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Independence Day : *Observance or Celebration*

By Nawal Kishore Sinha

Much water has flown down the Ravi since India took the vow of independence on her banks twelve years ago. Events have moved fast in a kaleidoscope. Big convulsions have rocked and are rocking the world. In the country epoch-making movements have taken place and subsided. There has been a swing, from the wilderness to the drawing-room and back to it again. Disappointments have followed in the wake of hopes. There have been splits, frustration, confusion and bewilderment. A queer mixture of personal and ideological differences has dominated the politics of the nation. The vision has been eluding the grasp though within reach. In the abounding flood of light darkness has seemed to prevail. We have been groping but no way out to the open. Where is the long-cherished freedom for the attainment of which millions of Indians have been renewing their pledge? Are we anyway nearer to it for our oath? Or, we have been thrown back miles and miles away?

In this train I mused as I saw thousands of men taking the Independence pledge on January 26 which as usual came and passed away carrying with it the apparent impression that our determination is as strong as ever to emancipate the country from bondage. I thought, could we still be living this demora-

lising state of slavery and dependence in a dynamic globe if we took the vow in all seriousness as men of steel and iron? If armed force could conquer countries in weeks and months, could not unarmed but powerful will break its own fetters?

Then came up before my mind the whole association with the Independence Day. How has it been received, welcomed and treated? No doubt much spontaneous enthusiasm has marked this occasion. The National Tricolour flag has been held up high and people have come to realise its significance. But the Independence Day has been treated as a Day for Celebration. Take out Prabhat Feries, hoist the Flag, hold meetings, shout and yell, make merry and the celebration is finished. Celebration connotes some happy ornamental activities. What more to be done? When the occasion comes over again the process has to be repeated and the show will go on in a monochromatic way. Go on reiterating the pledge to independence like a parrot on the sacred Day and then why, India ought to be free, it must be free, the imperialistic structure must break down. Don't you know the popular Hindu belief in the villages that if the owl goes on repeating your name you are sure to be reduced to death gradually.

This psychology of 'Celebration', it appeared to me, was

the bane. It spoilt the whole effect of the Independence Day and turned it into a routine affair that had to be carried out like so many other festivals. The reiteration of the Independence pledge had as a consequence become a sham and no one attached any importance to it and neither did they try to understand it. People seem to repeat it just as they repeat the sacred 'Mantras' at priestly functions without bothering their heads for the correct pronunciation or the meaning. The Priests ask them to repeat them and they repeat because they have to repeat suspecting sometimes perhaps that the repetition might be pregnant with some spiritual fruits that would be conducive to material prosperity. The Independence pledge also appear to be repeated in the same spirit. It has become something like the sacred 'Mantras', incomprehensible for the masses. They have to repeat it because their leaders ask them to do so. And after all it was only a celebration of the Independence Day.

This idea of celebrating the Independence Day, I thought, must be given up to take it out of the rut and make it an occasion for the strengthening of the real will to freedom. It should be realised that we have not attained our independence. We can celebrate only when we have won it. We can be happy only when we have

fought and conquered our objective. Previous to that we can only mark out a Day to remind ourselves of the objective with a view to renewed determination for its attainment. That is, I believe, the purpose of the Independence Day for the present. We have, therefore, to observe it and not to celebrate it for renewing the vow to complete freedom which was first declared to be our goal on the day of its observance. We have more to devote ourselves on the Day to the realisation of its full significance. The importance of Action necessitated by the pledge should be driven home to the people. The pledge should serve as a mere symbol of the Action and not the end of it. Routine programme should be discarded and more imagination must be exercised to initiate novel features on the Day. More constructive and fruitful work should be done on the Day than the taking out of simple Prabhat Feries and holding of meetings. The Day should be utilised for introspection and retrospection and not for celebration. But all activities must be directed towards the strengthening of the will, making it more resolute, firm and grim. All efforts must be directed for galvanising the latent energies and power in us. We must prepare for death if we love to live. Only then can

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The Behar Herald

Patna.

Tuesday, February 3, 1942

BENARES CONVOCATION

Mr. Gandhi delivered the Convocation address of the Benares Hindu University on the occasion of its recent Jubilee celebration. Twenty-six years ago, the foundation of the Hindu University was laid on February 11, 1916. Mr. Gandhi was one of the speakers on that occasion as also was Dr. Annie Besant. Between them they managed to create a scene which resulted in the Indian Princes present, and the Maharajahdiraja of Darbhanga who presided, leaving the hall before Mr. Gandhi had finished his speech. These twenty-five years have seen the rise of Mr. Gandhi to world fame and the attainment of Mahatmahood. In the latter part of this period, his influence waned, having spent itself, and the world was also presented with the spectacle of his one time ardent followers falling upon each other in their rush to disown allegiance to his dogmas, as they have realised the futility of non-cooperation. The fatal defect of the Gandhian cult was its violent and indiscriminating denunciation of everything that was not indigenous. Western influence on India has not been altogether bad and a movement that was based on such a wrong assumption was doomed to collapse.

In his convocation address, Mr. Gandhi denounced the use of the English language as the medium of instruction as shameful. He thinks it a disgrace for an Indian to speak or write in English. Yet he himself writes

copiously in that heinous language in his own journal and many of his closest disciples do so. For an ordinary mortal to persist in behaviour which he regards as shameful is injurious to his moral self, but Mahatmas are exempt from the general rule. Mr. Gandhi's denunciation of the English language is a matter, not of conviction, but of policy. It is no more shameful to use a foreign language than it is to ride an American car or speak before an English microphone or to have a Swiss watch or to work by the light of a Dutch lamp, all of which Mr. Gandhi does. The English language is to-day spoken and understood by the largest number of people in the world and to shut the doors of a university to a world language would not enhance its prestige or utility. Mr. Gandhi would like the Benares University to be a glorified Vedic Pathshala. Even if we have no connection with Britain, the benefit derived by us through the English language should not be sacrificed or denied.

Mr. Gandhi also took exception to the disorder and confusion that prevailed in the early part of the proceedings. This was really caused by his devotees who had come in their thousands to have his *darshan*. If Mr. Gandhi would set apart a day on which he would vouchsafe *darshan* to his humble followers, before his public appearance in any function, the crowd would be more manageable.

BLACK OUT

The Deputy Commissioner of Ranchi has congratulated the citizens of Ranchi on the successful manner in which they carried out the instructions issued by the A. R. P. authorities for black out. If any civic garlands or bouquets are going round, Patna has as good a claim to such as any other city anywhere. The practice black out was "successful" here, if by

success is meant no light anywhere in the town, all civil life suspended, all shops closed, all traffic almost stopped, all the citizens going to bed with sundown because there was nothing to do and a unique opportunity presented to burglars which was almost too good to be true. This kind of black out may be necessary when enemy planes are droning overhead trying to find out objectives for unloading their bombs. As a matter of fact, one feels that the sort of black out that was insisted upon last time was really unsuccessful as it meant all suspension of civil life. Conditions under black out should allow normal life to go on, as it may have to be continued for days, weeks and months together. As we have pointed out before, the authorities at Ranchi were sensible enough to allow lights after 9 P. M. and did not make the city a thieves' paradise. We are told that in Muzafferpore, the street lights were shaded, not extinguished outright as they were in Patna. We do not know why the authorities have not insisted on the street lights in Patna being shaded, but have taken the simpler course of not having any lights at all. If black out conditions are to continue from time to time and for longer periods, it would not be right to put out all the street lights and to close all shops with sunset. We hope the authorities would see that normal activities of people are not completely put a stop to, the next time black out is practised in Patna. Moreover, people would be less in fear of thieves and sleep in peace if lights are allowed after 9 P. M. on black out nights.

Notes & Comments

Mysterious are the ways of Providence

The American magazine *Time* has quoted Mr. Gandhi's saying "Even Hitler, whom God sent as a curse on mankind because of their ungodly ways,

could not cope with genuine civil disobedience". It is pointed out that civil disobedience, genuine or spurious, cuts no ice with the Nazis in occupied Europe. Josef Terboven, the "Protector" of Norway has said: "It is a matter of indifference to Germans if some thousands or perhaps tens of thousands of Norwegian men, women and children starve and freeze to death during this war".

It is rather queer that God is always in the habit of choosing violent methods for the correction of erring humanity. In trying to correct the ungodly ways of men, God, instead of resorting to non-violent methods, has sent the hyper-violent Hitler. According to Mr. Gandhi, God also resorted to the violent method of killing thousands of poor Biharis by an earthquake to punish the untouchability prevalent in Madras. The world would have been altogether a better place to live in if we could persuade God to be a little less violent.

Playing ducks and drakes with Indian's population

Mr. Rajagopalachariar has not yet been able to decide on the total population figure for India. In some of his previous speeches he talked on behalf of "400 millions of people", in supreme indifference to the Census figures. In his recent (22nd January) speech to the students of the Madras Christian College he spoke of the folly of a handful of Britishers to have kept "400 millions" under their command, but very soon he was taking of the "psychology and the aspirations of 380 millions". One is not sure if these fortunate 20 millions are not under the command of the Britishers.

In this speech he also adroitly bracketed himself with Mr. Gandhi and spoke of "soft-hearted and sympathetic men like Mahatma Gandhi and C. Rajagopalachariar" (Patna daily, January 24th).

Atlantean shoulders

"The members of the Bihar Provincial Shanti Dal should remember that the recent deve-

lopments in the world situation have imposed and added responsibility on their shoulders." —Patna daily, Jan. 25.

As far as we aware, there are only two pairs of shoulders to bear the responsibility: those of Sardar Abdul Bari and of the Publicity Officer of the Dal. All others having "laid down their lives" long ago are now carrying wings on their shoulders in the Better Land.

Tactical defeat of C. R.

