

BEHAR HERALD

ESTD. 1874.

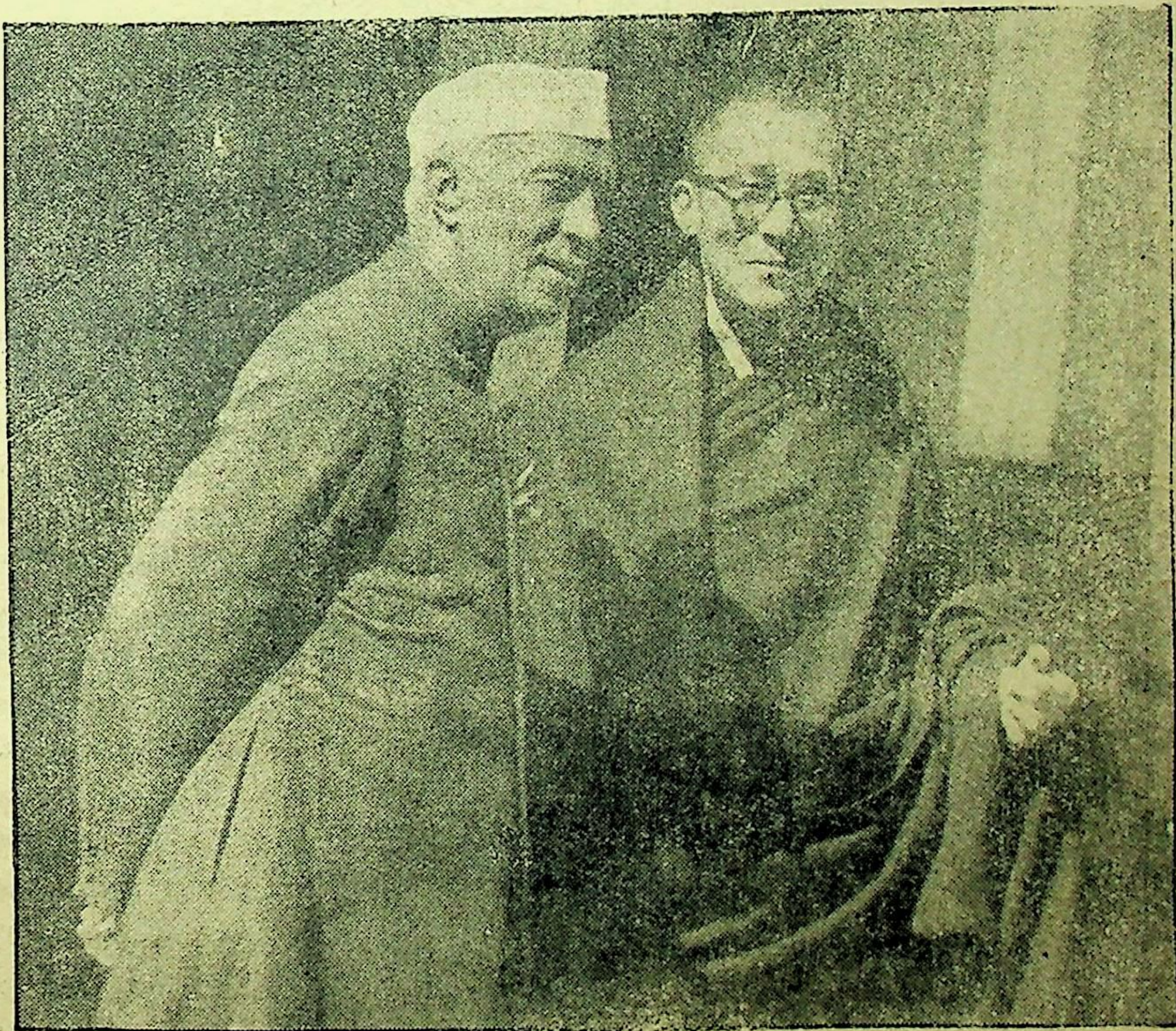
85th YEAR OF PUBLICATION

Chief Editor

Dr. S. SAMADDAR

SATURDAY, MAY 2, 1959

★★★★ NEHRU MEETS DALAI LAMA ★★★★★



On Thursday, 23rd April Prime Minister Nehru and the Dalai Lama met and conferred at the Birla House, Mussoorie where the Dalai Lama is currently staying, along with members of his family and "advisers". After a four hour meeting, the Prime Minister told the waiting pressmen, including some of the obsessed representatives of the foreign press, that the Dalai had, indeed, written the letters quoted to him, to General Tan Kuan-San, Chinese Military Commander at Lhasa before he left Tibet. Mr. Nehru, in this context said: "I suppose, I am guessing—I did not ask him—he was passing through a highly troubled time. He was trying to avoid a break with the Chinese and hoping that something might come up, some settlement might come.....the situation was worsening, so he was highly distracted and there were pulls in different directions".

**EXECUTIVE ENGINEER, P.W.D. MOKAMEH
DIVISION**

TENDER NOTICE

Sealed tenders on prescribed forms, to be purchased from the office of the undersigned on payment of Rs 5/- (non-refundable) for each group separately, to be eventually drawn in P.W.D. Form No.F.2 will be received by the Superintending Engineer, South Bihar Circle, Patna, up to 3 P.M., on Friday, the 22nd May, 1959 for the "Supply of Metals for the Improvement to Mokameh-Sarmera-Barabigha Road" in Group-I (from 28 chain to 153 chain) and Group-II (from 630 chain to 735 chain) in Patna District and will be opened in the presence of the Tenderers or their Authorised agents.

For further particulars and information the tenderers should appear in the office of the undersigned during office hours in any working day.

Estimated cost :	Group-I	Rs. 45,604/-
	Group-II	Rs. 31,946/-

Sd/ S. Mishra,
Executive Engineer,
Mokameh Division.

"ANASTASIA"

"Cinema Scope"



INGRID BERGMAN'S Oscar-winning role

Along with ● YUL BRYNNER ● AKIM TAMIROFF
● HELEN HAYES ● FELIX AYLMER.

Directed by ● ANATOLE LITVAK.

A FILM SOCIETY SHOW : MAY 10, 9-30 A.M.

[For Members Only]

—Arun Roy Choudhury
Hony. Secy.

**Office of the Executive
Engineer : P.W. D. (B.&R.)**

Darbhanga Division : Darbhanga

Auction Notice

The right of collections tolls on the Bridge at Magardehighat on Darbhanga—Samastipur Road in the District of Darbhanga shall be settled by public auction by the undersigned in the office premises on Monday, 4th May, 1959 at 2 P.M. for the year, 1959-60.

The intending bidder will have to deposit earnest money of Rs. 5,000 in treasury challan in duplicate, one copy of which shall have to be presented to the undersigned before the commencement of the bid.

