proportion in our hour of triumph no less than in dark moments of despondency. Balraj Madhok, Jana Sangh leader, appears to be carrying on old political battles. He is probably the only person in public life to grudge the award of Bharat Ratna to Mrs. Gandhi. Not that he is in principle opposed to the practice of honouring individuals for a nation's collective triumph. Madhok would like to see the award go to Jagjivan Ram, the Defence Minister.

However, all other Opposition parties, including the Jana Sangh under the statesmanlike leadership of Atal Bihari Vajpayee, have been unstinted in their appreciation of Mrs. Gandhi's services to the nation. Vajpayee also showed wisdom in keeping his organisation on a disciplined course away from the communal passions that might have otherwise got out of control.

Unfortunately, there has been the same lack of a sense of proportion in editorial comments of some responsible journals. The 'equation theory' between India and

(Contd. on page 29)



# MORE ABOUT KORAN

★ By Atulendu Gupta ★

Here are some sayings of Muhammad on the question of Islamic Brotherhood as well as Universal Brotherhood quoted from the Koran and Hadith. The reader will easily see how the Prophet has harmonised the two.

"Mankind is of one community, and Allah sent unto them Prophets as bearers of good tidings" (II, 213).

A man said, "O Prophet of God! which is the best part of Islam?" He replied, "That you give food to the hungry and extend greetings to all whom thou knowest and whom thou knowest not" (Thus Spake Prophet Muhammad).

Again, "Feed the hungry and visit the sick, and free the captive if he be unjustly confined. Assist any person who is oppressed whether Muslim or non-Muslim" (Ibid).

All these sayings contemplate universal brotherhood. Obviously, therefore, when Muhammad speaks of Muslim brotherhood, it has to be fitted into the larger scheme of universal fellow feeling.

"All Muslims are like one person, one foundation", said the Prophet. "Assist your brother Muslim, whether he be an oppressor or an oppressed." Again, "Help thy brother, the wrong-doer and the wronged".

Is Muhammad preaching communalism here which the communalists do in the name of Islam? "Help and side with a Muslim against non-Muslims whether he is right or wrong" is the Mullaic motto which is so dear to narrow-minded souls. But the true meaning of what Muhammad said was clarified when someone asked, "I will help him when he is wronged, but how can I help him when he is doing wrong?" It was a pertinent question to ask. Should one help and shield the wrong-doer simply because he is a fellow Muslim and a brother-in-faith?

The Prophet replied, "Hinder him from doing wrong and verily that is helping him" (Thus Spake Prophet Muhammad).

I was so excited when I read this injunction of Muhammad that I had an impulse to go to Allahabad and meet the author of "Thus Spake Prophet Muhammad" to thank him for removing our misconceptions regarding Islam and Islamic brotherhood. But as I often experienced before, a good impulse unless acted upon at once is apt to be frustrated later. And so it happened in this case too. Not long afterwards I learnt to my great regret that Dr. Hafiz Syed had suddenly died. I had no chance to meet him in this world.

However, let us understand the implications of the Prophet's advice. If a Muslim is found plundering a Hindu temple, it would be the duty of fellow Muslims to rise against him. Similarly it would be their duty to resist the blood bath perpetrated by the tyrant Yahya Khan

in East Bengal. "Assisting an oppressor is by forbidding and withholding him from oppression", said the Prophet. Mullas, please note!

Again, speaking on Jihad or holy war, the Prophet says, "The best Jihad is his who speaks a just word before a tyrannical authority".

Those Urdu newspapers in Patna and elsewhere which are supporting Yahya's "Jihad" against the civil population of East Bengal should ask themselves whether they are not being a party to the wrong kind of Jihad. The Koranic injunction is to "speak a just word before a tyrannical authority". Again, "Whose walketh with a wrong-door that he may strengthen him, knowing all the while that he is a wrong-doer, has departed from Islam". Further, "The greatest enemies of God are those who are entered into Islam, and do acts of infidelity, and who, without cause, shed the blood of men".

One final question. How can love of Muslims be reconciled with love of humanity? How can Islamic Brotherhood be fitted into Universal Brotherhood?

The answer is clear. One concept has to be balanced with the other in the same way as nationalism is with internationalism. We are patriots and Indian nationalism teaches us to love fellow Indians. But we also love humanity. Loving a fellow Indian does not mean hating other nations and other countries with all of whom we should live in peace and mutual goodwill. When patriotism goes beyond reasonable limits, it degenerates into chauvinism, imperialism and expansionism. Similarly, Islamic brotherhood, when it feeds upon communal passion, degenerates into communalism. One should check the communal passion of a Muslim (or for that matter anybody else) if one has the true love for fellow Muslims. One must not "walk with a wrong-doer" even if he is a Muslim.

Some more sayings of Muhammad to prove how humanism surpasses narrow communal considerations:

"God is not merciful to him who is not so to mankind".

"He who helpeth his fellow creature in the hour of need, and he who helpeth the oppressed, him will God help in the day of travail".

"The best of men is he from whom good accrue to all humanity".

"Do you love your Creator? Love your fellow beings first".

"All God's creatures are his family; and he is the most beloved of God who tries to do most good to God's creatures".

"Whoever is kind to His creatures, God is kind to him; therefore be kind to men on earth".

I need not multiply further quotations on this point. I will now turn to the ques-

tion of violence versus non-violence. The Koran has use for both though in different areas. In the personal plane, Muhammad enjoins strict non-violence.