At the meeting of the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee, held immediately after the passing of the Bardoli resolution, Mr. Gandhi said "If for the sake of independence you are ready to reverse the Congress policy and purchase Swaraj and pay as price thereof Ahimsa, you must confirm the Bardoli resolution...As against this there are those who think that Ahimsa is a pearl of great price and that it cannot be given up, that it can never be the price of Swaraj, then their position is different". Voting in the meeting was 36 for Bardoli, 27 against. So Mr. Gandhi realised the position and at Wardha he appealed to the A. I. C. C. to accept the Bardoli resolution, i. e., reverse the Congress policy and purchase swaraj at the price of Ahimsa. His suddenly turning a supporter of the Bardoli resolution took the Rajagopal group by surprise as it took the wind out of their sails.

Poor rationalisation

Mr. Gandhi was asked ticklish questions in Benares when he was there. Mr. Gandhi justified the supplying of blankets to the army as it would serve to spare the troops the rigours of a cold winter. But on the question of Congressmen joining the A. R. P. he had a flat and emphatic No. Mr. Gandhi is more considerate of the soldiers' suffering than he is of the civil population's. Does it reveal a sympathy for violence in the unconscious? Of course, the truth is that no line can be drawn between co-operation and non-cooperation, specially where co-operation rakes in pro-

fits. It is futile to try to justify everything by reason. The more sensible attitude is "This is so because I think it to be so."

Gallic wit

Like truth, humour has also been an early casualty in this war. The Germans were never credited with a sense of humour, but all the other belligerents too have assumed a grim and serious mien and there is no opening left for jokes and laughter, so essential for our mental health. It was left to the old, doddering men of Vichy to concoct a joke which would tickle to death even the war-weary world: "The French Government has lodged a protest with the Chungking Government on the subject of bombing of Indo-Chinese aerodromes by Chinese planes." (Reuter message, Jan. 24). This is as fine an example of Gallic wit as has ever come out of the land of Moliere.

A frail reed

Those who pinned their faith on Mr. Rajagopalachariar's ability to give a new lead to the Congress have been disappointed. He was expected to command a considerable following in the Working Committee but this expectation has turned out to be unfounded. A majority of Congress parliamentarians shared Mr. Achariar's views, but compelled to choose between him and the Mahatma, they had to follow the latter, who won the election for the Congress, and without whom the Congress will not be able to win the next elections. As a matter of fact, in the last elections, people did not vote for the Congress but for the Mahatma. And in the next election they are not expected to behave differently.

And another

In a certain section of the British Press, as well as in the Anglo-Indian papers in this country, much was made of Pandit Nehru's effusions about Russia and China. It was interpreted as a definite gesture of co-operation in the fight against the Fascist rally. But, it is now evident that Pandit Nehru's lyrical outbursts did not

amount to anything more than mere lip sympathy. Wardha prevailed ultimately over Harrow.

A matter of arithmetic

Mr. Gandhi has said: "There is much--too much food eaten and wasted by the well-to-do. If the well-to-do give up pulses and oils, they set free these two essentials for the poor". It is quite true that some eat more than is good for them and there is also a good deal of waste of food in well-to-do households. But, in India, it would probably be a gross over-statement to say that even 1 per cent of the population can be called well-to-do. If one per cent voluntarily abstains from certain articles of food or practises economy, will that appreciably increase the food supply for 99 per cent?

Elephantry

The account of eye-witnesses that they have seen Japanese and Siamese troops riding on elephants, with small guns, invading Burmese territories, must be taken with comparatively large grains of salt, proportionate to the size of the animals seen. Elephants were used by Hannibal in the Punic Wars, but such slow moving beasts that are likely to take panic easily are of no use in modern warfare. The Persians used elephants when the Arabs invaded Iran, in the famous battle of Kadisiya (636), but the elephants took fright and caused disaster in the Persian ranks, which ultimately led to their defeat. If the Japanese are thinking of using Siamese elephants in battle they are sure to find them to be the famous white elephants for which that country has always been famous.

Mahatmic logic

The average man will find it hard to understand why supplying blankets to the army should not be regarded as helping in the war effort, but joining the A. R. P. is taboo for Congressmen because Mr. Gandhi told the Congressmen at Benares that A. R. P. work is "part and parcel of the Government's war effort". One fails to see what

A. R. P. have to do with war. Helping the civil population in their dire hour of calamity is purely humanitarian work, but of course, it does not bring in any pecuniary profits as supplying of blankets to the army does.

The heroes of Manickgunj

The effect of fear on the human mind is very curious. Swayed by the emotion of fear one can at times display rare courage, however paradoxical it may sound. When Rangoon was bombed on the 23rd of December last, many immigrants from India residing there decided to return home. It was impossible to get a passage on board the steamers plying between Rangoon and Chittagong or Calcutta. So, they thought of trekking across the unknown and uninhabited country that lies between the Arakan Yomas and the sea. Many of these had to fall back after travelling some distance, but one batch of 60 have reached their home in Manickgunj subdivision, Dacca, after braving the rigours of the journey. Their path lay through mountains and jungles infested with tigers and deadly snakes; drinking water must have presented a problem not to speak of food. Footsore and weary, they have at last reached home, having accomplished what has probably never been tried before even by the hardest of adventurers. The suffering they must have undergone in crossing the Burmese hills in bitter cold, the bravery they have shown in facing the dangers to which they exposed themselves in their hazardous trek compel admiration. It is a pity that people who had such rare courage against heavy odds allowed themselves to be influenced by panic.

Busy time for people gifted with imagination

If history is a distillation of rumour, the second city in the empire bids fair to be the biggest brewery of the philosophy that is supposed to teach by examples. The former capital of British India seems to be prominent in qualities that make it a hot bed of rumour. Already we have been told of brigades from under the Southern Cross sailing merrily up its sacred

river and armies from another hemisphere arriving in the western Gateway of India. We are told too of Samurai airmen so considerate as to announce by wireless or through friends in our midst the exact dates and times when they intend to drop bombs on Calcutta. There have also been submarines from Japan that, when about to attack passenger steamers in the Bay of Bengal, recognised Indians on board and shamefacedly turned away with a sigh. We would not be surprised one morning to be told that whiskered Russians were entering India through the north-western passes in their monster tanks.

The rape of Europe

From 1924 to 1931, Germany had to pay reparations to the victorious Allies of World War I. The total came up to some 10 billion marks. In one year of occupation of Europe, the Nazis have collected 80% of what Germany paid in seven years. France has to pay 400 million francs a day. They intend to organise Poland and Rumania as exclusively raw material and agricultural domains of the Reich, and so have closed all factories in these places except those that are engaged in extracting natural products. The machinery of the closed factories was sent to Germany.

When a deputation of Czech professors and students asked in 1939 if their universities might be reopened, State Secretary Frank replied: "If we lose the war you will open them yourselves; if we win the war the elementary schools will be enough for you."

The Economic Mobile Units specialize in wrecking and saving: carrying off to Germany everything that can be carried, maintaining for German benefit everything that cannot. They are able to strip a country bare with the speed and efficiency of a horde of African army ants.

Pillage of national art treasures and libraries was frequently directed not by soldiers or the Gestapo but by German

specialists sent for the purpose. Quantities of art treasures have been bundled off to the Reich. **Over-cautious**

In London, the editor of the *Aeroplane* was prosecuted for publishing information which might be directly or indirectly useful to the enemy. There was an advertisement in the paper for scaffolding which gave the names and addresses of aeroplane factories where the scaffolding was used. The defence produced the Telephone

Directory and pointed out that the names and addresses of the factories were also there.

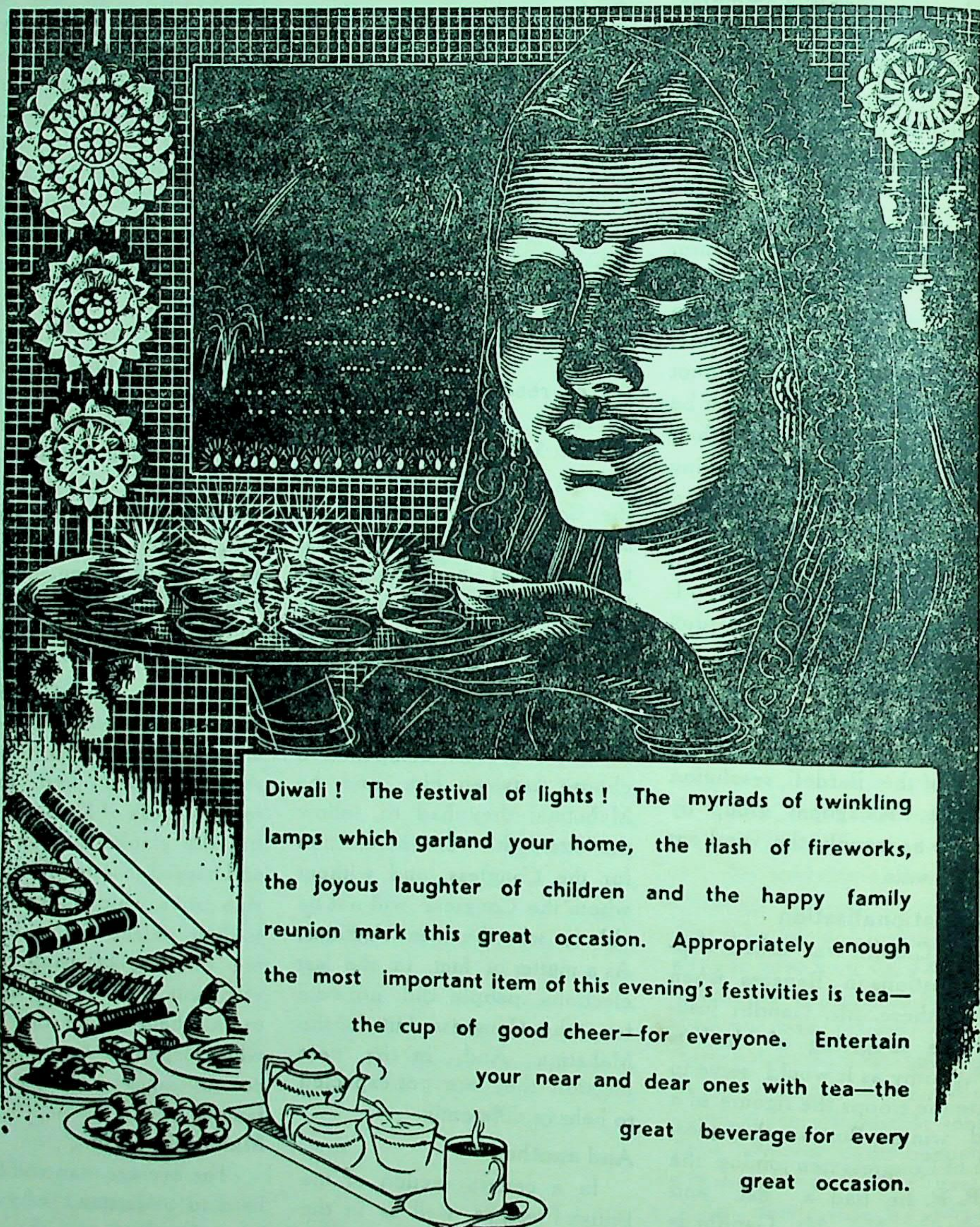
All in the day's work

Edgar Rice Burroughs, aged 65, the tireless biographer of Tarzan of the Apes has been sued for divorce by Florence Burroughs aged 36, his second wife. They lived in Los Angeles.