The highest bidder shall have to deposit one third of the bid money in addition to earnest money immediately on the fall of hammer failing which his earnest money deposited will stand forfeited, the balance of the bid money will have to be deposited within 15 days from the date of approval of the bid by the competent authority. Other terms and conditions may be had from the office of the undersigned during the office hours.

Sd. U. N. Jha,
Executive Engineer,
Darbhanga Division.

Founded by Guru Prasad Sen in 1874
New Series by M. C. Samaddar in 1938

Behar Herald

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NO. 26

DISCOURAGING INDUSTRIALIZATION

The momentum generated by the vast sums of money expended on existing and new enterprises in the public and private sectors during the first and second five year plan period was apt to present a misleading picture of the economy.

The broad facts of the situation are that costs of production in most industries have become unduly high as a result of fiscal and legislative measures, that taxation is steadily crippling the capacity to save and invest, that a multiplicity of controls is making the business like functioning of industrial enterprises difficult, and that adoption of modern machinery and techniques so essential to industrial progress is hampered by severe restriction placed on imports.

The latest issue of the Reserve Bank bulletin about joint stock company finances, based on a study of 458 public limited companies' accounts for the quarter ended December 1957 is dismal reading for those who imagine that the Welfare State has been stimulating the industrial development of the country. Industry is being hamstrung and bled to provide money for the wasteful state enterprises.

Profits of joint stock companies before tax have declined heavily from Rs. 53.4 crores to Rs. 37.3 crores because of increases in manufacturing expenses salaries and wages, and higher incidence of excise duty. There has been a withdrawal of Rs. 0.4 crores from the previous years' profits, compared with Rs. 12.1 crores ploughed back in business during 1956.

The profitability of the invested capital measured by the ratio of profits after tax to net worth has declined from 10.0% to 5.0% during the year. Dividends expressed as percentage of net worth has fallen from 6.1% to 5.1%. Dividends expressed as percentage of paid-up capital have been lowered from 10.4 in 1956 to 8.7.

Condition have worsened in 1958 from what they were in the last quarter of 1957 for which the Reserve Bank study is available. Many industries report larger sales but greatly reduced profits. State managed industries (backed by 400 million people) can afford to work with a "loss motive," but for privately run industries, profit motive is essential, and to cut down profits severely is to discourage future investment.

Notes & Comments

POISON DIALYSED OUT

Engineer Alan Adair, 30, unhappily divorced and tired of life, parked his car alongside Los Angeles' Ballona Creek one evening and washed down a handful of barbiturate sleeping pills with milk. Then he made notes: "7:26. Now I wonder how long it will take...7:31. Everyone wonders what it is like to die. I'm going to find out. 7:39. I can barely see." When police spotted the car at 2:45 a.m., Adair was in a deep coma. Fortunately, his record told doctors how much barbiturate he had taken, and the empty pill bottle told what kind. It

was too late for stomach pumping to do any good. He was promptly put on the standard treatment for such cases: an injection of picrotoxin to stimulate the nervous system, and oxygen by mask.

About 90% of barbiturate poisoning victims recover with no more medication than this: their systems gradually remove the poison from the blood. But Adair's was a stubborn case. After 24 hours he remained in coma. Alarmed, hospital doctors got Adair transferred to Medical Centre, where researchers had been experimenting on dogs with a fluid-exchange method called peritoneal dialysis, originally devised to tide patients over a kidney shutdown.

Adair was the first human subject so treated for barbiturate poisoning. Punching a hole through the muscle wall of his abdomen 2 in. below the navel, doctors inserted a plastic tube in his peritoneal cavity and hooked this up with a quart flask containing mineral salts in the same concentration as they occur in the blood, plus antibiotics to check infection. The solution drained into the peritoneal cavity. There it picked up some of the barbiturates by osmosis through the peritoneum. The doctors then drained the fluid, now mixed with barbiturates, back into the flask. They repeated the process with fresh fluid about once an hour for 36

hours, using some 60 qt. of fluid.

Within five hours, Adair's reflexes returned. After about 30 hours he regained partial consciousness and was well on the way to recovery. Analyses of the fluid will show how much barbiturate was removed by dialysis: similar trials with artificial kidneys have shown that removal of only 10% to 15% might be enough to get a patient tide over the crisis.

TRUE, AND YET UNTRUE

V. V. Jerajani, (who must be a big gun considering his full designation—"MEMBER IN CHARGE, SALES AND DEVELOPMENT, KHADI AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES COMMISSION") has said in Patna on April 5 that "by utilizing an Ambar Charkha, a family could earn Rs. 70 monthly by working 2 to 3 hours a day."

Jerajani is both right and wrong. A FAMILY can earn Rs. 70 a month through Ambar Charkha provided it is a family of 12 persons and each one takes his turn for 2 hours, working the Charkha round the clock. Where the calculation becomes incorrect is that the charkha will have a break down every second day if it be worked under such high pressure. Repair of the marvel charkha will cost more than Rs. 70 a month.

THE NATIONALIZED L. I. C.

An official indication about the position of the L. I. C's

investment in Mundhra shares is now available. The report says: "Of the Stock Exchange investments purchased by the Corporation during the period under report shares of the book value of Rs. 8.27 lakhs in British India Corporation Ltd. and Richardson and Cruddas Ltd. have not yet been registered in the Corporation's name by the Companies concerned. It is apprehended that the Corporation's title to some of these shares may be open to challenge. Moreover in respect of the shares of Richardson and Cruddas Ltd. purchased by the Corporation it is possible that a portion even of the shares which have already been registered in the Corporation's name may turn out to be spurious.

The auditors of the L. I. C. in their report to the Corporation have also referred to these investments. They have said, "In view of the doubts raised in the course of the proceedings before the Chagla Commission as to the genuineness of the scrip in the following companies namely Angelo Brothers Ltd., the Smith Stainstreet & Co. Ltd., Jessop & Co., Ltd., Richardson & Cruddas Ltd., and the Osler Electric Lamp Manufacturing Co., Ltd., we are unable to express an opinion regarding the Corporation's title to investments amounting to Rs. 2,05,91,604".

What is a nationalized concern worth if it cannot show a loss of 2 crores in a year's working? The loss will be made good by 40 crores of us and the Security Printing Press at Nasik. The latter alone can recompense the loss within a week. So why worry?

LAND CEILINGS

The ceilings on land holdings are usually linked with the formation of co-operative farms out of land in excess of the permissible maximum.

The theoretical justification for cooperative farming is that a pooling of small holdings will enable scientific agriculture to be adopted and thus increase the overall production of crops. Has it occurred to our policy makers that the advantages scientific agriculture which they rightly claim for co-operative farming, are already present in the large farms which they propose to break up? Ceilings on holdings cannot be justified on economic grounds because it is only on large farms that truly scientific agriculture is possible.

It seems that our policy-makers are undoing with one hand what they propose to achieve with the other. On the one hand, they want to break up large farms where scientific agriculture is already practised. On the other, they want to combine small holdings into

co-operative farms so that the advantages of scientific agriculture may be attained! Will some one explain the logic of this?