"Forgive him who wrongs thee; join him who cuts thee off; do good to him who does evil to thee, and speak the truth although it be against thyself".

"That person is most respectable near God, who pardoneth when he hath in his power, him who would have injured him".

"Faith is restraint against all violence, let no Muslim commit violence".

"Be free from malice towards anyone".

"Withhold your hands from striking".

These injunctions are applicable to all Muslims in the plane of their personal life. But Muhammad also recognised clearly that a state cannot be run on a strict non-violent basis. Pacifism for the individual may be all right; but the state cannot adopt it as a collective policy. The state has to do with criminals within and aggressors without. Where would society be if the state remained passive in the face of thefts and dacoities committed by anti-social elements living inside the society or in the face of challenge to its existence from inimical outsiders?

For a state, therefore, violence is a necessary evil. Even so, one should fight clean, said Muhammad.

"Fight in God's way with those who fight with you, but do not start a fight. God hateth the aggressor" (Surah II, 190).

Clean fight means avoidance of treachery in war. Non-combatants like women, children and old men should be spared. Orchards, crops and all sacred objects should be saved. The wounded must not be mutilated, nor the dead disfigured. Example and persuasion, not sword, are to be the instruments of conversion. "Let there be no compulsion in religion," as we have already quoted before.

Thus the genius of Muhammad established a reasonable compromise between violence and non-violence in the same way as he struck a reasonable balance between Islamic brotherhood and universal brotherhood.

Muhammad held aloft the high principles formulated by him as long as he lived. But almost as soon as he died Mullaism raised its head. This I reserve for discussion in some of my subsequent articles. Next week I will deal with the vexed question of polygamy.

Just at the time of going to the press, came the welcome news that the Pak Army in Dacca and other towns had surrendered and Bangla Desh was now free. Mullaism and communalism which thrived so well there under the leadership of notorious Mullas like Ghulam Sarvar (the engineer of Noakhali riots) will, it is hoped, raise their ugly heads no more. Ghulam Sarvar himself was killed by the freedom fighters last September for the crime of collaboration with the Pak occupation army.

# CHINA'S MILITARY LEADERS

★ By A Correspondent ★

China coming on stage again in world politics, and bidding fair to steal the show, keeps a curious blanket of silence over the four main military figures in Peking's powerful Politburo.

No statements of importance have been recently uttered by Huang Yung-sheng, Liberation Army chief-of-staff Wu Fa-hsien, commander of the airforce, or Li Tso-pleng, first political commissar of China's navy.

Congratulatory telegrams that hailed Communist China's UN success, were conspicuous at east in the text read over Radio Peking, for non-mention of Lin Piao, Chairman Mao Tse-tung's hand-picked heir-apparent.

This, however, is not evidence that the men are inactive, or that military leadership in top-level Peking circles is on the wane.

A plenary session of the Communist Party committee in Heilungkiang, a province in northern Manchuria, has just lashed out against infiltrators who sow factionalism, "attacking the unity between the army and the people, or between the army and the government." But the unity which exists is one in which army power prevails. Radio Heilungkiang announced that enemies trying to weaken army influence "will be hunted out in whatever corner they hide and will be exposed until they rot."

At present it is heresy to advocate that the army be subject to civilian control, articles read over west China radio stations in Chinghai and Kansu provinces reveal. Mao's old teaching that political power comes from the barrel of a gun is proclaimed as "genuine Marxism-Leninism". To deny it is to speak as a sham Marxist, stated a spokesman over Radio Kansu, in Lanchow.

Pilloried as "sham Marxist number one", and the target of a prolonged campaign of intense abuse in China's mass media now, is Ch'en Po-ta. Until August, 1970 he was a stalwart in the 5-man standing committee of Peking's Politburo Ch'en, from the early 1940s, acted as ghost writer for Mao Tse-tung. He served as editor-in-chief of the Red Flag, national magazine of the Party, from its founding in 1958, and held high rank both in the government propaganda Department and the Academy of Sciences (as an expert on Marxism).

Obviously one major factor behind Ch'en's fall from power last year was the dim view he held of the armed forces and their role in China's ever-continuing revolution. He is accused of claiming that "the times when power was won by armies is over," that "today guns are not needed" that "the theory of armed struggle is outmoded." A Sinkiang broadcast last May castigated Ch'en for being against war and speaking of the horrors of war. While these charges circulate inside China in the press and on monitored radio

programmes intended for domestic listeners, they are passed over in releases of New China News Agency for overseas readers.

Ch'en certainly did not rate army men as the most important and decisive part of the State machine. For such views he is condemned as traitor and counter-revolutionary. Army allocations in the national budget, and in plans for industrial production, are at stake.

In the full Politburo now, seven of 12 regular, active members, and all three alternative members, are military men. Besides the top-four leaders, the elite group includes logistics commander, Ch'iu Hui-tso, and a military intelligence director, Wang Ting-hsing. The five civilians include Chou En-lai, the wife of Mao and two proteges of Madame Mao, Chang Chung-kuo and Yao Wen-yuar.

The long-sustained and highly escalated purge of Ch'en Po-ta and his group is a sure sign that the military does not intend to relax its dominance.

The news blackout on the four most active military men in the Politburo may be part of a policy to maintain low profile for practical reasons, to combat the cult of personality, and to foster the idea that leadership is becoming more and more collective.