Rangoon Evacuees

An evacuee ship from Rangoon carrying about 1,200

passengers, mostly belonging to South India and up-country stations, arrived in Calcutta on Wednesday the 28th Jan. Some Jewish and Armenian as well as Bengalee families also arrived by the same boat. Among the evacuees were about 500 destitutes who were fed by the Marwari Relief Society. They are being sent to their respective destinations. The Indian Tea Market Expansion Board served tea and biscuits free to the evacuees at the landing ghat.



Diwali! The festival of lights! The myriads of twinkling lamps which garland your home, the flash of fireworks, the joyous laughter of children and the happy family reunion mark this great occasion. Appropriately enough the most important item of this evening's festivities is tea—the cup of good cheer—for everyone. Entertain your near and dear ones with tea—the great beverage for every great occasion.

INDIAN TEA

The Great Beverage  *for a Great Occasion*

INSERTED BY THE INDIAN TEA MARKET EXPANSION BOARD

Through the X-Ray

Comrades Turn Co-operators

By Politicus

Mr. Roy's Misfortune

Poor Mr. M. N. Roy! My heart goes out in profound sympathy towards him. Today he was to have shone as the brightest luminary in the firmament of political India. Mind you, he was to have shone as the only one,—fair, as the poet has said, as a star when only one is shining in the sky. For two years he has been shouting that the Anglo-German war is no imperialist war. He has always been arguing that it is a people's war—a war between Democracy and Fascism in which all who love freedom and the people's cause should participate on the side of the Democracies. He invited upon his devoted head the wrath of the mighty Congress High Command by criticising the Congress policy of non-participation in the war. He was disciplined out of the Congress, but he thought that the disciplinary action was but the crown of thorn on his head. Even comrades ridiculed him—laughed at him, jeered at him even spat at him. But he was undaunted and he went on fulfilling his holy mission of carrying light to the benighted people of India. He derived consolation from the belief which he did not keep into his bosom, that sooner or later his prophecy would come true and that he would be recognised by the people in the long run to be the only true prophet among the political prophets of India. His belief proved half-true when, to the bewilderment of the world Germany attacked the Soviet. "Didn't I say so?" roared Mr. M. N. Roy as he rushed afresh from one end of India to another with the message to the Indian people to help the British war efforts. That was a red-letter day in the history of Mr. Roy's life; but a redder-letter day came in his life when war broke out in the Pacific directly threatening the peace and security of India. The people, particularly of Eastern India, were

driven mad by panic, but Mr. Roy's joys knew no bounds. "Didn't I say so?" he said with greater gusto and up went his clarion call to the people to get ready for self-defence. He was the "leader";—I am told the people of Calcutta flocked round and dragged the ends of his garment from all sides in order to get from him the "lead" as to how they should protect themselves from air-raids. Mr. Roy's face beamed with joy. He thought he was the one, the only one, *Ekamebadwitiyam* who in this hour of crisis in the national life was the only "leader" of the people. But what a misfortune! What a crash! Up rose a rival of Mr. Roy from amongst his old enemies. Comrades of the Communist Party stood up like *Balakhilyas* around Mr. Roy to tell the people—not Mr. Roy alone; we too say, this is people's war, fight for Britain.

Courageous Comrades!

Wise Comrades, lucky comrades, adventurous comrades, courageous comrades! By sheer courage which Communist Comrades alone command, they have averted a great misfortune of theirs and made good for the lack of prudence and foresight which they had betrayed in the past. It requires no small courage to get rid of a modesty. On a previous occasion I had told you a lot about the quality of courage which the Gopies of Brindaban had shown when renouncing their clothes in order to please their beloved Srikrishna. Today I make a full-throated admission that my Communist Comrades have shown no lesser courage in renouncing the modesty on account of which they had clung to the foolish policy of non-co-operation even after the German attack on the Soviet. It is one of the highest truths realised by our seers, that a great stroke of misfortune is alone capable of effecting the maximum spiritual unfoldment.

My Communist friends too had to face a grave misfortune in order to get rid of their modesty which stood in the way of their union with their lord and beloved—the United States of Socialist Soviet Republic. Think of the situation. Mr. M. N. Roy, the Arch-Angel who has been expelled by Divine Command from the paradise of the Third International, was on the point of taking the palm away in the championship of the cause not only of the people of India but also of the Soviet. The burden of Mr. Roy's recent song, as all of you know, had been—look at this treacherous lot of Indian Communists; while Communist Russia is fighting Germany as the ally of Britain, these Indian Communists are fighting Britain in India; aren't they stabbing Soviet Russia in the back? And, as the champion alike of Democracy and Communism, Mr. Roy was rising in the estimation if not of the Indian people, of all other freedom-loving peoples on earth, the Communist Comrades were correspondingly losing their ground in people's esteem and affection. How could these sensitive people bear the sight of their hated rival getting all the field for himself? How could they bear the sight of Roy getting all the pats on his back gently administered by institutions like *The Statesman* of Calcutta? It was an unbearable sight as the threatened misfortune was insufferable. So the Comrades girded their loins and shouted out,—we blundered in the past, we too are on the side of Britain now.

Sidhdhi Achieved

Wise men. My Communist Comrades are like the *Yogis* of yore of whom India is legitimately proud. You know *Yogis* are of different kinds. Scriptures have enjoined that all need not take recourse to the same means in order to be united with the Lord and to acquire the other merits which

come to the possession of the successful *Yogi*. One may sit in meditation under a tree in a dense forest like the *Rishis* of the by-gone days; one may not renounce the world and remain in it but do all the duties of a house-holder's life in the way of Janaka; one may simply love his Lord like Radha or Chaitanya; and yet all of them are sure to get the Lord and the spirituality such communion automatically confers on the human lover of the Lord. My Communist Comrades may bray that they are atheists; but I assure you that they are not. Like the *Asuras* they are devotees in the guise of enemy and they worship the Lord through Stalin and Soviet Russia in fulfilment of the Command that the Lord may be loved and worshipped through anything such as a cow and even an unshapely thing called *Shalagram Shila*. You know as well as I do that our Communist Comrades have all along been in deep love with Soviet Russia. Their love was no ordinary love, not by any means, the craving of the flesh for the flesh. Their love was *Sadhana*. It was *tapasya* such as the *Rishis* of Yore used to perform with tremendous mortification of the flesh. *Sidhdhi* has at last crowned that strenuous *Tapasya*. They had not been successful so long. Even after the invasion of the Soviet by Germany my communist comrades had been under the influence of *Avidya*, still tied down to the nationalism of the Congress such as a *Yogi* in the making remains tied down to this sinful world. That is the reason why they said even then that the best way to help the Soviet was to intensify the struggle for freedom in India. Since then the Lord has blessed them. M. Stalin has given them wisdom. As a result of the supreme sacrifice of modesty at the feet of their Lord they have at last got the Lord's blessings. The immediate gain to them has been the opening up of their spiritual eye; and, lo and behold, they have discerned that "British Imperialism is a prisoner to-day in the people's camp".

Supreme Contribution

So, up rises the slogan, 'let us all go to war in aid of the Soviet and since that is not possible for us in India, let us fight on the side of Britain'. For some time now Royists and Communists have been vying with each other in carrying the campaign in India on behalf of Britain. Morning and evening, day and night, comrades have been dinning into the ears of the unappreciative Indian people the sublime truth revealed to them by their Lord from Moscow that the only way to liberate humanity is to die fighting in the field on the side of Britain. It is campaign they are carrying on—a pro-war campaign blessed by *The Statesman* and being watched with the utmost interest by the veteran Generals not only in the Allied Camp but also in the camps of the Axis powers. As I view the procession of these pro-war propagandists I am filled with awe and admiration. Hope wells up in my bosom and conviction grows in me as an inspiration instilled into my heart, that at long last the victory of the Allies in this war is assured. Till the other day these had been anti-war propagandists. It is because of the propaganda of these anti-war anti-Imperialist veterans that not a single Indian had enlisted in the army and not a pound of material had been sold to the Supply Department by any Indian with disastrous effect on the Allied campaign against Germany. But gone are those days. My comrades have at last become cooperators and pledged their support to war efforts. I am sure that their cooperation will be as effective as their non-cooperation had hitherto been. Now at last is assured the victory of the Allies. For making this supreme contribution to the Allied war efforts Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt should be grateful to my Comrades and so should be grateful the posterity that will come after me to reap the benefits of the victory of the Allied Democracies in the World War No. II.

East of Assam, West of China

By Hamdi Bey

A China-Assam road link as an alternative to the China-Burma road is a near possibility, but while paying all our respects to Chinese determination and engineering, we cannot but recall with greater admiration the pioneer exploits of three Indians—Kishen Singh, Nain Singh and Kinthup—who first explored the difficult region through which China's new life-line is being built.

These pioneers belonged to a larger group of Indian explorers who have been largely responsible for the exploration of Central Asia. I am not singing the praise of semi-mythological heroes of a distant age, but of men who have, by remarkable fortitude and devotion, added considerably to human knowledge during the last 100 years. How important and vital this information is today, cannot be realised by us, unless we take up maps published 70 years earlier and see the intriguing blanks or details filled in from imagination (and therefore useless from a military or economic viewpoint) round India's mountainous border.