It is argued that large farms must be broken up in the interests of social justice. That is all right, so far as it goes. But when one presses for ceilings on urban properties and incomes no less a person than our Prime Minister tell us that that would be harmful to production. Apparently sauce for the goose is not sauce for the gander! Food production may suffer by the imposition of land ceilings but we are told, social justice must have its way. What happens to this concern for social justice when it comes to imposing ceilings on urban incomes?

Another strange thing is the fine distinction sought to be drawn between ceilings on holdings and ceilings on incomes. Our policy-makers tell farmers that they do not want to limit their incomes. On the land they leave them, they can earn as much income as they wish!

The facts are inescapable. A ceiling on holdings constitutes a ceiling on income-earning capacity and is discriminatory unless an equal limit is imposed in the urban sector.

ENCORE

Shady transactions, pertaining to allotment of evacuee agricultural land in Punjab in which some high officials are involved, are revealed in the

interim report of the one man inquiry committee appointed by the Union Government.

The report, submitted by Mr. P. C. Chaudhury, estimates that the State Government has suffered a loss of several crores of rupees as a result of these transactions most of which were in Ferozpur and Hissar districts cover an area of several thousand acres.

The report points out that certain officers in traditional Mughal style conferred "jagirs" on their relatives and friends in utter disregard of legal and moral principles. This reminds one of the Bettiah and Sathi land distribution rackets in Bihar.

According to the report a network of garden colonies was created by distributing evacuee property among officials and their relations. Allottees of land in these colonies, instead of cultivating the land, sold their shares.

Besides, a substantial portion of evacuee agricultural property was not brought on record and even the registers were tampered with.

OUR SOCIALISTIC STRUCTURE

Since the Congress came to power, it has beaten all previous records in the matters of taxation. The burden of the prevalent exactions is sought to be justified on the ground that we are building a Socialist Pattern of Society. As a creed Socialism is a glorious one, since

it aspires to put the State in the position of a benevolent parent to the whole community.

Without justice as between man and man, Socialism is unworkable in the hands of persons steeped in self interest; it will not only become a caricature of its real self but will lead the country to chaos and civil war.

Of the two sides of socialism, the first, which consists of the appropriation to itself of more and more resources, economic power, property and the means of production, is being acquired by the ruling party with immense vigour and energy. But in the second part of it, the application of the resources of Government to welfare of the people on the widest scale, its performance has been dismal. A lot of money spent has been sunk in the dreary sands of waste. With all the severe onslaughts, on capitalists, a new set of wealthy people is being substituted for the old, with new and more reprehensible techniques of money making.

There are more disparities of wealth now than before. In their attempt to do away with the privileged class of society and reduce the disparity between the rich and the poor, the Congress Government willingly or unwillingly has been systematically encouraging the growth of a new privileged class that is allowed to live a lavish life with impunity. At the same time, the lives of capitalists

and industrialists whom the Government have been trying to cripple with increased taxation are apparently unaffected and they continue to maintain their previous status and luxurious living despite all adverse circumstances. Thus in actual practice instead of bridging the gulf between the haves and the have nots, the Government have been only able to swell the ranks of the privileged class while the condition of the middle class and the poor, who are sandwiched between the previously prevalent capitalist class and the newly created officialdom, has become all the more deplorable in the so-called, "Socialistic pattern of Society."

Socialism is thus advancing rapidly as a doctrine enabling the Government to monopolise economic power, but Socialism as a system of distributed happiness for the millions, with poverty and unemployment eliminated, is nowhere visible. What we now have is the exploitation of Socialism by the ruling party deliberately and of set purpose, in order that by combing economic power with political, it may prevent the possibility of any opposition ever becoming strong enough to take its place.

UNPLEASANT TRUTHS

Speaking in Madras, Mr. Rajagopalachari said that the nature of planning in the country now was such that it would necessarily reduce India to bankruptcy.

He would therefore plead that Government should make a withdrawal from the path the planners were now treading in order to 'cure' what he called the present climate of depression in the country.

He criticised Mr. Nehru's recent statement that there could be no going back on planning and said that a man heading towards bankruptcy could not go back either.

There have been in recent years a spate of unconstitutional budgets. Whereas there were separate 'charged' (non-votable) and 'voted' heads of expenditure in old budgets, every item of expenditure was virtually 'charged'—by the Planning Commission—in current budget-making.

Planning has now become a god. It is incomprehensible, all-pervading and against criticism.

Urging the people to speak out and "cure the Government's deafness", Mr. Rajagopalachari said that he was astonished that "even State ministers have begun to talk like the Prime Minister."

"I thought", he said, "it was only the privilege of Mr. Nehru to claim infallibility. But I find even State Ministers have begun to declare 'we are determined'.."

That was not a language which was good either for the ministers themselves or for a country which professed democracy.

Mr. Rajagopalachari criticised the trend towards greater deficit financing and said that the policy would adversely affect the country.

Criticising the proposals for the fixation of land ceilings and ceilings on urban incomes. Mr. Rajagopalachari said: "The problem today is not egalitarianism. It is one of bankruptcy that is facing us. We must put our house in order before we talk of equality. Only when we achieve prosperity can we think of distribution of wealth. It appears to me that slogans about egalitarianism are being raised to draw people's attention away from the bankruptcy towards which we are heading".

Funds for the small savings scheme were being collected by putting a great deal of pressure on the poor amounting almost to coercion.

The tax burden on the country was very heavy. There was tax evasion in India not because people were blackguards but because they would go bankrupt, if they were to pay the taxes imposed.

PROBLEM OF UNWANTED CATTLE

India's excess unproductive cattle problem will grow worse unless the ban on cattle slaughter is removed, warns Mr. Thor W. Gillickson, Animal Nutrition Adviser to the Ministry of Food and Agriculture.

The only "humane way" of dealing with the estimated 21,000,000 uneconomic cattle in India was to send them to slaughter houses.

The ban on the slaughter of milch cattle is "mainly responsible for the lack of sufficient fodder and forage and the deplorable condition of cattle in this country, which has the lowest production in the world."

As both economic and uneconomic cattle have to share the same fodder resources available, "no improvement in the cattle wealth can be made without exercising the most rigorous culling of all undesirable and uneconomic cattle.

At present at least half of all cattle in India are in a semi-starved condition during a large part of each year. Fodder resources fall short by 62 per cent and that of concentrates by 65 per cent. As against this picture there are estimated to be around 210,000,000 cows and buffaloes in India besides over 100,000,000 other livestock, turning India into the most densely cattle populated country in the world.

A clarification was issued by the Ministry of Agriculture in December, 1950, that the ban really intended by the Constitution, is not the total prohibition of all cattle slaughter but prohibition of

slaughter of cows, calves and other milch and draught cattle. This only covered useful cattle. This clarification of the Union Government has been largely ignored by the authorities in a number of States.