In September 1970 the second plenum of the 9th Party Congress announced that a People's Congress was to be held soon, and this year's New Year editorial in Peking said that the Congress would be convened in 1971. It has not met since 1960. In theory, this body could reorientate the balance of power in the Politburo. There have surely been delays in preliminary elections and other preparations for the People's Congress.

## Homage to Shakti

(Contd. from page 28)

Pakistan propagated by interested parties would appear to have made considerable dent even in this country.

Thus, as the war started, a Bombay weekly criticized the "leadership of the two countries" for involving their peoples in the war, "whatever may have been the cause or causes, whoever may be to blame". We thought it strange that our leadership should have to bear the same burden of responsibility as the Pakistani Generals for the war we were forced into. We thought it odd that the causes of the war should have been glossed over and blame distributed in such even-handed manner. And we have seen other examples of the same equation formula in the context of domestic political developments.



## U.S. RESPONSIBILITY FOR WAR Setting The Record Straight

★ By Anthony Lewis ★

LONDON: It would be pleasant to turn to some other subject, but this one will not go away. We shall be living indefinitely with the consequences, human and political, of all that has happened in India and Pakistan over the last nine months.

Least of all should Americans forget. Every day makes clearer their Government's share of responsibility for the tragedy, and every day raises more disturbing questions about the way American policy is made.

That is the really worrying point about the recent White House briefings that led to a newspaper quarrel over identifying sources. The purpose of the briefings was to justify the American position in the Indo-Pakistani dispute. Their effect was to suggest that the two principal authors of American foreign policy, Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger, live in a world of self-indulgent fantasy.

Thus, according to the authorised version, the United States was able to exercise a moderating influence over Yahya Khan by saying nothing publicly when he arrested the elected leader of East Pakistan, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, and had his troops murder thousands of Bengalis and turn millions into refugees. This influence over Yahya was maintained by having the United States totally endorse the Pakistani view of the war, denouncing the Indians as aggressors.

The fact, as opposed to fantasy, is that unconditional American support prolonged Yahya Khan's intransigence. That is dramatically demonstrated in an account by Gavin Young, a British reporter of measured temperament who spent the 14 days of the war in Dacca and in close touch with A.A.K. Niazi and other Pakistani Generals.

### Real Life Humour

#### Midhusband

Wiesbaden (West Germany)—Courts have ruled that a 38-year-old man cannot be accepted as a student at the midwife's school in Marburg. Dr. Lulling, lady member of the European Parliament, promptly objected and asked if such discrimination is legal within the European Community and will hold true for the six Common Market members. The commission replied that individual nations can still make their own decision in this matter until there is closer co-ordination in the big six.

#### Unremorseful

Paris—Tiburce Lelong, 33, asked prostitutes on the Boulevard Rochechouart if they were not ashamed of their profession. Not getting remorseful answer, he grabbed the umbrella of a "belle de nuit" named Georgette, beat her on the arm with it, and then broke it in two. Georgette pulled a cap pistol from her handbag, shot it, and Lelong fainted. The judge fined him 72 dollars for damages.

Young writes in 'The Observer' that the Generals in the east were ready to ask for cease-fire on December 10 and for a "peaceful transfer of power" to the elected Bengali leaders. They messaged Yahya, but he replied with the story that China and America were about to intervene militarily on Pakistan's side. Niazi, says Young, threw up his hands and said happily, "We are off the book." That ended the hopes of an early cease-fire.

The position of Sheikh Mujibur is another revealing matter. The United States never criticised his arrest, apparently believing that Yahya Khan had no political alternative. But now the former Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Air Force, Asghar Khan, a politician who is hardly an Indian stooge, has said that Yahya should never have arrested Mujibur Rahman and could have made a political settlement with him.

With the war over, the Nixon Administration came up with an ingenious new 'ex-post facto' justification. It had prevented an all-out Indian assault in the west and a widening of the war, it said, by sternly warning the Indians and their Soviet supporters of possible retribution. That was said to be the import of the talk about cancelling Nixon's trip to Moscow and the movement of the aircraft carrier 'Enterprise' to the Bay of Bengal.

Such boasting is inappropriate in the diplomacy of a great Power even if the claims are convincing, and they are not. The Russians in this case have hardly been hotheads who needed to be cooled down by the United States. The best evidence is that, far from urging their Indian allies to war, they urged restraint: certainly that is believed by British officials, who have no inordinate admiration for the Soviets.

As for the Indians, it is doubtless true that there are hawks among them. But the correspondents who have dealt with the leading Indian Generals have found them a sober group, with an understanding and even sympathy for the Pakistanis and no desire to crush their country. Very few armies have fought a war under such difficult emotional circumstances with so much control.

The uncontrolled brutality has in fact been on the other side. Can anyone doubt that? Outside Dacca the Bengalis have found the bodies of 200 of their leading intellectuals, bayoneted, choked or shot before the Indian troops arrived. That discovery has an immediacy that arouses horror, but Pakistani forces had slaughtered many others starting last March. Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger have taken no public note of those horrors since they began. Will they face that reality now, or will they go on with their private fantasy of righteous American influence that no one else can say?—(The New York Times)

## America Takes Her Own Medicine

★ By Alan Chalkley ★

Not only the poor countries of the world worry about the pressure of people. The so-called rich countries don't all sleep soundly at night about it, either.