The achievements of these Indian explorers can be truly appreciated only if we realise that they were men getting only Rs. 15. to Rs.20 per month and were the objects of severe persecution as the result of a proclamation by the Emperor of China to the effect that "no Mughal, Hindusthani, Pathan or Feringhi" should be permitted to enter into Tibet and Chinese Turkestan. Consequently these bold men had to take the guise of lamas (Tibetan priests) or Tibetan traders, and had to travel with the minimum possible equipment—prismatic compasses and pocket sextants made in the form of Buddhist prayer wheels into which again were concealed the maps and notes prepared en route. As all instruments which would arouse suspicion had to be dis-

pensed with, distances were measured by means of pacing—not even the humble tape or chain could be trailed. The measurements by pacing extended over areas of 30,000 square miles and so, and to keep count of 2,000 odd steps in every mile in mountainous country was no easy job. Even under such handicaps these men committed only negligible errors, 7 seconds or so in 1800 miles. One is often led to speculate what would have been their accuracy had they proper instruments to work with.


Indian explorers were not only accurate; they were extremely resourceful. They carried ingenuity and intrepidity to great lengths to get round suspicious Tibetan officers. They carried beads, feigning to be Tibetan lamas, though the beads were used for keeping count of steps and had there only 100 beads instead of the 108 that the Tibetans (following the Hindu practice of Sri 108) have. The explorers would pretend to look as religious as they could, and would finger bead at every pace and at the end of a hundred paces turn the prayer wheel inside which the distance would be recorded.

Both the Imperial Chinese and the Tibetan officials had a particular genius for inventing painful tortures—the torture of the dripping water was a Chinese method. Whenever any of these explorers was discovered, he generally was subjected to protracted torture. In spite of the risk of natural hazards and rigours of climate and topography a very large number of Indians ventured into forbidden Tibet and Central Asia—ill-equipped and poor but full of curiosity and spirit of adventure.

The hazards of climate were not insignificant. In the early part of this century, Lall Singh while on an expedition

to Central Asia lost both his eyes and became totally blind for ever. This was the price for a few place names and scribbling lines on our maps of Central Asia, and not knowing this, in our comfortable home arm-chairs we so often grow impatient that these details are so few.

The first batch of Indian explorers were trained into the methods of surveying by Capt. T. G. Montgomerie in 1861 and were sent out. Previous to this, after the murder of Adolphe de Schlagintweit at Kashgar in 1857, it had been found impossible for Europeans to enter any of the Central Asiatic countries due to the hostility of the rulers. The opposition was no less in case of Indians but disguise was easier, and moreover the Indian genius for quickly learning foreign languages came helpful. The first of these people were called "Pandits" and were individually known by initials and numbers: e.g., S.C.D.; A-K.; G-K.; N.S.; No. 9; etc.



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The most scientific minded of Indian explorers was Sarat Chandra Das, known as S.C.D. He made several trips to Lhasa and Tashilhumpo about the decade 1878-1888. In 1874, while a student of the Engineering Department of the Calcutta Presidency College, Das applied for and was appointed Headmaster of the Tibetan Boarding School, then opened at Darjeeling. He studied Tibetan and made one of the first scientific studies of Lamaism.

In 1879 Das with two coolies, one pocket sextant, one prismatic compass, two hypsometers, a thermometer, a field glass and Rs.150 cash set out and reached Tashilhumpo. He met with opposition from frontier officials because though dressed like a lama he had Aryan features. However as he spoke both Nepali and Tibetan fluently he was mistaken for a Pabu or Nepalese priest. Das never tried to correct the mistake. His most remarkable adventure was when finding all passes to Tibet closed to him, Das made the first-known crossings of the high-level Jonsong La and Chorten Nyima La. He traversed highly crevassed glaciers, bivouacking in the nights in caves and in the open, and ascending the steep icy slopes by cutting steps by means of *Kukris*.

Kishen Singh was another big explorer and we have to thank him for much of the information about Inner Asia that we possess. Starting in 1869 on his adventurous career, Kishen Singh first explored Kumaon and adjoining parts of Tibet. Two years later he made the famous discovery of Tengri Nor—a very beautiful lake in desolate Central Tibet. Travelling as traders, he and four assistants, reached Shigatse, and then being stopped from proceeding further north by officials, they made a circuitous detour to reach Lhasa, and came upon Tengri Nor, 60 miles north of the capital. On the return journey he was plundered and harrassed by robbers.

Two years later Kishen

Singh and Abdul Subhan traversed the Pamirs and visited Pangkong Lake and Tankse on the journey homewards. Kishen Singh fixed Yarkand on the map at longitude 77 degrees 15 minutes and 55 seconds. In 1941 Sir F. de Fillipi verified by wireless time signals that Kishen Singh had made a positive error of only 9 seconds though using crude instruments.

Kishen Singh's biggest journey was undertaken in 1878 and was the pioneer attempt in linking China and India.

Kishen Singh proceeded northwards from Darjeeling and in spite of desperate hardships, desertions and attacks of bandits, reached the borders of Mongolia via Lhasa. He linked Prejvalsky's Russian surveys and the surveys of the Government of India by a cross-country traverse across Tibet. From Mongolia, Kishen Singh descended southwards to Shachow in Kansu Province of China and travelling through the unsettled borderland of China and Tibet, reached India after an absence of 4 years. In the meantime his only son had died and the explorer broke down. Though he lived till 1921, he could not undertake any more journeys.

Nain Singh, a relation of Kishen Singh, was an equally indefatigable worker. He had his baptism of exploration when journeying to Tsadom on the Tsangpo (name of Brahmaputra in Tibet) he joined a caravan and reached Lhasa in January 1866. In the Tibetan capital, Nain Singh earned for a short time a scanty livelihood as a teacher of accounts and then returned to India via Lake Mansorwar tracing 600 miles of the Tsango's course. Then he explored the upper reaches of the Sutlej and the Indus and went to Yarkand.

Nain Singh's major work was, however, done in 1874, when he went to Lhasa and for a long time no news about him reached India. One day Nain Singh made a sudden appearance up in the north-east corner of Assam. He had made a very

careful route traverse of 1,319 miles, traced another 50 miles of the course of the Tsangpo and discovered a vast snowy range north of that river. He received a C. I. E., from the Government of India, and a Gold Medal from the Royal Geographical Society. In the proposal for the award, Nain Singh was described as "a man who has added a greater amount of positive knowledge to the map of Asia than any individual of our time."

The most romantic and yet the most tragic figure among these explorers was Kinthup. He was sent out with a Chinese lama to Tibet in order to solve the riddle of the Tsangpo gorges. It was not till then known for certain that the Tsangpo cut through the Himalayas and became the Brahmaputra. Some geographers were inclined to think that the Tsango went eastwards and joined the Salween. Kinthup was commissioned to follow the Tsangpo as far as possible and then throw into the river specially marked logs. For two years watch was kept at places on the Brahmaputra in Assam but no logs were found and the vigil given up. Four years later Kinthup returned and sought the Survey of India authorities.

He told his story; how the Chinese lama had failed in his trust, how Kinthup had been sold into slavery and how he had worked for freedom and made his way down the Tsangpo to within 60 miles of the plains of Assam. Finally being unable to proceed any

further along the precipitous sides of the Tsangpo gorges, he threw logs marked according to directions.

But after the second year the watch on the Brahmaputra had been abandoned; the logs had flown past unnoticed and Kinthup's story was not believed. His assertion that the Tsangpo and the Brahmaputra were the same and that the Tsangpo cut through the Himalayas by a series of stupendous gorges and unpassable rapids was discredited. And this indomitable explorer retired to his village broken-hearted.

Thirty years after Kinthup's return from Tibet, more modern discoveries corroborated Kinthup's findings and proved his truth. The explorer was remembered once more and an old, tragic Kinthup was called to Simla to get his belated reward.

Kishen Singh, Nain Singh and Kinthup lifted the veil of mystery that hung over that unknown pocket between Southwest China, Tibet and India which the China-Assam road will cut across. And when we repeat Churchill's words, 'never was so much owed by so many to so few', let us not forget these three bold men and add the words 'and at so little recompense'.

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Romance of Indian Industries

A year of the Indian Cement Industry

Speech delivered by Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Chairman of the Associated Cement Companies Ltd., at the fifth annual general meeting of the company held on Friday, the 16th January 1942, at the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall, Bombay.

Before proceeding with a few remarks on the year's working, I should like to refer to the retirement of your late Chairman, Sir Homi Mody, on his appointment as Member for Supply of the Government of India. Your Directors have placed on record their cordial appreciation of the sterling services rendered by Sir Homi Mody as Director and Chairman. During his tenure of office, Sir Homi had, notwithstanding his manifold activities, laboured ardently and given freely of his valuable time and talent towards the promotion of the Company's well-being and prosperity and it was in no small measure due to his lead and contribution as Chairman that some of the numerous and intricate problems of the Company were carried to a successful conclusion. I feel sure that you would all wish to associate yourselves with the above tribute and to wish Sir Homi Mody all success in the important appointment to which he has been called.

The Company has suffered another loss by the retirement of the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari, also due to his appointment as a Member of His Excellency the Viceroy's Executive Council. An appreciation of his services to the Company has been placed on record, and you will all regret to have seen, that after a short illness he passed away at Delhi only last week. The loss of Sir Akbar's statesmanship and wide experience has now consequently been suffered by the whole of India, and I feel sure you would like to place on record your very sincere sympathy with the family of Sir Akbar in their sad bereavement.

I am also sorry to have to report that Mr. Mathuradas Vissanji had to retire from his

seat on the Board during the year on account of ill health. I am certain, however, that you will welcome Mr. Vithaldas Kanji who has been invited to a seat on the Board in his place.

At the outset, I think that you will be interested to know that the Company has decided to proceed with the construction of its new building on the land acquired for it on Queen's Road, next to the B. B. & C. I. Railway Offices. This is now in course of erection and I hope, therefore, that when we meet again next year we may be able to do so in the Company's own offices.