The Gosadan scheme is not a satisfactory solution.

The Gosadans provide homes to the old and uneconomic cattle under the First and Second Five-Year Plans. Even if sufficient number of Gosadans were opened and the owners of such cattle were willing to send them to these camps some 40,000,000 acres would be required to house and feed them. It would far exceed the area available for grazing purposes. Also the withdrawal of grazing land from productive animals for the maintenance of the unproductive ones is likely to worsen the situation.

HOW G.O.I. PLANS

According to a recent revised estimate the total cost of the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences will be Rs. 959 lakhs, a slight increase of only Rs. 483 lakhs over the original estimate of Rs. 476 lakhs.

An increase of merely 102% over the original estimate shows how very careful our rulers are in spending the money squeezed from the people. Great plans and petty-mindedness do not go together. Instead of an increase of only 102% over the original estimate it might quite easily have been 500% or 1000%. Do not forget that there are 40 crores of us plus the Security Printing Press.

CRAFTSMANSHIP—II

It is essential to our nature as human beings that there should be no "end." The craftsman is not averse to invention. By combining curiosity with experience and knowledge with experiment he attains the only solid satisfaction given to human beings—the happiness of endless attaining.

But he must realize that to reach this stage he needs to know deeply. If he works in wood he does not know merely the surface of his plank but the heart of the tree. If he is an artist in colour he knows what goes into the making of every shade, the pigment and the dryer and the poppy oil as well as the way it shows on his canvas. If he is a business man he knows what causes the surges and depressions on the chart of his profit cycle. The value of intimacy with one's material is greater than can be set down in black and white.

Using one's head

The craftsman must not be thought of as one who works with his hands merely. Let us consider one who does work with his hands, and we find that his craftsmanship comes from his head.

He uses induction, which is the ability to discover rules, to reason out what makes things happen. He visualizes, seeing how a piece of material would look when moved to another place or if something were done to it. He has a memory for details, noting imperfections as

well as perfections. He has muscular imagery, the ability to picture to himself the appearance of his hands as they manipulate material and tools. He has perceptual speed and flexibility, detecting quickly what is necessary and attending to it without being distracted by other things. All of these, the operative factors that direct his manual skill, are products of his brain.

Craftsmanship is sincere. The craftsman believes in doing with all his might what his hand finds to do. His prayer might be like that of the scientist in Sinclair Lewis' *Arrowsmith*: "Give me a quiet and relentless anger against all pretense and all pretentious work and all work left slack and unfinished."

Judgment, therefore, becomes a part of craftsmanship. A man must know what he is trying to do and the best way to accomplish it. He must have the courage to judge for himself between two ways of doing a job: which is the better? He will not make a fuss about the lesser technicalities nor the mannerisms affected by others, but look towards the desired end.

Choosing a craft

So that they may choose wisely, young people should learn earnestly about the work that is done by people in their community. If they become interested in learning about a wide variety of jobs they will be

better able to choose the one that will give them greatest satisfaction.

This is one of the benefits of such a plan as the Boy Scout proficiency badge programme. In studying for badges attesting that he has knowledge of what is done by the airman, blacksmith, carpenter, electrician, auto mechanic, farmer, mason, metal worker, printer, and a dozen others, the lad gets a taste of many sorts of work.

Being in the right job is a valuable help toward satisfying one's ambition to amount to something. A person who finds his place, and applies himself to seek excellence in it, becomes a craftsman. Of that, no one can rob him. His aspirations may outrun his immediate powers, and he may suffer occasional spasms of frustration, but his sense of craftsmanship gives his life meaning.

In these days many a man has to draw his own chart for learning. Young people are being diverted from training, apprenticeship, and higher technological studies by inflated wages attracting them into blind-alley occupations.

As a consequence they become unhappy, after a few years, when they find themselves with no adequate employment for their best talents. Fortunately for them, universities and schools and the adult education associations have stepped in with opportunities for study toward repairing the

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damage done by premature school-leaving. There are evening or correspondence courses available in every subject imaginable.

Apprenticeship

This situation is now new. The different systems of apprenticeship proposed by eighteenth century industrialists show how difficult it was to cope with the demands for a new type of workman created by the new machines of their time, and we today have not yet found our balance in the midst of a new technical revolution.

"Apprenticeship" is generally accepted as meaning a period of training, involving shop and related subject instruction.

We might with advantage move toward an internship programme of education in substitution for what now passes as apprenticeship. The trade learner would be instructed initially to the point where he was partly skilled. He would then be given a chance to use this skill in work assignments, returning to the training centre at frequent periods for direct training on other units of his trade. He would thus increase proficiency through alternate periods of education and work. As his final pre-journeyman assignment, for a period of a year or more, he would be required to apply complete trade skill under the supervision of a master craftsman.

Mr. Bernard pictured an apprentice acquiring, within perhaps two years, the skill and knowledge required to fit him to take his place beside his fellow craftsmen.

Broad education

Beyond technical training there needs to be given our young people a broad general education. There is no way but knowledge out of the cages of life.

The man who is well and broadly informed is always ahead of the man who is just doing a job, and he is less at the mercy of fate.

The importance of this broad knowledge is too often lost sight of in the pace at which a man pursues his job. Important off-the-job interests are pushed aside with the old excuse "lack of time." Yet when we study the success stories of craftsmen we find that, somehow, they found the time to enrich their minds and their lives.

To pursue education on a broad front and beyond the necessities of a job can well make the difference between being a worker and a craftsman, between mediocrity and genius.

Society, no matter how hard it tries, cannot raise ignoramuses or lazy people to the attainment level of craftsmen. The craftsman has a self-attesting note of authority, a standing that should be looked for and recognized by employers. It is part of the employer's

responsibility and part of the supervisor's job to stimulate every worker to make the best use of his abilities and to provide recognition of the worker's attainments.

Keep trying

Even when our attempts to reach a high peak of craftsmanship seem to fail, we should not despair, but look inside ourselves to seek what further faculty we have for development. Darwin held the opinion as the result of a lifetime of critical observation that men differ less in capacity than in zeal and determination to utilize the powers they have.

The craftsman's mature Judgment is founded upon the total of his disappointments and burned fingers and fears as well as his successes.

Craftsmanship requires genuine ability. Don't think that by murmuring some spell over a couple of white mice they will become prancing white horses. You have to work at your craft to make your dreams come true.

Though he may dream, the craftsman is not a dreamer merely. We recall the advice given a brilliant but erratic man: get your knees under a desk where you can do a good job; or put on overalls and work at a bench; and then go home and work out your inventions and ideas in the evenings and over-week-ends.

A man who is at heart a

writer or artist or inventor need not wait for freedom from the necessity to work. Counting eight hours a working day he spends only 2,000 hours of the year's 8,760 hours earning his living. If the urge to be a craftsman in science, writing, mechanics, architecture, or anything else is strong enough he will find a way to make time for study, practice and achievement.