The Nixon administration has sent to the U. S. Congress a big five-year family planning scheme—the first official population-control policy ever developed by an industrial nation in the rich-country group. Thus America, which has already channelled considerable amounts of aid out to other nations for their family planning efforts, is now taking its own medicine.

If Congress approves the new scheme, official spending on subsidised services and birth control devices will double by 1975, from about US 175 million dollars being spent under current budgets.

Organised programmes in the nation now serve about 2.2 million women, and the increased spending is designed to zero in on an additional 3.7 million more, especially in the poorer groups.

Perhaps the image of America to outside countries is an exaggerated one; the fact is that, despite the very high output of goods and services per person, there are sizeable groups of poor people about the nation. They could be estimated as totalling more or less something like 30 million people—the "bottom 15 per cent" of the country.

Even these, it is true, live at a standard which is higher than that of most of India or Pakistan or Indonesia, for instance. And, incidentally they are not all black. Censuses and surveys in the U. S. show that traditional attitudes of poverty are often more associated with the white families than with the black: the poorer black mother often desires a smaller family, and does more about ensuring that she has one, than the poorer white mother.

But observers from Asian countries, especially those from the more crowded nations, may well ask: "Why on earth is America worried about her population, with only just over 200 million people in such a large and open country?"

The answer is America is not open any more. Some areas, such as the madhouse sprawl of urbanisation along the north-east coast, are now at densities which threaten the society, economy, polity and ecology.

Pollution is rising, the diseases and frustrations of dense urban life are bursting into crises, and the quality of life is declining fast.

Even on the paradise islands of Hawaii, the fiftieth state of the union, Oahu island is urbanised over one third of its inhabitable area: the pretty harbour town of Honolulu has become a sprawling concrete jungle, crawling up the mountain-

sides and spilling over into once-deserted valleys.

The pressure on space, and on the productivity of the land, is visible, over much of the United States. There is a "distribution crunch"—as standards of living rise higher and higher, and more and more production, is demanded by the population, a gap widens between haves and have-nots. The poor seem to be even poorer.

The political effects are, of course, dangerous—but the social and economic effects are even worse, because the limits of viable raw materials, of processing capacity, and of sheer transport and distribution, become strained to breaking point. The effect could be collapse—not of a political administration, but, of a whole economic pattern. At that point, it does not matter that the population growth rate is only one per cent a year—those extra babies are enough to break the system.

The U. S. administration has seen the warning signals. The nation needs a breathing space, to consolidate and reorganise what has been the most successful economic producing unit in history. In America's case, it is not a matter of raising material prosperity—as it is in all of Asia—but ensuring that America keeps what material prosperity it has, and improving the quality of life at the same time.

It should not be thought, however, that the administration's new family planning scheme will go through without a fight. There are strong opposing arguments which will be marshalled against it.

There will be the industrial and farming blocs who use the argument that unless population is allowed to grow, then markets cannot expand. The fallacy in this is that the market—the spending power of the people—does not depend on numbers so much as on income in each pocket. Otherwise, India would be one of the best markets in the world (actually, it is one of the poorest and most expensive at the same time)

What happens when populations stop growing fast is that incomes continue to grow, but since they are no longer shared among ever-larger numbers of families, then more families can save more, spend more on new goods (especially luxuries, or things which used to be thought luxuries), and generally change their life-style.

This, it is true, means trouble for some industries. Spending on some items in the old, poor-income, shopping-list falls steadily—the products of candle-makers and oil-lamp makers and low-quality cereal growers, for instance. But in their place come power-station operators, electrical gadgets makers,—and makers of gold-painted luxury candles for rich men's dinner tables....

As incomes rise, not only does spending change, but production changes, too. A

nation no longer needs crowds of low-skilled workers, ill-equipped hand-harvesters (or hordes of footslogging soldiers, either). To fight the battles of peace, smaller groups of highly-skilled workers, and to fight the battles of war, smaller groups of sophisticated technicians, are required.

Opponents of the big family-planning scheme in the U. S. will also fight fiercely for what they call "morality", they will point to the rising illegitimacy rate, the rising venereal disease rate, the rising divorce rate, and ask whether the intensive distribution of family planning devices, and liberalisation of abortion, will not further damage moral standards.

This is an argument which is raging over a number of countries, and is not an easy one to settle. There is some confusion between "sexual morality" and the results of "sexual immorality," it can be argued that having a baby is not a suitable "punishment" for transgressing certain moral codes. If the damage has already been done, then is there any point in bringing into the world a baby who will also suffer?

Does easy divorce lead to larger number of babies? Not in the American experience—the divorce classes, so to speak, are less fertile anyway. Does sexual promiscuity lead to more venereal disease? The answer to this one is certain—it is "yes." Does liberalisation of the supply of birth control devices and abortions lead to more promiscuity? The answer to that one is not so easy—maybe "yes", maybe "no", maybe "no connection between the two".

It is very easy to fall into the trap of accusing younger generations of people of relaxing sexual morals—it is the natural bent of older people, who, in the words of the poet, "condemn vices they have no mind to"—any more.

All these arguments, and many more, will be thrashed out in America over the next year or so. But most of them touch only the margin of the problem. The facts are simple:

America, for all her material richness, has struck a development "fiat spot". The nation is overweight, production-wise, cost-wise and population-wise.

The margin of poverty, the fringe of poor people, is too large and is growing too fast relative to the rich people, even if the rich are in the majority.