As regards the results for the year under review, in spite of competition for about half of the year, and the necessary time-lag of a few months before prices could be stabilised on a new basis, the profits for the year have increased to some extent and your Directors have, as you will have seen, been able to increase the Dividend to 6 per cent. As mentioned in your Director's Report, the effects of the stabilisation of prices will not be fully reflected until a full year's working has been maintained.

I now come to the arrangement made with the Dalmia interests, to which reference was made by my predecessor when he addressed you last year. This has been in operation since 1st January 1941 and I have every hope that it will work satisfactorily. Various questions naturally arose before the necessary agreement could finally be completed, but these questions have now been settled, and I have every reason to believe that the agreement will shortly be signed.

As I have already said, as soon as this arrange-

ment came into force, the stabilisation of prices throughout the country was put in hand. The average price throughout the country is now, I consider on a reasonable basis, although it is in fact somewhat less than it was before the competition started. I will not say that it may not be necessary to make some slight increase in the price due to the ever rising costs of coal, stores and packing, but I consider that it would be the greatest mistake to take advantage of the present position, and avoidably raise the cost to the consumer and so discourage the offtake of cement. I am happy to be able to say that cement earmarked for essential services has been offered by the Selling Organisation at special rates as a measure of assistance to the War effort. This amalgamation of interests must not lay itself open to the accusation of taking advantage of its preponderant position in the Industry. On the contrary, as you all know the declared policy of this Company, and its predecessors has always been progressively to reduce price of this bulk commodity to consumers.

The offtake of cement during the year has been satisfactory, and the despatches against internal demand would have been even greater but for shortage of railway wagons for its carriage. This has been a serious problem throughout the year and unfortunately appears to be likely to become even more serious. It is to be hoped that the Authorities will continue to realise the importance of keeping moving the products of this key industry and the carriage of raw materials essential for the maintenance of its production such as coal. The increase in the internal demand was very largely due to the enhanced military and industrial requirements, the latter no doubt chiefly for war purposes. The export demand has also increased to a considerable extent, and this also has been governed in some degree by the limitations of

steamer space.

Manufacturing costs have been maintained at satisfactory levels, partly due to increased offtake but also to various economies in manufacture. The heavier packing charges, especially for export, is the chief cause of a very small increase in the manufacturing costs. You will doubtless be pleased to see from the Directors' Report that several items of stores and spare parts previously obtained from abroad are being manufactured in increasing quantities at the Company's Works. Grinding media, in particular, are now almost entirely being made by your Company and this has resulted in very considerable economies and the utilisation of monies in this Country which hitherto were spent abroad. Coal and stores, even though obtainable in India, show signs of further enhancement unfortunately and though the Company is well covered by forward contracts as far as possible, I fear we must expect this increase to be reflected in costs to a greater extent in the current year than since the war commenced.

The extensions to your factories have been mentioned in your Directors' Report and alterations and improvements to the plant at several factories are continually being made to improve efficiency and increase production. The extensions now in progress have been made entirely by utilizing machinery and plant available in India and by manufacturing certain parts in the country. It is to be hoped that the fiscal policy of India after the War will permit of continuation of this policy to the ultimate benefit of the raw material available in the country.

Turning to the Accounts, you will doubtless have appreciated the necessity of incorporating in the Accounts those of the Cement Marketing Company of India, Limited for two periods. An explanatory note regarding the effect on the Company's Accounts by the alterations necessitated by

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these changed conditions has been included. This year, I fear, the Accounts cannot, in consequence, be comparative. You will be pleased to see the satisfactory dividend earned on shares. This has been received on the Company's investments in the Burma Cement Company, Limited and of course in the Patiala Cement Company, Limited. Asbestos Cement, Limited, has also been earning good profits, but the dividend on that Company's shares did not become available until after the close of this Company's year and will be included in the Accounts for next year.

You may wish me to give you some indication of the probable results of the current year. The results, however, depend largely on whether railway wagons will be available in sufficient quantities to meet all the orders that are received and to feel the numerous plants with coal in order to maintain a regular production. I can tell you that up to the present however, despatches have been quite satisfactory and are excess of those of last year. The demand shows no sign of diminishing, rather, of increasing, and the offtake, as I say, would appear to depend entirely on the supply of wagons. As regards the exports demand, though there may in the future be some falling off due to the spread of the war to the Far East, there is no indication of this as yet, and the Company has a large number of orders on its books. As regards competition, this has not been entirely eliminated though due to the present amalgamation of the principal cement interests, the combined organisation is well equipped to meet any attack on its position, and can face the future with confidence to serve the best interest of the consumer of cement in India consistently with a healthy cement industry supplying all Indian demand.

In conclusion, I should like to acknowledge the excellent work carried out by all members of the Staff during the year under review. Your Directors after carefully weighing all factors decided to introduce

The Practice of Bhakti Yoga

By H. Srinivas

Chant forth the Name of Hari" ("Haribol"), or, for that matter, that of Lord Shiva and Sri Durga incessantly with unalloyed devotion and in utter self surrender (*Saranagathi*). This is the exhortation addressed to all devout Hindus from time immemorial by the hoary Rishis, Saints and Sages. By the mighty power of Bhagavan's Divya Nama (the Lord's Holy Name) the unattainable can be attained, all will be well, all dangers will disappear, and the Lord, in His infinite mercy will protect you. The Divine Name has given salvation to many a devotee; indeed it is the one and only panacea for all the ills of the world. It is the celestial *Kalpataru* which shelters, and the heavenly *Kamadhenu* which nourishes you; it is a gem of inestimable value.

Once an aspirant (*Mumukshu*) comes to believe in the power of the Bhagavan's Divya Nama and feels an inward urge to repeat it—whether it be in the form of a single name (*Nama*), a *Mantra* such as the "*Panchakshara*", "*Ashtakshara*," or sings the Lord's Name in the form of lyrics to the accompaniment of musical instruments, neither dis- with effect from 1st May last, a Dearness Allowance to labour and those in receipt of small salaries. This has been greatly appreciated by all concerned. The Directors have recommended a somewhat large provision for bonus payable to all members of the Staff. Previously bonus was only given to the daily and lower paid Staff. Your Directors feel, however, that it is only fair that all members of the Staff, who are equally responsible for the results of the year's working should share in this bonus, and the amount recommended this year represents one month's pay to all your Staff. I hope you will have no hesitation in voting this amount as an incentive to their continued good service.

crimination nor devotional exercises are necessary for him. All doubts are set at rest, the mind becomes pure, the bonds of attachment are severed, and the Lord Himself is realised through the glory of His Holy Name. There is a close identity between the Name and the object signified by it—they are one.

A thousand Names (*Sahasra Nama*) are attributed to God—it means His Names are infinite, His glory is infinite—that is how God transcends both His Name and glory.

In whatever way one drinks *Amrita* (Nectar) one becomes immortal—whether it be after many devotions, whether the Nectar is forced on him, whether drunk consciously or unawares, in sport, or even by mistake; similarly in whatever way the devotee utters the glorious Name of the Lord, he will acquire the merit of such utterance.

For self-illumination firm faith in a single formula will suffice. Faith—pure and unalloyed faith—is the clue to Bliss Absolute. The true devotee never lacks his supply of Truth, he receives a constant supply of new ideas from the perennial spring within. That spring never dries up.

Cultivate Knowledge, Faith and Love of God. God is to be reached through child-like faith and spotless purity. Dive down into the bottomless sea of devotion., unmindful of anything else. This is the gist of *Bhakti Yoga*.

For this age of *Kali*, when *adharna* is evident, it is communion with God by Love, devotion and self-surrender as practised by the Rishi Narad that is most suitable. Faith is the essential foundation for spiritual advancement, combined with utter humility and self-surrender. Mahaprabhu Sri Chaitanya and a host of other Saints and Sages bear testimony to this fact. They have realised God by steadfast devotion and repetition of the Holy Name.

All Hindus, irrespective of caste, age or sex, are hereby asked to practice forthwith every day Nama Japa and Mantra Japa, with a view to completing a total of Ten Crores in a year. They should perform Bhajan (Divya Nama Sankirtan) in the company of other devotees as often as they can, especially on Holy Days and special occasions. This helps to promote *Satsang* (fellowship with the good). This is the supreme *Yagna* of this age of Kali. It is easy to practice and does not stand in the way of one's normal duties. You are also asked to cultivate the virtues as enjoined in the Scriptures, which latter you should reverently study for your enlightenment.

Those of you who are invested with the "*Yagnopavita*" should wear it always, and perform *Gayatri Japa* in the prescribed way. Success in *Bhakti Yoga* brings with it all the spiritual achievements that are attainable by the performance of the other and most arduous forms of *Yoga* which are difficult to practice with success at this particular age when the span of human life is short and every moment worries, distractions and temptations obstruct us, and the state of the body and mind of the average individual is very weak.

Be humbler than a blade of grass, more forbearing than a tree, give due honour to others, hankering after none for yourself. Let the exhortation in the Brihadaranya Upanishad, viz: "Lead me from untruth to Truth; from darkness to Light; and from death to Immortality!" inspire you and give you peace. Various are the ways in which God fulfils Himself: the Ganges water is not to be regarded as mere water, nor the dust of Sri Brindavan as mere dust, nor the *Mahuprasada* of Sri Jagannatha Deva (at Puri) as mere rice—indeed these three are the manifestations of the Supreme Being.

At Home & Abroad

Small beginnings

The state of War in south-eastern Asia, from where more than 90% of world's supply of rubber comes, has made the U.S. sit up and take notice. Four synthetic rubber plants are to be started, three of which will be run by the great tyre manufacturers, Goodyear, Goodrich and Firestone. When completed, these will have an annual capacity of a little more than four per cent of the 800,000 tons that the U.S. now uses annually. Another scheme is to start rubber plantations in Haiti, West Indies. In nine years, the trees there would start producing about 2% of the U.S. requirements. American newspapers have ridiculed these attempts as "baby steps toward self-sufficiency in rubber".