Should every man be entitled to a certain amount of joy in

the work he is doing? This is not an honest question, because there are two conditions wrapped up in it. A man should be able to count on happiness in his job if it is one he has chosen and to which he is giving his best in intellect and dexterity.

When we are doing our work well "the whole adventure of mankind upon the earth gains in our sight a new momentousness and beauty. Living becomes a grander

affair than we had ever thought."

The craftsman achieves that happy state by putting something of himself into whatever he is doing, great or humble. His skill and ideals affect not only the material thing he works with but those who put the finished product to use. His work is a significant part of what Bertrand Russel calls "the stream of life flowing on from the first germ to the remote unknown future."

NATIONALISATION

By J. A. MORY

The convicted fallacy of the age that has just past, whose guilt is still reflected on our own, was surely the belief that to work on one's own was to work for oneself whereas to work in a nationalised concern was to work for others.

Since, obviously, the only way effectively to spread wealth is to work for others, it was for a time naturally assumed that to hasten the millennium private enterprise should be banished or conscripted and nationalisation everywhere take its place.

We know better now. We know that the enterprise one is privately engaged on is inevitably to please or benefit others. We know that the more it does this the more efficient, and profitable, will any enterprise be.

The odd thing is that this does not seem to go for nationalised concerns. Most of them are still working for some unspecified, shapeless, amorphous "public good" that is somehow above the public's head, above profit, above efficiency, and beyond understanding. And it is a very real human problem to bring them down to earth and to prove to them that the "public good" includes the immediate good of actual members of the public—you, them, him, her and JIM. The problem must be a constant bother to the staff of nationalised concerns.

I am reminded of all this every time a nationalised bus, crossing Waterloo bridge full to the brim (except for plenty of unused standing room down-

stairs), slows down and crawls toward the station, making 70 people in a tearing hurry miss their trains. (This comes about because the driver must serve the printed schedule rather than the public). And the other month or two, to coin a phrase. I had a splendidly comic but rather sad experience with a nationalised power concern.

It happened that I wanted a particular type of hot towel rail. Having scouted around to locate one such I telephoned the National Board's area branch in the fall to order one. Not having been brought up in Labour's England for nothing—as a matter of fact it cost everyone earning a taxable income rather a lot—I naturally asked first for confirmation that (a) such a hot towel rail was in

stock, and (b) that it could be fitted before the winter.

The clerk who took my order was brisk and reassuring.

So the following Saturday, nothing having happened, I dropped in at the board's local office to jolly them along. The receptionist went upstairs to see the sales staff and returned to say everything was in hand. The papers were going through.

On the next Wednesday a fitter came to inspect the bathroom power points. He brought with him a piece of paper, which he signed.

The following Saturday I dropped in again at the local office. They said hullo. The Saturday after that, nothing further having happened, and winter having officially started, I called yet again. I gave my reasons for calling and smiled a clenched kind of smile. A salesman gave me a sort of scary look and disappeared. Ten minutes later the manager came down.

I know the manager and like him. He said, "Come upstairs."

We sat down and discussed the nation's financial affairs. The manager told me that the end of the credit squeeze had increased the demand for cookers seven-fold in some areas. He said production of cookers had been cut back last year and could not yet be increased. Cookers now were incredibly scarce.

I said, "Actually it is a towel

rail I am interested in. How are towel rails?"

He said, "We have none in stock, I'm afraid. I have a call in to X (mentioning a distant town) in case they have one there. I'll send a fitter round to you to give an estimate."

I said the fitter had been.

"Oh?" he said, "That's funny it isn't down on the papers."

I said also that the salesman had told me rails were in stock a month ago or I would not have ordered.

x x x

He said, "He should not have done so. But anyway some-how, somewhere, I'll find you one, Mr. May:"

There was a pause. Something suddenly struck me.

"Have you tried the nearest showroom, at Y, down the road?" I asked. He said no. I said, almost apologetically, "They had one in the window when I passed yesterday."

He called Y on the telephone. They still had it. X also came through at the same moment. They too had a rail.

He reserved the one at Y for me. Then he said, "I must confess I don't know what I can do about getting it over to you. I'm dreadfully short of transport." And I said, "I'll drive over right now and fetch it."

At this a senior clerk popped in through the open door from his office and said (to me) with a note of alarm in his voice. "You can't do that, sir; you'd have no papers!"

The manager laughed. He shook his head and said, "He's right. You couldn't collect it without papers."

"Give me papers," I said.

"I'll have it fetched for you next week," the manager promised. I rose to go. He shook my hand "Don't worry," he said. "We will fix it for you before Christmas."

I did not know whether he was joking or not.

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H. O. PATNA

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Joint Farming, Collective Farming, Service Co-operatives

By K. SANTHANAM

It happens frequently that the more a thing is talked about the less it is understood. This is because the same word is used to denote many things and no one knows exactly what is meant whenever it is used. This is the case at present in relation to cooperative farming which has suddenly become a matter of widespread public discussion. Co-operation may be applied to agriculture in many ways but there are four principal forms which should be clearly distinguished if any intelligent discussion is to be conducted. They are: (1) joint co-operative farming, (2) collective co-operative farming, (3) co-operative tenant farming, (4) service co-operatives.

Joint Farming

When holders of land join together, pool their rights of ownership and receive rent for their ownership apart from wages for their work, it is joint farming. Whether this pooling is temporary or permanent, whether it extends to cattle and ploughs and other equipment, whether every member pools all his land or only part of it and whether he is bound to give also his personal labour, are all matters to be decided by agreement and the rules of the co-operative society.

The distinguishing characteristics of joint farming are the *continued legal ownership*

of the pooled lands and the payment of rent for them in some form.

Collective Farming

When land is acquired jointly from Government or other landholders *the members having no individual legal rights over any part of the co-operative holding* and the members only work on the holding and share the proceeds after meeting the expenses it is collective co-operative farming. The land may be assigned by the Government or bought on credit or merely leased for a long term. The workers are essentially landless and their membership of the collective farm only ensures them better conditions of labour and probably better wages if the farm happens to be well managed. This is the kind of farming that is contemplated with excess land acquired by the Government after imposition of ceilings, and to speak of it as joint farming is wrong unless it is proposed to transfer ownership in small bits, ask the holders or compel them to co-operate. It is obvious that in the present condition of India, *this kind of collective co-operative farm will have to be managed through hired staff, manager and accountants being provided by the Co-operative Agricultural department.* Local talent will hardly be available

as it is largely concentrated in the classes possessing economic holdings. Whether a co-operative collective farm using the traditional primitive methods can be so managed as to meet the cost of hired staff, rent or interest for the land and ensure better wages for the workers is doubtful. The ability of the staff appointed by an external agency to get work out of the landless labourers who have been enrolled as members of the collective farm is also a big question mark.