It may be, to Asian eyes, a strange situation. But it is a real one—and that is why America is joining the growing roll of nations with an officially-backed and funded population policy. — H.S.



## THIS WEEK IN INDIA

P.M. Presented 280 kg. Of Silver

The people of Ambala district in Haryana State have presented Prime Minister Indira Gandhi with more than 280 kg. of silver — more than five times of her weight — as a token of their appreciation for "inspiring leadership" given by her during the recent war.... Inland postage rates will be applicable to surface and air mails for Bangla Desh.... A sum of about Rs. 80,000 was snatched away from a shop at Thangal Bazar in Imphal by a gang of robbers.... The Rajya Sabha has passed 47 bills during the five-week winter session.... The next sitting of Parliament may be called only in the second half of March after the elections to the State Assemblies are over....

The export trade control order imposed by the Chief Controller of Imports and Exports soon after the out-break of the 14-day Indo-Pak war, has now been withdrawn.... The Prime Minister has given notice to foreign powers that interference in India's affairs would not be tolerated... Export promotion measures for cotton textiles are under revision... Movement of all commodities between India and Bangla Desh would be regulated by the governments, said a spokesman of the West Bengal Government.... Dacoit Chhatankee was shot dead near Dhhurra village in Morena district following an encounter between the joint gang of bandits Janga and Phoola and a police party....

Delhi police has appealed to motorists to keep the upper half of the headlights of their vehicles covered.... A single channel radio teleprinter service between Calcutta and Dacca was commissioned.... India's External Affairs Minister Swaran Singh indicates that a fairly large number of countries would soon start dealing with the Bangla Desh Government on de facto basis.... The country's struggle for independence and Bangla Desh's war of liberation will be the highlights of the Republic Day parade this year.... Mangal Singh, a resident of Baniyator village in the Pahargarh area of M. P. was released after reportedly paying Rs. 15,000 as ransom to dacoit Madho Singh....

The Soviet Ambassador in India, Mr. N. M. Pegov, says that his Government would recognise Bangla Desh at an opportune moment... An ordinance is to be promulgated soon for the appointment of an administrator for Jabalpur University.... A trade protocol for the year 1972 between India and the Soviet Union was initialled in New Delhi.... The production of wheat during 1970-71 was an all-time record of 232 lakh tonnes.... With the birth of Bangla Desh, hopes of reopening the inland river port at Dhubri soon have brightened.... The number of car thefts has gone up by 100 per cent in the last two years while the recovery of the stolen vehicles has gone down by 10 per cent....

A draft Bill to suitably amend the Sharda Act, considered to be ineffective, has already been prepared by the Union Ministry of Health and Family Planning.... Some Indian medicinal plants have shown promising results in curing certain types of cancer.... Coal tar dye, normally used for colouring textiles, is mixed with tea, according to an official report in Tamil Nadu.... India had 0.21 telephones per hundred population in 1970.... Four Bengali soldiers managed to cross over the border in the Chhamb sector and surrender to the Indian forces....

The Central Bureau of Investigation has prosecuted an Inspector-General of Police for criminal misconduct.... The new-born baby of Vir Chakra winner, gunner Arumugham, who was killed in action, has been named after the Prime Minister.... Mr. C. Rajagopalachari says that we need not be disturbed by the reported fulminations of Mr. Bhutto.... The President, Mr. V. V. Giri and Mrs. Saraswathi Bai Giri have celebrated their 55th wedding anniversary at the Sri Manjunatha Swami Temple in Dharamshala, about 70 km from Mangalore.... The Indian Army has presented to the people of Jammu a captured Pakistani Patton tank as a souvenir of the 14-day war....

The national income grew by 4.7 per cent in 1970-71, showing a fall of 0.6 per cent over the previous year when the growth rate was 5.3 per cent, according to quick estimates.... More than 50 prisoners of war camps are being set up in Madhya Pradesh to lodge Pakistani POWs who surrendered to the Indian forces in Bangla Desh.... Distribution of sugar through fair price shops will begin all over the country from January 1.... Two Indian Army Majors and four jawans were killed in a major engagement between Indian and Pakistani troops in the Naggi area of Ganga-nagar sector in Rajasthan.... Regular travel arrangements between India and Bangla Desh are under the consideration of the Governments of India and Bangla Desh....

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi says that while India wants peace she is prepared to fight with all her might if attacked.... India has stopped wheat imports from the United States under PL480.... Dr. Vikram Sarabhai, 52, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission and the Indian Space Research Organisation, died of heart attack at Kovalam Palace, a Government tourist hotel, 12 km from Trivandrum.... An advance scheme to turn a wide area from Chilka lake to Chhatrapur in the south into a Naxalbari of Orissa has been unearthed.... A herd of about 14 rampaging rogue elephants have killed three villagers and injured at least 13 others in villages Kathar Jabe and Baridih under Ramgarh and Patratu thanas of Hazaribagh district.

**Tailpiece:** A unique offer to donate one of his eyes while alive to any needy jawan has been made by a 50-year-old journalist and political sufferer, Mr. Thirukami of Pondicherry.— *News item.*

## Mukti Bahini's Service

(Contd. from front page)

whom were in the Pakistan foreign service till the other day, has a non-communal background. The Yahya regime had asked Dacca University not to accommodate any student from the college for its "sin of not agreeing to communal politics in the college campus".