Even lovers are not exempt

Recently, a medical student from New York, Mr. Levon Avel Akopiantz, had his heart hopelessly swaddled in British red tape. He was back home from Lisbon aboard the *Excalibur*. During the long voyage westward he had spent his time writing a huge letter to his fiancée. The ship touched at Bermuda, West Indies and British customs officials came aboard and started nosing into everybody's belongings. Mr. Akopiantz very naturally firmly refused the British censors to read the effusions of his heart which were certainly not meant for their eyes. He abusively insisted that the British had no right to coerce a U.S. citizen to lay bare his heart for official inspection. but all the same he was jailed for obstructing officers in the discharge of their duties. Tried in a British Court at Hamilton, Bermuda's capital, Mr. Akopiantz pleaded guilty and was fined £ 10. Meanwhile, the censors had time to read his long letter.

Co-prosperity

The Japanese radio was expressing fellow-feeling and sympathy towards the Burmese people long before they made the air attack on Rangoon. On

the 23rd December, as a fore-taste of their co-prosperity, they let loose on Rangoon high explosive, incendiary and anti-personnel bombs. They deliberately machine gunned people lying on the grounds from the planes and the victims were mostly poor people. In Mergui district, they occupied the Bokpyin village for a short time and looted the place completely, leaving no food-stuff behind. The villagers were indiscriminately attacked, two were killed, and four cases of assaults on women are known. So much for the fable that the Japanese are well-disposed to non-Europeans.

Light from benighted Mexico

Mexico's solution of the formidable problem of sex in prisons is the custom of letting male prisoners have *visitas conjugales* (conjugal visits) from their wives. Fifty to sixty per cent of the prisoners use the privilege which is granted on Thursday or Sunday. Small separate rooms are provided for such visits. The visits can extend all night if desired. Women prisoners are denied this privilege and we are not told if Mexican feminists have yet taken up their cause. It is claimed that the practice has the effect of changing the entire behaviour of the convict, makes him more amenable to discipline and reduce homosexuality, the bugbear of thoughtful penologists. If the family is regarded as a fundamental social institution, such *visitas conjugales* are calculated to keep couples together and prevent break-up of marriages.

Physical fitness

U. S. Army officials are concerned over the fact that out of every 100 American men of draft age (21-35), forty are either unfit for military training or are capable of limited service only, one of the principal reasons for this being defective eyesight. Medical men are aware of the fact that more than half of all Americans suffer from faulty vision. Present day demands on eyesight

tend to increase eye troubles. Fine print, detailed work, too little light or too much exposure to the glare of artificial light cause eyestrain.

James Joseph (Gene) Tunney, director U. S. Navy's Physical Fitness Programme has waged a war against pot-bellies which he regards as one of mankind's most degrading afflictions. He is determined to eliminate it from the Navy and slenderize the men. He says sadly: "I dare say that 50 per cent of the officers and enlisted men cannot properly stand at attention."

Stock-taking

Napoleon succeeded in entering Moscow. Hitler did not and has to withdraw his troops along the whole front from the Black Sea to the Baltic. Thousands of Germans, the cream of Nazi regiments, are falling, buried in snow drifts, annihilated by the bravery of the Soviet Army and the guerrilla fighters, faced with Arctic cold and the terrible typhus. The battle of Russia has been the greatest battle ever fought in human history. It has destroyed the myth of Hitler's invincibility. The suggestion that the Germans are withdrawing according to plan until the coming of the spring is too naive to be believed. The treacherous Japanese attack against Pearl Harbour in Hawaii has succeeded in uniting the whole American people as nothing else ever could. There are no more isolationists or pacifists in America now. The whole country is being rapidly transformed into one vast armament factory.

A belated payment of dues

Up till the outbreak of the war in the Far East, the Press of Europe and America have been suggesting in various articles that Japan's greatest weakness was in her air pilots. It was said that the Japs were no good fliers and that they are, as a nation, short-sighted. Now we are told that it was all due to a cocky over-confidence, not based on facts. That one of America's cardinal mistakes about Japan has been the minimisation of the ability of her pilots, despite the visual lessons provided in the China War. That it was wrong to persist in the foolish belief that the Japanese pilots are myopic imbeciles incapable of executing the simplest manoeuvres with the rule book in one hand. Now, Allied airmen of experience are willing to concede that Japanese pilots are among the best, that their small stature, light weight and habit of floor-squatting enable them to sit in cramped cockpits for many hours without tiring. Anyone studying the topography of Japan, which is nine-tenths mountains and the rest a sodden patchwork of paddy fields, will appreciate the ability of pilots who have to land and take off in such country. The quick work in sinking two British battle-ships is enough testimony for the marksmanship of Japanese airmen.

Known to Milton

Reuter's message that the Japanese have carried out an air attack on the island of Ternate reminds one that this

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Of Local Interest

small island in the Moluccas group was immortalized by Milton in Paradise Lost :

"Or by the isles of Ternate and Tidore

Whence merchants bring their spicy drugs".

In 1557, Sir Francis Drake set out for the River Plate (Rio de la Plata) on a buccaneering expedition, made his way through the Straits of Magellan, sailed through the East Indies, touched at Ternate and Tidore in the Moluccas Group and finally round the Cape of Good Hope before reaching England and completing the circumnavigation of the globe. Milton must have read an account of Drake's voyage before he wrote the Paradise Lost in 1658.

Two other names of frequent occurrence in newspapers to-day are also to be found in Paradise Lost :

"Barca and Cyrene's torrid soil".

Stalin's Son

Sometime ago, the Germans announced that Panzer forces, under General Rudolf Schmidt had, in the course of fighting the Fourteenth Howitzer Artillery Regiment of the Fourteenth Soviet Mechanized Division, captured Jacob, son of Josef Stalin. They were very proud of the fact and issued pictures of the heir of Stalin.

It appears that the boy was never much. He is just another example of the well-known fact that very eminent people often get worthless sons. The boy's mother died of tuberculosis when he was a baby. His father Djughashvili (later Stalin) used to try to toughen up little Jacob's lungs by blowing pipe smoke in his face. As a result of this Jacob took up smoking before he was quite ten, and his father did not like it. Stalin tried to make an engineer of Jacob, but Jacob was a lazy fellow. He would not study at the technical school. Stalin said "If you do not want to be an engineer, be a cobbler"—and packed Jacob off to an obscure corner of Georgia, where Stalin's own father had been a cobbler.

From then on Jacob Djughashvili was nobody. No

Much has already been said in the local Press about the test blackouts in Patna. Many prominent citizens of the town confessed that although the blackouts had been remarkably successful the inconveniences that the public had to suffer was also out of proportion. Some have frankly opined that no more blackouts are necessary in Patna, at least, so long as the enemy does not reach the borders of Bengal (a remote possibility really). Others again have grumbled over the possibility of more blackouts in the near future and have expressed their opinion that if there are blackouts at all they should not be more frequent than is absolutely necessary. It has been urged in the editorial columns of this journal that "if the idea is to accustom people to blackout regulations, the object would be served by having one such day of blackout per week...his would not cause unnecessary dislocation of civil life and the people would be always prepared for a continuous blackout, if necessary, at any time." It was also suggested in the same editorial that such blackouts should last only for 2 hours (from 7 p. m. to 9 p.m.). There should not be any difficulty if the blackout is of 2 hours' duration. I remember that actually the first blackout in Calcutta was observed for two hours only. Even now Calcutta (which is much more vulnerable than Patna) is not having the type of blackout that was observed in Patna. Although the Press and the public of this province have frankly expressed their views on the blackouts, the authorities have so far maintained a sphinx-like silence. It is perhaps

one in Moscow ever met him. It was said that he ran off with a poor seamstress...he was working in a factory...he was not doing well at the Commissariat for Heavy Industry. Finally he disappeared into the army.

Reader

useless to point out that the authorities will gain little by keeping mum. The sooner they let the public know about their intentions the better for all concerned. The public must at least know where they stand and make arrangements or prepare themselves accordingly.

The blackout is simply a precautionary measure against possible air raids during the night. But what precautions have been taken so far against air raids in day time? If actually there is an air raid the people of the province will not be able to distinguish between the fighters of friends and the bombers of the foes. Such is the situation. Only on the 26th of January last an audibility test of the air raid siren in the Calcutta industrial area was carried out. The object of the test was to find out whether the warning signal was properly audible throughout all parts of the Calcutta industrial area or not,

and to enable the civil defence authorities to remedy defects in their system as might be necessary. The warning signal was followed after an interval of a few minutes by the "raiders passed" signal. In the A.R.P. leaflets that we receive occasionally we are advised as to what we should do *in case of and during* air raids. But nothing whatsoever is said about the air raid signals themselves. If the siren that one sees in the Patna Junction Station in all that our A.R.P. authorities have got to warn the Patna people of air raids then the future seems none too hopeful. It is time that audibility tests of air raid signals (Sirens or any other means) are carried out in Patna instead of farcical test blackouts. Much will depend upon the air raid sirens and their audibility if the enemy planes take a fancy to Patna and choose to drop a few bombs here and there-

I have become tired of hearing constant complaints about the abnormal rise in the price of commodities. Very little attention

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of ordinary commodities of everyday necessity. The complaints of the poorer section of the people is all the more painful because in their case mostly the price of foodstuffs is of vital importance. A local contemporary reports that "comparatively less attention is being paid to the question of price control in Bakerganj and adjoining mahallas. This area falls within the jurisdiction of the Patna City subdivision and hence its distance from subdivisional headquarters has proved to be a handicap." The "staff reporter" of our local contemporary is perhaps more concerned with price control in the mohalla in which he lives, but so far as my knowledge goes, the same condition is prevailing nearly in every part of the town. The abnormal situation due to the war is making the problem of price control more and more acute. The price control authorities unfortunately have not shown any sign of tackling the problem properly. All that they have done and are doing is to publish occasionally lists fixing the prices of certain commodities. Very little attention indeed is paid towards the enforcement of the very same prices. Otherwise how can we account for the high prices of essential commodities in spite of those price lists? I have before me a copy of a statement showing the wholesale rates per standard maund of certain essential commodities ruling in selected markets of Bihar on the 14th of January 1942. The prevailing prices in Patna of Mustard oil, Rahar Dal and Masur Dal, for instance, is given in the statement to be Rs. 13/4/-, Rs. 4/12/- and Rs. 4/12/- respectively. Now, anybody who has to do his own marketing knows that Mustard oil for the last few weeks is selling at 7 to 8 annas per seer, which comes to about Rs. 17/8/- per maund. Rahar Dal and Masur Dal are also selling at 3 annas per seer (Rs. 8/8/- per maund) and 10 pice per seer (Rs. 6/4/- per maund), and not at Rs. 4/12/- (both Rahar and Masur Dal) per maund as mentioned in the

statement. But what is the use of pointing these out to the price control authorities? Have not they fixed the price of the sheet of paper itself on which the statement of prices is printed at 6 annas per copy!