Tenant Farming

It is certainly possible for landless labourers to join together to acquire land jointly so that it may be leased out to them individually. Public land brought into cultivation through reclamation or land bought from landholders who are anxious to sell out and migrate to the towns as also surplus land available through application of ceilings may be dealt with in this way and may be quite successful, *as it is only another method of landholding.*

Service Co-operatives

It is a pity that so much should be spoken of service co-operatives as no one doubts that *the co-operative movement is a proper instrument for helping the agriculturists with credit, seed fertilisers implements and other forms of assistance.* By making these service co-operatives into

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some kind of magic *mantra* for sudden emergence into the land of plenty great harm is being done both to agriculture and co-operation.

I may state my conclusions briefly. Joint co-operative farming by small holders is desirable but hardly practicable without much compulsion.

Collective co-operative farming by landless labourers is likely to be unprofitable unless it is done on a large scale with tractors, fertilisers and other modern scientific methods. It is then likely to be a State collective farm in practice. *Co-operative tenant farming may be useful in dealing with*

Government reclaimed land but will not be of much use if land is to be bought at a high price or heavy compensation is to be paid. Service co-operatives should be developed as fast and as widely as possible without any rigid impositions of form, size or purpose either on a national or State-wide basis.

THE CONGRESS LEADERSHIP

Until 1947, the Congress was the focal point of nationalism and at the time of the transfer of political power by the British to India, the Congress was accepted as the most representative political organisation in the country, and its spokesmen constituted the provisional government. In juxtaposition to the British power in India, the Indian National Congress became the "defacto" power, running the administration, through representatives in the Provinces and the Centre. The transfer of political power to the representatives of the Congress with its roots far down in the length and breadth of India, in the remote villages and towns constituted the real sources of strength. Psychologically therefore, to the vast masses of people, the real Government became the Congress and not the M. L. A.'s.

And further, when the Constituent Assembly prepared the draft constitution, no referendum was made for the acceptance or rejection of the Constitution. A great opportunity was missed to educate the people, that it is they who have become the repository of "sovereign" power. Instead, a vote in the Constituent Assembly became indicative of the consent of the Indian people. The Union language decision was one great blunder of the Constituent Assembly. Instead, the General Election was organised. To the masses the Congressmen went under the slogan that it is they who brought freedom to the country. Whatever different the facts of history may be, to large masses it was a fact that C. Rajagopalachari became the interim Governor-General, and where, subsequently Rajendra Babu sat, and rode in

the coach, therefore, the "power" picture was complete so far as the masses were concerned. The people came to understand that after British Raj, Jawahar Raj has come, and every Congressman became the "symbol" of that power.

The "devil" of the drama, however, remained. The structure of the Indian administrative frame, remained. The European I. C. S. officers retired, with few exceptions. The people expected a change. And naturally. However, they saw, the same law is there, the same symbol of the police badge and uniform; the District Magistrate and the Judge. There was no difference here.

At the state-level, the key officers controlled the Government. The Congressmen with a matriculate-standard became the ministers, with no administrative experience, with no preparation having made, no

special secretariat of the congress to guide them, the leading administrative cadre became the beacon-light of the ministers. Wherever there was a strong arm, the situation was different. But wherever these administrative officers found the Ministers with a clay feet, the colour of the administration became muddy.

The result was that the bad administration of the Congress ministry filtered down to the bottom. The Congress rank and file were face to face with a different situation. The unpopular measures of the ministry was regarded as the doing of the local Congressmen and since he himself either did not like the particular measure of the government or did not understand, he kept mum. Previously the people knew only the District Magistrate or the Patwari. The unseen power of the British Parliament and the King never came in the picture. But now the repository of the power is no longer Patwari, but a local Congressman, and the people know where he lives, what he does and how is his income. So, whatever legislation is done at Calcutta, Patna, Cuttack, Madras, Bombay and Lucknow has to be answered by the village Congressmen. The root of the problem, therefore, is not that the Congressmen are bad

and have no contact with the masses. The root of the problem is, that at the head of the administration in every State there are men who have converted the slogan of "Swaraj to the masses" to one of "masses to the Swaraj."

Moreover there is a peculiar contradiction. Whereas it is true the parliamentary democracy requires that once the representatives of a political party are elected to a legislature the Legislative Party with a majority, forms the cabinet, runs the administration. The political party which nominated the representatives and got them elected in the General Elections retires from the scene and devote its activities in the different constituencies. But, here, from the very beginning, the Congress as it is, is not the Legislative Party, struggled continuously to remain in the centre of the stage so that all the misdoings of the minister, their inefficiency, their incapability filtered down on the head of the Congress. The Congress, which stood, as the "real" repository of the political power after the end of British Raj could not so easily get out of the scene, since that was the only 'cash' in their national balance-sheet and they could not let it go. The "opposition" too hit back on that particular point.

At the A. I. C. C. and the Working Committee level, the Central leadership secured a good grip. In the beginning Sri Purusuttomdas Tandon and Acharya Kripalani tried to assert as the President of the Congress. They had to go. But later, the particular problem was overcome by packing the Working Committee with a majority of the "Cabinet" members. Further, a different process was initiated. It was done most probably to remind the Congressmen that it is the Congress which held the key in its hands and so periodically before the session of the Parliament, A. I. C. C. meeting is being arranged and policy laid down. Again the Working Committee prepares the agenda. An example would serve to explain the point. Before the last session of the Congress held at Nagpur, an informal meeting of "some" members of the Congress Working Committee was held at the Prime Minister's residence. Very few members were present. The agenda for the Nagpur session was prepared and stage for the whole deliberations was set up. The idea was that the ministers, through the Congress are brought in direct contact with the people. But this very thing directly reacts on the Congress.

—The Chowringhee

THE DYING MIDDLE

By S. D. PUNEKAR

The most severe condemnation of the middle class came from a member of the class itself. It was more than a century back that the Communist Manifesto declared: "The 'dangerous class' the social scum, that passively rotting mass thrown off by the layers of old society, may, here and there, be swept into the movement by proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however prepared for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue". Karl Marx was not merely content in cursing this unfortunate section of the society (the petite bourgeoisie), but he predicted its gradual extinction. "The lower strata of the middle class—the small trades people, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants—all these sink gradually into the proletariat". However, before they are wiped out of existence, they fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. "They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary for they try to roll back the wheel of history. If by chance they are revolutionary they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat, they thus defend

not their present, but their future interests, they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat."

The development of the middle class during the last hundred years shows that this prophecy failed to come true. The extinction of the middle class was to follow the polarisation of society into two distinct classes—The oppressors and the oppressed, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Though international communism has succeeded in spreading itself ironically under a middle class leadership, it could not successfully exterminate the middle class. On the other hand, it appears that this class has expanded both in communist and capitalist societies. because with the development of these societies, many new sections of the populace have come into the middle class category.