In the nearby Mirzapur village, which houses one of the best hospitals of the sub-continent — a gift of Raibahadur Ranada Prasad Saha, we had seen local people taking a Hindu family, which had shifted from place to place in the last nine months, back to their home.

In fact, in our 10 days' stay in liberated Bangladesh, we had seen people merged into a new unity, which could be termed as Bengalingness. Surprising, while taking our lunch one day at Savar Hotel near Sadarghat on the Buriganga, we came across quite a few Hindus. There was Ramen Das, a goldsmith, who had gone into hiding since March. There was Sudhangshu Saha, a small trader from Vikrampur. "Our lives were saved by our Muslim brothers," both of them said.

Similarly while on a tour to Manikgunge town, we had seen a whole village of "Namasudras" at Bhurungabari, who were spared the wrath of Pakistanis solely because their Muslim brothers of the nearby Datori village came to their help. It is true that in liberated Bangladesh, nobody among the people calls one a Hindu, a Muslim or a Christian — but simply a Bengali. Even in remote villages near Muktagacha in Mymensingh, we met an old peasant, who had seen much of communalism during his younger days, who did not hesitate to define people as Bengalis and Pakistanis. And by Bengali, he of course meant both Hindus and Muslims.

What will interest a visitor from Calcutta to Dacca immensely is perhaps the switch from Urdu or Persian to Bengali in the names proper. One would find that the son or daughter of Hafizur Rahman had a name like Santanu, Swati and the like. Nick names of Bengali Muslims have for long been same as the Hindus. Examples — Ranju, Moti, Dolly, Mantu etc.

Then there are the place names in Dacca, which show a fine blending of reality and artful presentation. The northern suburbs of Dacca has developed into "Uttar," the swamps which are taking the shape of a residential area is called "Baridhara," or for that matter the forest glades has the refrain of the woods in the name "Banani."

The new cinema halls are Balaka, Jonaki, the Bengali-owned hotel is "Purbani." And this resurging Bengalingness outstrips everything else in Bangladesh.

## OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE ENGINEER P.W.D. GAYA DIVISION GAYA

### SHORT TENDER NOTICE

Sealed tenders on approved bill of quantity to be eventually drawn on P.W.D. form No. F2 will be received up to 3.30 P.M. on Tuesday the 11th January, 1972 by the Superintending Engineer, P.W.D. Central Circle, Patna for the following works from P.W.D. registered contractors. Bill of quantity can be had from the office of the undersigned on payment of Rs. 10/- (Rupees ten) only (Non-refundable) on production of Sales Tax and Income Tax clearance certificate up to 10th January, 1972 in the office of the undersigned during office hours.

Other details as per N.I.T.  
Earnest money @ Rs. 100/- for every 5,000/- or part thereof in prescribed form shall be accepted on estimated value.

- |  |              |
|--|--------------|
| 1. F.D.R. to Gaya Fatehpur Sirdalla Rajauli Road pucca portion from 0 chainage to 72 chainage for the year 1971-72 | Rs. 56,650/- |
| 2. S/R. to Gaya Jehanabad Road (Cement Concrete Road Gaya Town Portion) for the 1971-72                            | 2,45,600/-   |
| 3. F.D.R. to Hasuakhanwa Road 2nd Mile Breach for the year 1971-72   | 2,26,000/-   |
| 4. F.D.R. to Gaya Nawadah Road Bisua Bazar for the year 1971-72  | 53,700/-     |

### DATE EXTENDED TO 11-1-72

- |  |            |
|--|------------|
| 1. Impt. to Pakaribirawan Warsaliganj Road, 4th Mile Group (A) | 2,94,573/- |
| 2. Impt. to —do— —do— Group (B)                                | 2,65,295/- |
| 3. Impt. 5 to Rajauli Quadirgunj Road                          | 3,40,180/- |
| 4. Impt. to Rajauli Sirdalla Road (7 miles)                    | 4,40,180/- |

Sd- P. L. Sinha  
Executive Engineer  
Gaya Division, Gaya

## कोशी योजना

निविदा सूचना संख्या ३००१७१

### कोटेशन

निम्नलिखित सर्वे एवं ड्राइंग औजार के लिए सादा कागज पर मुहरबन्द कोटेशन आमन्त्रित किये जाते हैं जो अधीक्षण अभियन्ता, बराज अचल, कोशी योजना, बीरपुर (सहरसा) के द्वारा १० जनवरी, १९७२ के ३ बजे अपराह्न तक प्राप्त किये जायेंगे। लिफाफा मुहरबन्द होना चाहिये तथा उसके ऊपर सर्वे एवं ड्राइंग औजार का 'कोटेशन' अंकित होना चाहिये। सामान का दर शब्दों एवं अंकों में दिया जाना आवश्यक है।

क्रमांक	सामान का नाम	दर	
		शब्दों में	अंकों में
१.	लेवलिंग इन्स्ट्रुमेंट (डम्पी)		
२.	(अ) लेवलिंग स्टाफ मीटर में (ब) लेवलिंग स्टाफ फीट में		
३.	प्रोजेक्टिक कम्पास		
४.	प्लेन टेबुल एक्लीडेड के साथ		
५.	मेटालिक टेप (मीटर एवं फीट दोनों में)		
६.	थेडोलाइट		
७.	स्टील टेप (मीटर एवं फीट दोनों में)		
८.	लाउन मोवर		



## BEGUM MUJIB'S TALE OF THE FATEFUL MARCH 25

Dacca, Dec. 31: "I now shudder to think of that dreadful night—the night of March 25 when I was separated from my husband. Stop shooting, he shouted. But no one would listen."