x x x

Calcutta's position having become insecure many Bengalees of Bengal have shifted their families to Bihar. In fact every important town of Bihar is now full of Calcutta evacuees. The exodus of evacuees has not ceased even now. Apart from the question of accommodation—which, fortunately, has not yet proved so great an obstacle as was imagined—another problem has arisen about the sons and daughters of these evacuees. The problem is about the education of the young evacuees who have been forced by circumstances to evacuate from Calcutta to Bihar. The number of seats in the schools and colleges in Bihar is already limited. Even domiciled Bengali boys and girls find difficulty in getting admission in the schools and colleges of this province. There is again the quota system in government colleges (this system has even been introduced, I am told, in many private educational institutions). The difficulties of the boys and girls who have come from Bengal to prosecute their studies in educational institutions of this province can therefore be well imagined. The number of schools in Bihar where Bengali is the medium of instruction unfortunately is very few. The number of colleges also is not sufficient to accommodate the ever increasing number of students desiring to prosecute higher studies. The sooner a good many number of colleges are started in the important towns of Bihar the better. But one cannot wait till the new colleges are started. A way has got to be found out for accommodating the Bengali students who have come here and are desirous to prosecute further studies. The Patna University should find out some means to help these boys and girls in the matter of their education. Nearly all the great men of Bihar are products of the

Calcutta University. I hope that they will come forward to help the young evacuees of Bengal in this matter. Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha no doubt is frankly hostile towards the Bengalees living in Bihar but in spite of all his faults his hospitality towards men belonging to other provinces is well-known. Certainly he has no grudge against the Bengalees of Bengal who have come to Bihar and are now in distress. If the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University takes it into his head to do the needful in this regard, I have every confidence that he will be able to do a lot to solve this particular problem. The Bihar Government also have a

duty to perform towards these evacuees. The authorities should spare no pains to make arrangements for allowing the student evacuees to continue their studies in the educational institutions of this province. They can for instance, raise the number of seats in the schools and colleges even at the cost of minor inconveniences and abolish the quota system and the question of domicile at least for the duration of the war. *

Autochthon

* All the above can very well, and do apply to the non-Bengalee evacuees as well.—
Ed. B. H.

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Sd. H. Wheeler.

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BENGALEE ASSOCIATION MEETING

The annual general meeting of the Patna Branch of the Bengalee Association, Bihar, was held at the Suhrid Parishad Hall, Langartoli, on the 1st of February 1942 at 5 p. m. (B. T.). The attendance was large and many respectable Bengalees of the town were present.

After the reading of the Secretary's report for the year under review (1941) a message from Mr. P. R. Das, President, Provincial Bengalee Association, who was unavoidably absent from the town, was also read out by the Honorary Secretary. The following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

That the Bihar Government be approached to make arrangements for the teaching of Bengali as a principal subject in the I.A., B.A., M.A. classes of Government and Aided Colleges of Bihar; that the members of the Patna Association be requested to render all possible help to the evacuees from Burma and Bengal, who have come to Patna on account of the recent war situation; that funds permitting the Patna Branch Bengalee Association do start a Homeopathic Charitable dispensary somewhere on the main road for the benefit of the public in general; that a representation be made to the authorities of the Patna University pointing out the handicap of Bengali teachers in securing appointment in any school in the province because according to rules no teacher can be permanently appointed unless he has passed the vernacular paper in Hindi or Urdu of Matriculation Examination,—on the other hand, no one is permitted to appear in this paper by the University unless he is on the teaching staff of a school,—in actual practice this has come to mean that no one is able to get a job, permanent or temporary in any school because he has not passed in the vernacular papers, and he is not a member

of the staff of any school; that the Central Association be moved to expedite the matter of raising the T. K. Ghose Academy, Patna, into an Intermediate Arts and Science College.

National's Progress

We are glad to learn that National Insurance Company Limited has completed a total business exceeding Rs. 1,66,00,000 in the year 1941.

REVIEWS

Rabindra Kavye Trayi Parikalpana: By Sri Sarasilal Sarkar. First Edition, Price Re. 1/-.

This monograph is an attempt to analyse the subconscious yearning of the poet for 'Santam Sivamadvaitam' revealed, according to the writer, through the symbol of a triple pattern of rhythm, music and movement following in succession. We feel Rabindranath's poetry eludes such a cut and dried, ready formula. The yearning for the infinite, incapable of expression through language, would hardly be conveyed to the reader through the medium of a formula. After all, what really matters is feeling, and not merely understanding poetry, and we believe, there is no short-cut to emotional appreciation.

The scientific treatment of the subject has not impaired the literary flavour of the style which reveals a quality of crystal clearness, rare in Bengali critical literature.

S. K. G.

Insurance Vade Mecum, 1941-42. Edited by S. L. Tali and published by the Insurance Publicity Company, Lahore. Price Rs. 3/- (cloth bound). We have just received the 16th issue of this authoritative and impartial publication which fully lives up to its reputation second to none. In fact the book contains information concerning life Assurance in India

which cannot be had in one single book of reference.

The current edition covers over 420 pages and is also a combined issue of the Vade-Mecum and Directory of life offices. It contains the premium rates (with and without profit) of the companies—Indian and non-Indian working in India, upto date summary of revenue accounts and balance sheets (up to 31st Dec. 41), summary of Valuation reports, a Table of expense ratios, height & weight charts and various other educative charts concerning the Insurer, Assured and the Agents and also the provisions of the Insurance Act amended up-to-date.

A new chapter giving a list of the Insurance Societies and Associations in India has also been added.

In short, this book which is a store house of information is an indispensable guide to all who are interested in Insurance.

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**INDEPENDENCE DAY :
OBSERVANCE OR
CELEBRATION**

(Continued from page 1)
we Indians break our shackles and attain our rightful place in the comity of nations. If we can create this mentality freedom will drop from the heavens.

Symbol must be all-embracing

But if we have a symbol in the Independence pledge to express our determination for freedom it must be like a symbol, pithy, short, and able enough to leave an impression in the mind for some time at least. It must be straight and simple enough to be caught by the popular masses. When it is a long drawn out thesis, as it is at present, everyone hears and repeats it all right but it leaves no impression whatsoever and soon, like public speeches, it is forgotten. The mind is lost in its details and the real objective is missed. A pledge should as such be nothing but a slightly enlarged formula of a slogan. There is one further great disadvantage when it is a long essay. It has to be repeated in disjointed parts and that deprives it of all its remaining effect that it might have otherwise. If it is made brief it can be easily managed and can be repeated in whole which is very necessary if at all it is meant to make any impression. And then it is more or less a vow. A vow is always couched in a few words and sentences.

There is another aspect of the matter. Independence is an objective which is dear to every Indian heart irrespective of caste, creed, community and party. The Independence pledge must, therefore, be purged of controversial issues. It is well-known how the introduction of such issues has led to bickerings and troubles and consequent embitterment of party relations. One may not believe in the theories of a particular organisation and may not like to act on them. But why desist, the man from taking the pledge of inde-

pendence if at the same time he wants to dedicate himself for it, by associating particular theories and fads with the pledge? Freedom is a national cause desired by the entire population of the country. Why not make way for everyone to take a vow for it? But that cannot be possible unless the pledge is purged of all controversies.

There is no doubt that the Congress marked out January 26 as the Independence Day. But it must not now be confined to Congressmen alone. The whole nation should claim this as the Red-letter day of its history. It is necessary that for this universal acceptance the Day should be observed in a way that can suit all communities. After all the Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsis, Sikhs are all expected to participate in its observance. That has no doubt been the effort but I was surprised to find the other day at Patna on the Independence Day that the functions that were gone through were out and out Hindu in character. The Hindi version of the pledge also had been couched in such difficult Sanskritised terms that what to speak of Muslims even the Hindus of elementary education could hardly follow it. If the Muslim League should dub the Congress as a Hindu organisation in such a case, I thought, it would be wholly justified. If the Congress should claim that it belongs to all communities as it does it, must keep in view the interests of all of them and conduct its affairs that must suit everyone alike. If it cannot, let it confess and not mince matters.

These are my reactions. The Independence Day is a landmark in the life of our nation. If we want to keep India one undivided whole we have to guard against the cropping up of so many Independence Days, as there are so many political organisations. In that way January 26 will lose all its national importance. We have to maintain its honour.

PAPER SHORTAGE

The editor 'Indian Printer & Stationer' in his letter dated the 26th Jan. to the Honorable Education Member, Viceroy's Council, New Delhi, states:—

"The paper problem in India is a most serious one; there are about 260,000 educational institutions with scholars well over 14,000,000, mostly of middle and low class parents. The requirements in paper for institutions even at strict economy would be very large. In spite of the Government control order of prices of paper made in India just issued, the Institutions and scholars would hardly get relief unless the papers produced by paper mills in India are taken under direct control of the Government, to be provided first for the Government and defence services requirements and then priority in supply to be given to the educational requirements; of course the supply is to be regulated under Government supervision.

"The prices of text books, exercise note books and other schools-world barest necessities are now exorbitantly high, requiring immediate effective steps by the Government. It will be a great help to the students if paper is made available to them through their co-operative societies or through public relief committees which undertake to produce exercise note books etc for supply at cost price to them. The paper Mills would be rendering their duty if they help educational institutions by giving them facilities in supply of paper as they flourish under the Protective Tariff." (We understand from m/s Ramnarain Badridas, the local agents for m/s Titaghar Paper mills that they have already introduced such a scheme —Ed. B. H.)