Growing Numbers

Before the need or the role or the future of the middle class is discussed, it is necessary to define a middle class. Marx seems to have defined the class on income and property basis and included in it the petty merchant and manufacturer, the artisan and the peasant. According to him these sections of the middle class would be swamped in the competition

with the large capitalists, partly because of their limited financial resources and partly because of the non-utilisation of the skills they possess.

In India, though modern large scale industry, has been in the field for a century, it has not completely driven out of the market the indigenous industries, which have been working with different techniques of production and have been catering for their own markets in the rural areas. Though battered in the unequal fight with large-scale industrialists, the artisans and craftsmen not only survived but have increased their numbers. At present, the large-scale sector of our industrial economy engages about seven lakhs of employees, whereas the small scale industries give employment to about two million workers. Similarly, the petty shopkeepers and the tenant cultivators have survived in spite of economic hardships.

Economic Pyramid

In common parlance, however, the artisan and the peasant are not included in middle class in India, because we define the middle class not merely by reference to economic conditions, but, following Max Weber, also by reference to social status and life chances. The middle class man is in the middle both in the economic and

social aspects. In the economic pyramid, we have at the top a 5 per cent, stratum of rich, i. e., persons whose living standards could be regarded as more than satisfactory. It consists of big landlords, successful captains of trade and industry, highly paid officials in the public and private sectors and a few successful professional workers. Unfortunately, in the class we have the "sudden rich", the blackmarketeers, hoarders, bootleggers, unscrupulous politicians, and many others who have been allowed to amass wealth at the cost of the society and of ethical values.

Immediately below this five per cent rich stratum of the society, there is a sizeable upper middle class: officials in administration, many professional workers, lawyers, doctors, engineers, successful merchants, middlemen and the like. Beneath the upper middle class, we have a mass of middle and lower middle class consisting of clerks in Government and private offices in banks and insurance companies, in factories and mines, the school teachers, the working journalists, the petty shopkeepers, the struggling professional workers, the poor merchants and a host of such classes, who find it difficult to earn enough for the maintenance of their families.

Educated but Conservative
Dr. Nasir Ahmad Khan gives

the following characteristics of middle class persons in India: "The middle class person does not usually possess large property although he may have his own house in which he lives.

He may have also some savings invested in securities or banks. Persons in middle class usually live by performing skilled labour or by employing themselves in liberal occupations and trade and commerce, or in Government or non-Government offices. They are as a rule educated and trained. They have a style of living which differentiates them both from the lower and the upper classes. They have their prejudices, likes and dislikes, etiquette, customs and manners which may not be distinct but at least distinguishable" ('Middle Classes in India' p. 15) Such factors as caste, lineage, family upbringing, and social circumstances are to be taken into consideration, while defining a middle class. To quote again from Dr. Khan: "The people in this class stick to old social habits and show false sense of prestige, aversion to manual labour a desire to rise up in the scale by emulating the social values of the upper income groups and disregard, if not hatred, of the values of the lower strata of population."

Generally, it can be said that the middle class is distinguished as a separate class because of attribute such as high rate of literacy and education attainment

of a certain standard of living, inclination towards non-manual occupations or services, a fair degree of urban bias and dependency on fixed or small earnings. Owing to its educational background and social temperament, the middle class prefers occupation or services in commerce, industry, Government departments, arts and liberal professions and actively participates in the cultural, social and political affairs of the community.

Crushing Burdens

The characteristics of the middle class, indicated above, reveal the problems confronting it. This class has been caught today in the grip of evergrowing economic difficulties and social discontent. The malaise from which this class suffers has assumed in recent years chronic and menacing proportions. The economic malaise stems mainly from the rising costs of living in the face of fixed or small earnings, inadequate to meet even the minimum requirements of life. The level of family expenditure shows an excess over the level of family income, resulting in savings being exhausted. The disparity in income-expenditure levels is largely caused by additional expenditure necessitated by soaring prices of foodgrains and essential consumer goods and the increase in house rents.

A few social surveys about the socio-economic conditions of

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these people reveal that they suffer from chronic indebtedness, unemployment, ill-health and malnutrition. The condition of their women is more distressing than that of lower or upper class women, because of the additional social disabilities. Faced by rising costs of living on the one hand and fixed or small earnings on the other, the middle class is striving to eke out its existence under the grim shadow of financial strain, dissipation of its savings, physical hardships, mental worries and infructuous indebtedness. The lack of additional employment opportunities is resulting in a growing burden of non-earning dependents.

Need Of Organisation

The economic hardships are naturally reflected in social and psychological handicaps, which are seen in such factors as social and moral degeneration, frustration, corruption, bribery, lack of social security, and emergence of anti-social elements from among the middle class. The disintegration of family structure and the loosening of community bonds have unleashed some of the undesirable forces. The majority of middle class people are at present frustrated, not knowing what to do.

Serious thinking about the difficulties and problem faced by the middle class has now become indispensable, at least to

consider specific solution for the betterment of living standards and working conditions of this important section of the society. The upper class has secured advantages because of the concentration of economic power in its hands. The lower class has organised itself into trade unions and wrested from the upper class numerous monetary and other concessions. Of the seven million workers in organised sectors of our economy, as many as three million are trade unionists. On the other hand, the trade union membership of middle class

people hardly exceeds two lakhs.

It is the middle class, which has provided leadership to the other classes and has fought battles on behalf of the upper and lower classes. At the same time, its leaders have sadistically condemned their own class, predicting a gloomy future for it. In spite of these onslaughts from within and without, the class has survived—a fact which indicates the existence of certain elements vital to the growth of the class.

—The Economic Weekly



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OUR TIBET PATRIOTS

BY

R. K. KARANJIA

Geneva : There is a heartless and cynical method behind the madness with which our Western benefactors are using the tragedy of Tibet to rake India into the Cold War.

During my visit to the Arab East, I met several Pakistani and American diplomats around bars and at receptions where alcohol releases their tongues and brings many a hidden thought out of the subconscious.

They all spoke with almost ONE voice of their expectation of a major clash between India and China if the Tibetan trouble can be protracted to the end of the year.

NEW FRONT AGAINST CHINA

Such a clash according to their wishful thinking (or it is planning?), would force Delhi to open a new front against China over and above the one that already exists vis-a-vis Pakistan, thereby increasing the Defence expenditure which already eats up half of the national budget to an absurd figure.

But how would that profit the West or Pakistan for the matter of that? The answer is elementary.

WEAKEN OUR FRONT AGAINST PAKISTAN

The proposed second front against China would in the first place weaken the existing front against Pakistan.

It might help Washington to bring about a Munich between Delhi and Karachi on the Kashmir issue with a compromise on the basis of a partition or even an independent Kashmir leaded on the side of Pakistan.

Americans do not even rule out of the possibility of being able to knock India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon as well as Nepal and the Himalayan states into a NATO-MEDO-SEATO-type of war bloc built on fears of Chinese aggression in the strategic Indian Ocean region.