It was rather painful for Mrs. Mujibur Rahman to recall the events of that night. But she graciously obliged the pressmen when they called on her at her Dhanmundi residence on December 24.

It was about 12.45 a.m. They came in a convoy. They were shooting indiscriminately. My husband, myself, and my sons Jamal and Russel were in the first floor of our residence.

"Some bullets landed in our bedroom. We came out of our beds and took shelter under the cots. They were shooting at the house relentlessly.

"Then I crawled to the bathroom. My children were with me. They too crawled out there. My husband shouted at the top of his voice. Stop shooting. I am coming out. But his voice was drowned under the crackle of gunfire.

"The troops had already entered the house. Shooting their way through they moved from the ground floor to the roof of the house where the red, green and gold Bangladesh flag was flying. They pulled it down and set it on fire. It was shortly after 1 a.m.

"A small kid who used to help us in our household work was crying. My husband tried to comfort him. Don't cry my son. I will send you to your parents, he said. He then told the blood-thirsty troops; Hold your fire, I am in my room.

"They stopped shooting. My husband went out of his room to meet the troops outside.

He asked them whether there were any officers present. An officer came forward. My husband said something to him. I do not remember what he said.

He then came back to the room. He told me to pack up some personal belongings for him. Then he went again to the officer and asked him what was the meaning of such indiscriminate firing. The officer was silent. By this time I had managed to pack up the things for him. I saw them taking him away."

Mrs. Rahman then switched on to the events of March 26.

"The day was relatively peaceful as far as we were concerned. But the troops came again in the midnight. Again a burst of gunfire. I got out of the house by the backdoor, scaled the wall and jumped into the compound of the adjoining house with my sons and took shelter there.

"Throughout the night the troops ransacked our house, broke furniture, smashed the telephone and burnt papers.

"I then went to a hideout at Shilu Road in Magbazar. But somehow the Pakistanis found out my whereabouts. They then brought me here and posted armed guards all around the house.

"I could visit my residence at 32, Dhanmundi Road only once during the last nine months. I was taken there by the occupation Army. But I could not find any of my husband's papers."

Do you like to go back to your residence now? Asked a pressman. "I have nothing left there," she said. When do you expect your husband to come back? "I am now living with the hope that he will return soon."

## PATNA DIARY

Dec. 24: The size of the annual plan outlay for Bihar has been put at Rs. 100 crores for the year 1972-73, it is learnt.

The Purbahore police arrested a woman on the charge of theft committed in a house in mahalla Sabzibagh today.

The Kadamkuan police arrested three persons for theft and recovered one cycle and a radio set from them.

A Rs. 5-crore scooter factory would be set up near Patna, according to Mr. B. B. Sinha, Industries Minister.

Thousands of Sikhs paid respectful tributes to Guru Govind Singh whose three-day birth anniversary celebrations concluded at Harmandir tonight.

x x x

Dec. 25: Over two dozen persons were injured as a result of a serious clash between the devotees of Balyogeshwar Santji Maharaj, spiritual head of Divine Light Mission, and an infuriated mob at Gandhi Maidan this evening.

The Patna High Court today turned down a plea to intervene in the contemplated move of the Chief Minister to dissolve the Assembly.

x x x

Dec. 26: The Patna police so far had arrested over 40 persons in connection with yesterday's disturbances at Gandhi Maidan where Balyogeshwar was addressing a gathering of his followers and admirers.

Mr. D. P. Yadav, Chairman, Central School Committee and Union Deputy Minister for Education & Social Welfare, announced here today that the proposed building of the Central School in Patna would be constructed in Kankarbagh.

x x x

Dec. 27: The seven-month-old Pragatisheel Vidhayak Dal Government headed by Mr. Bhola Paswan Shastri resigned today.

The Land Ceiling Ordinance reducing the ceiling on land holdings was promulgated to day before the Chief Minister announced his resignation to newsmen.

Fortyfour persons have so far been arrested in connection with the Divine Light Mission incident cases.

x x x

Dec. 28: The Bihar Cabinet today decided in principle to give administrative and Cabinet sanction to minor irrigation scheme up to Rs. 3 crores and then refer the scheme for the approval of the Planning Commission.

The Bihar Citizens Council today fixed a target of Rs. 10 crores for collection towards the National Defence Fund from the State.

Mr. Chandra Shekhar Singh, outgoing Revenue Minister, said here today that about four to five lakh acres of land would be obtained all over the State for distribution among the landless as a result of the operation of Land Ceiling Ordinance promulgated yesterday.

x x x

Dec. 29: The Governor, Mr. D. K. Borooah, today dissolved the Bihar Assembly and accepted the resignations of all the Ministers except those of the Chief Minister and the Deputy Chief Minister.

The State Government has decided to execute the Bhutahi-Balan project in the district of Darbhanga at an estimated cost of Rs. 92 lakhs.

About 1,000 workers of the Socialist Party of India have joined the Ruling Congress, according to Mr. Gunanand Thakur, former M. P. (S. P.) today.

The Honours examinations of the Patna University will commence from January 12, according to the Registrar, Mr. S. R. Prasad.

x x x

Dec. 30: The proclamation of President's rule in Bihar is likely to be delayed by more than a fortnight because of some constitutional difficulty.