COUNTING WITHOUT HOST NEHRU

Of course, in all this wishful planning, the Western Powers and their Asian agents are counting without their hosts—Jawaharlal Nehru and the Indian people—bounded by historical necessities to a policy of positive neutrality and friendship with China, despite such strains as the Tibetan developments put on the Indian stand.

They count only on their stooges and satellites, like Tata, M. R. Masani and the Indian "Socialists" who have now found their natural allies in Hindu Fascists and Mahasabaites.

DIABOLICAL PAK PLAN

One Pakistani Ambassador to an Arab country, a wily old fox notorious for his intrigues

against India, revealed to me the second phase of their plan to make India fight China, just in case Mr. Nehru refused to budge from his eminently sagacious stand.

Pakistan was in a position to bargain a deal with China on Kashmir itself by offering Ladakh to China in return for Chinese support to the Pakistani case for Kashmir—that is, by a division of Kashmir, Pakistan would get the valley, China would secure Ladakh, and India would be left with Jammu.

PAK OFFER REJECTED WITH CONTEMPT

There is nothing new to this scheme, of course, for I happen to know it was offered to China by former Pak Premier Suhrawardy, and the offer, I understand, was rejected with due contempt by the Chinese Premier.

Nevertheless, all this should give second thoughts to the idiots who are forming Chinese Embassies and Consulates in India in a desperate bid to push Mr. Nehru into a breach with China which he will not countenance.

Pakistan should offer an Ayub Peace Prize to these gentlemen.

—By Arrangement with the *Blitz*

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Director

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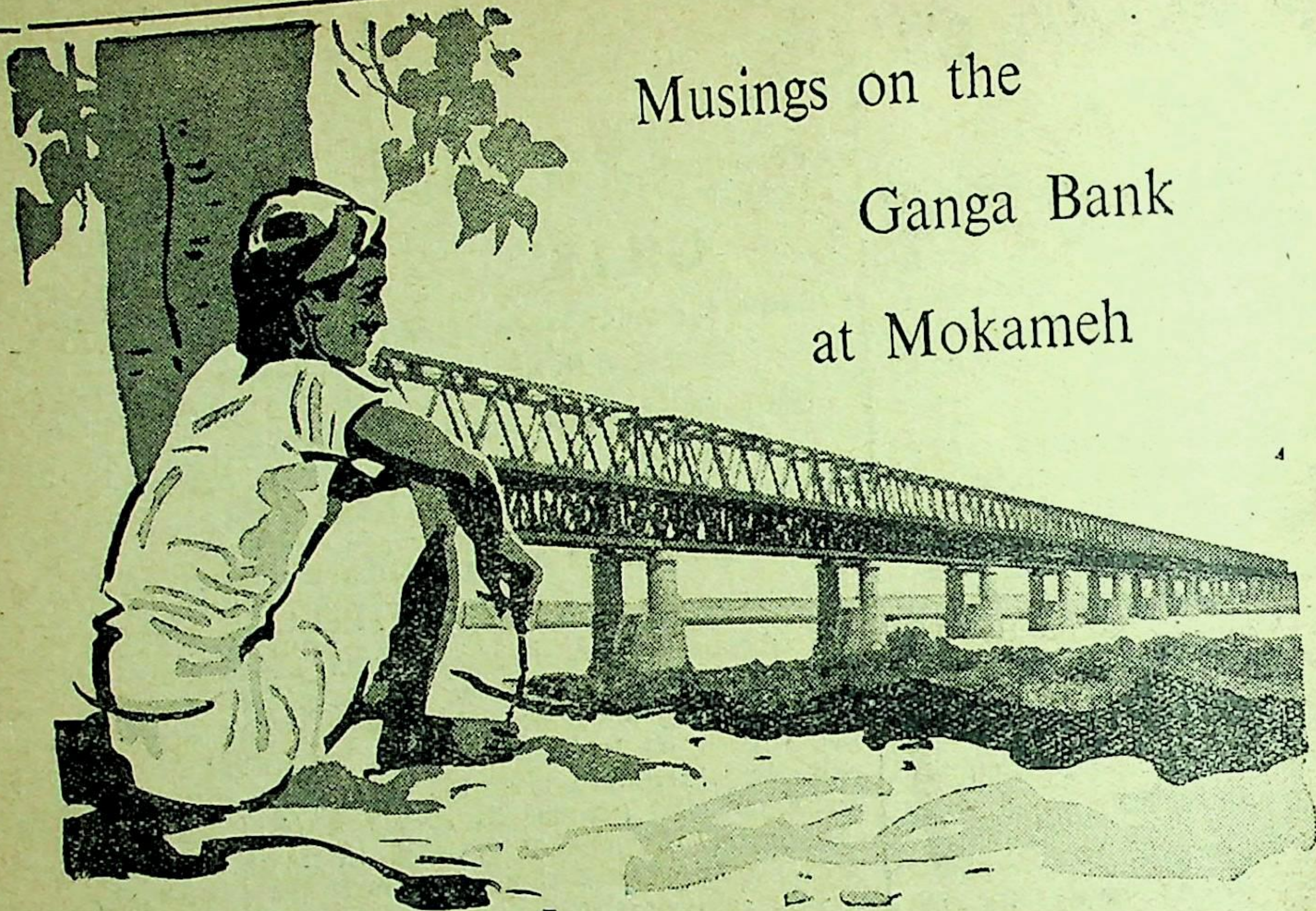
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7. Permanent postal and telegraphic address.....
8. Present postal address and telegraphic address.....
9. Age, caste....
10. Educational qualification....
11. Any experience in agriculture or social work....
12. Whether he or his family members are connected with land either as cultivator or Agricultural workers.

May 2, 1959

BEHAR HERALD

Regd. No. P 999



Musings on the Ganga Bank at Mokameh

A hundred thoughts cross his mind as he sits on the river bank at Mokameh, beside the great Ganga Bridge which he has helped to build with his own hands, so that his river-divided State of Bihar may become one.

An inhabitant of North Bihar, he remembers the last floods when his stricken people waited eagerly for relief—for food, for medicine—but relief was slow in coming because the great Ganga raged between them and South Bihar—an almost impassable barrier. Their only means of communication was river transport—slow, uncertain and so laborious that there was scarcely any movement of industrial goods.

All this is going to change now with the opening of the rail-cum-road Bridge. Fast moving broad gauge railway wagons are now engaged in

bringing vital supplies to his half of the State. And Garhara, his ancestral village has already been transformed into a busy little township, with transshipment yards, extensive broad and metre gauge loco sheds and even a modern colony! Soon an Oil Refinery will be set up here to bring added prosperity to his people. A Thermal Power Station may also follow. And, he is sure, where Garhara, his ancestral village, leads the way, the rest of north Bihar is bound to follow—a way that has been paved by the Ganga Bridge at Mokameh.

INDIAN 
RAILWAYS

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