The number of voters in Bihar has increased from 3.9 crores to 3.30 crores since the mid-term poll for Lok Sabha earlier this year, according to the Bihar's Chief Electoral Officer, Mr. B. B. Sahay.

The sudden and untimely death of Dr. Vikram Sarabhai, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, shocked the people of Patna, particularly intellectual circles.

## New Forms Of Coexistence In The Jungle

West Berlin (DaD)—Hostile borders against neighbouring tribes were one of the rules of life for the 180,000 Indians in the tropical rain forests of East Peur. Dairy cattle were entirely unknown here at the river sources of the Amazon, needed so direly in children's nutrition because of the indispensable infancy because of malnutrition, illness and epidemics. Hardly anything has engaged in the century-old living habits here during the last 11 years. The inexorable natural law of the right of the strongest to survive still reigns in the damp, hot tropical forest. But now there is hope of a change.

The starting point of many impulses to make the existence of Indian tribes more worth living is the Amazon Hospital "Albert Schweitzer", not far from Pucallpa. Founded in 1960 by physician Dr. Theodor Binder of Lorrach (Federal Republic of Germany), the jungle hospital has gained the name of a "Latin American Lambarene", thanks to its medical qualifications and far-reaching goals.

In a talk on "Problems of Inter-Cultural Relation", for which the German Foundation for Developing Countries invited the 25-year old doctor to West Berlin. Dr. Binder described the development that accompanied the hospital. Dr. Binder received the support of private persons and organizations from many countries. His staff is made up of a multi-national team of doctors and nurses.

## Early Recognition By Six Nations Likely

New Delhi, Dec. 31: About a dozen nations are expected to extend de jure recognition to the Government of Bangla Desh in the near future, according to reliable information reaching the Capital.

Britain would appear to be keen on quick de facto recognition as a preliminary to de jure recognition. A British team interested in jute and tea will be arriving in Bangla Desh soon.

Knowledgeable sources here point out that the resolution of the U. N. General Assembly which called for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of troops was not aimed against India. The Assembly's immediate concern at that particular juncture, when fighting was at its peak, was to put a stop to it. It did not go into the causes of the war before calling for a ceasefire.

Subsequently, the U.N. Security Council took a second look at the problem. But what totally disarmed India's critics was the unilateral declaration of ceasefire by India and the Prime Minister's forthright declaration that India has no territorial ambitions in Pakistan.

### Not Expected

In the U.N. the fall of Dacca had not been expected so quickly. Many were chagrined by Pakistan's military debacle in Bangla Desh, though it had very strong forces there. Superior Indian strategy counted.

With the collapse of the Pakistani forces in Bangla Desh and India's unilateral ceasefire, the U.N. became something like a deflated balloon. Its resolution calling for a mutual withdrawal of forces by India and Pakistan without a time limit, was welcomed by India.

The Americans, in particular, had expected the Pakistani to hold out longer. With Pakistan's military collapse, even the Americans tried to save face by claiming credit for the ceasefire. Opinion inside the U. S. being so critical of the Nixon Administration, the latter had to explain away its earlier stance which was totally anti-Indian.

Moreover, Washington would appear to be concerned with saving Pakistan's authority in the western wing, now that an independent and sovereign Bangla Desh is a reality. Within the State Department itself there would appear to be three different shades of opinion vis-a-vis Bangla Desh. The "hawks" still cling to the illusion that Bangla Desh is East Pakistan under the jurisdiction of the Government in Islamabad. The "doves" regard Bangla Desh as East Bengal—that is to say, a territory over which there is no recognised authority. Thirdly, there are "peacocks" who speak of Bangla Desh as Bangla Desh—that it is, and will be, an independent, sovereign country, though the international community might not have recognised it as such.

### Rabindra Parishad A.G. Meeting Held

The Annual General meeting of the Rabindra Parishad was held on Sunday, December 12, 1971. The following office bearers were elected for the year 1971-72.

Chairman—Sri Basanta Kumar Banerjee.

Vice-Chairmen—Sri Sukben Chakravarty and Sri Samir Kumar Ghosh.

General Secretary—Sri Sanjib Ghose.

Joint Secretary—Sri Gour Ghose.

Treasurer—Sri L. N. Paul

Asstt. Secretaries—Sri Ardhendu Bhattacharya and Sri Rajat Kumar Chaudhuri.

Members of the Executive Committee;

Sri D. N. Sircar, Sri Nirode Choudhuri, Sri Bhagaban Majumdar, Sri S. B. Bhowmik, Sri R. N. Banerjee, Sri A. K. Ghosh, Sri Ashok Nath Bose, Smt. Bela Lahiri, Sri P. Mustafa, Sri Deepak Barman, Sri Kalyan Roy.

### Retired I.C.S. Offers Service To Bangladesh

★ From Our Correspondent ★

Ranchi, Dec. 31.—Mr. Nagen Bakshi ICS (Retd), Bar-at-Law, has offered to serve the Bangla Desh Government in any capacity on honorary basis.

In a letter to Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, Prime Minister of Bangla Desh Government, Mr. Bakshi has made this offer saying that he would be too glad to serve the people of Bangla Desh. Mr. Bakshi hails from the home district of Bangabandhu Sheikh Rahman, namely Faridpur. He served the Bihar Government in various capacities and he was also the Relief and Rehabilitation Commissioner Bihar during the early fifties when there was a large scale exodus of people belonging to minority communities from East Bengal.