THE PAGEANT OF INDIAN POLITICS

(Continued from page 16)
demand has been put before them. The refusal by the British Government of Burma's demand for Dominion Status though there is no communal problem in that country, does not encourage us to hope that a demand based on an agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League will be promptly conceded by the British Government.

On one point a degree of unanimity has recently been noticed not only among Congress leaders of all groups but also among leaders of different political parties. Congress leaders including Mr. Rajagopalachariar, have been emphasising the importance of constructive work. The Congress Committees are being reorganised and a Congress volunteer organisation being formed to help the people in various ways in the critical days that lie ahead. The Congress volunteer organisation is to be independent of the Civil Defence organisation that is being promoted by the Government. Congress leaders are also emphasising the duty of the people to be self-sufficient to the maximum extent possible. This is good work no doubt. But Congressmen, even according to Mahatma Gandhi, have so little to their credit in respect of "constructive work" that one does not feel quite hopeful about the result of their latest drive.

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GENERAL DE GAULLE

Charles Andre Joseph Marie de Gaulle is 6 feet 4 inches tall. He was wounded three times in World War I and escaped from the enemy five times, only to be recaptured each time. After the War he was Professor of Military History at St. Cyr. He wrote two prophetic books: "The philosophy of command" and "The army of the future" in which he explained how the defensive psychology of the Maginot Line will defeat France. Petain laughed off the books as collections of witticisms. Weygand intensely disliked them, but the Germans learned from them.

When the Germans broke through Sedan, De Gaulle was made a general. He held up the Germans for four days at Laon and fought fiercely at Abbeville. De Gaulle tried to persuade Premier Reynaud to continue the war against the arguments of Weygand and Petain for armistice. He flew to London to tell Churchill that France would see it through. Weygand refused to shake hands with him when he returned. When Weygand resigned in favour of Petain, De Gaulle flew to London.

In World War II, De Gaulle was commander of the 507th regiment drawn from Lorraine. The two-barred cross of Lorraine was a part of their badge. Seeking an emblem for Free France he chose this cross of Lorraine with the motto, Honneur, Patrie. His supporters include Socialists, Monarchists and Republicans. It is no easy thing to be a Free Frenchman. Most of the leaders have been condemned to death *in absentia*. Smaller fry, if caught, will get 15 years hard labour. Most of the Free French have their families living in France. His followers have all braved dangers to escape from France and join him in England. Italian, German and Vichy aeroplanes have been stolen for their flight. De Gaullists also slip into France at every opportunity and are sure of getting a night's rest and a meal or whatever help they need to go on about the business of organizing sympathizers for an eventual uprising. No one in France thinks of betraying them.

THROUGH AMERICAN EYES

Commenting on the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council, the American magazine *Time* said: "Indian nationalist politicians screamed at the portfolioists, pointed out that while Indians have a majority in the Council, the key portfolios—Finance, Defence, External affairs and Home—are all held by British officials. Purred Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi for the Indian National Congress: "The announcement does not affect the stand taken by the Congress nor does it meet the Congress demands." "Mr. M. A. Jinnah, who is even thinner than Saint Gandhi, threatened disciplinary action against those who have anything to do with the Council.

"The British *Raj* sighed and announced that Dr. Satyapal, hitherto a vehement nationalist, resigned from Saint Gandhi's Congress and volunteered to tend British wounded.

"In spite of political non-cooperation, the Indian war effort has been considerable, should become still more so. An army of half a million has been raised, not counting 60,000 Indian troops already serving in the Middle East and at Singapore, and half-a-million more men will be added. The Indian Air Force is training fliers at Risalpur, mechanics at Ambala.

"India now manufactures rifles, machine guns, small arms, artillery, propellers, blankets, military clothing, boots, rubber tyres, railway equipment—some 20,000 separate items of war tackle. She also produces steel and coal, aviation and motor spirit, lubricating oils and lumber, has supplied Britain with 700 million jute bags. A Bombay aircraft factory is expected to start turning out bombers and fighters soon.

"A new 22 million rupee corporation is being formed which will build a factory at Bangalore to produce 15,000 cars and trucks a year. Technical advice will come from Chrysler Corporation. India is enjoying a war boom, and the sight of an untouchable smoking a big cigar and wearing a silk shirt is perhaps no dream of the far future."

THE METROPOLITAN

The Metropolitan Insurance Company Limited, Calcutta, was incorporated on 1st May, 1930, and the period comprised in their last valuation is the second quinquennium of its existence. It is a matter of congratulation that the Company has not only maintained its progress as shown previously but has considerably improved upon it. The progress of the business is shown in the statement given below:—

On 31st March, 1935... Number of Policies 7,299; Sum Assured Rs. 1,17,29,499, Office yearly premium Rs. 5,86,845; Life Assurance Fund Rs. 2,77,152; on 31st December, 1939... Number of Policies 17,437; Sum Assured 2,38,65,113 Office yearly premium 11,44,688; Life Assurance Fund 17,81,051.

After allowing 90% of the first year's premium and 7½% of the Single premium as cost of new business the ratio of expenses of management, including commission, to renewal premium income is gradually diminishing as shown hereunder:—

Year ending	Expenses
31st March, 1936 ...	38.7%
" " 1937 ...	37.6%
" " 1938 ...	33.8%
" " 1939 ...	31.2%
31st Dec., 1939 ...	21.7%

Compared with the position at the end of the last valuation, the ratio of renewal expenses to premium income has considerably been reduced as shown below:—As on 31st March, 1935...47.6%; as on 31st December, 1939...21.7%. This shows substantial progress during a period of barely five years.

The average rate of interest earned by the Company in each year during the period is as follows:—

Year ending	On Mean Life Assurance Fund
31st March, 1936 ...	5.0%
" " 1937 ...	5.0%
" " 1938 ...	5.1%
" " 1939 ...	4.6%
31st Dec., 1939 ...	4.8%

From the above figures it is

evident that the Company has been able to earn a fair rate of interest even at the present depressed market which goes to the credit of the investment policy of the Company.

The basis adopted in the valuation is as follows:—

Mortality:—Om (5) Table with five years addition to age.

Interest:—Interest assumed 4% per annum.

Loading:—Reserve for with profit policies is about 20.4%

Reserve for without profit policies—13.1%

The result shows a surplus of Rs. 2,93,216/-

In view of the abnormal International situation and according to the advice of the Superintendent of Insurance, Government of India, the Directors decided to carry forward the surplus as stated above unappropriated and an interim bonus at the following rates have been declared.

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The Pageant of Indian Politics

The Congress Wants To Defend India

By Monitor

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar dominates the political stage in India. Since the Wardha meeting of the All India Congress Committee he has been engaged in addressing public meetings and explaining the Congress attitude. Though his audience in all cases consisted of Indians, his speeches were addressed to the British Government to whom he made repeated appeals to handover the reins of administration to the Indian people. He was questioned at one of the meetings by one who was evidently intrigued by the fact of the appeals to the British Government being made at public meetings of Indians. Mr. Rajagopalachariar's reply was,—Nations do not speak with one another in that way; they speak through the meetings of their respective nationals. Evidently Mr. Rajagopalachariar is convinced that he can bring about a change in the attitude of the British Government by means of perfectly constitutional agitation in India.

In all his speeches Mr. Rajagopalachariar is striking a note different from that struck so far by the Congress leaders. The point that at once strikes the observer is that he is acutely conscious of the war, specially the Far Eastern War and interprets it as a danger to India. He alone among Congress leaders has been urging that the danger is of India and of the Indian people and they cannot shirk their responsibility for the defence of the country. Do not, he is saying in effect, think that it is a war between your Government and the Japanese and you have no duty in this matter except to wait and watch. Such mentality, he has said, was betrayed by Indians in the past when successive conquerors invaded this country. The result of the unintelligent apathy was that India successively fell prey to foreign conquerors. The present war, he is urging, is one

which Indians should think as their own and should get ready accordingly to defend their country. The other point in his speeches is that the British Government have a definite liability in respect of the defence of India which they should not shirk now, but for due discharge of which they should trust the Indian people, hand over the government of the country to them and genuinely entrust them with the duty of defending their country.

So far as the first point is concerned, it should at once be admitted that Mr. Rajagopalachariar has been the first among the foremost Congress leaders who has emphasised it with refreshing candour. His speeches and utterances may go a long way towards enabling the people to shake off the apathy generated by the pursuit for a long time of a policy which for all practical purposes led people to think that the war really was an imperialist war in which Indians were not required by the Congress to take any active interest. All the same, it will readily be seen that there is no striking originality in this view. That Indians must defend India has been like a truism to all political leaders. Its recognition has been implied in the demand voiced by all parties that the Defence portfolio must be handed over to Indians. Except in recent official *communiqués* announcing the arrests of certain political leaders, we have known of the existence of no individual what to speak of political parties, who would welcome any Axis power if it invaded India. Mahatma Gandhi, of course, is opposed to any armed resistance being given even to an armed invader. But not even he would advise anybody tamely to surrender to an invader. Gandhiji, indeed, is already asking people to get ready to non-co-operate with

the invading power if it even occupied India. His prescription is that people should grow enough food and spin enough yarn for their clothes so that they may maintain the independence of their life even after the occupation of their country by another conquering power. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru also has been emphasising that Indians should give no quarters to the Japanese even if they succeeded in occupying this country. The Liberals, Royists and Communists are, of course, all for co-operation with the British Government for the defence of India.

As to, therefore, the responsibility and the duty of the Indian people to defend their own country, there is no difference of opinion. But the difficulty is that Indians cannot discharge this particular duty of theirs if the necessary trust is not reposed in them by the British Government and necessary facilities given them actively to defend the country. The first part of Mr. Rajagopalachariar's campaign is therefore dependent on the fulfilment of the demand on the British Government contained in the second part of his speeches. As to that, no indication is yet available. Mr. Churchill, it was announced a few days ago, would be making a reply to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and others who made a representation to him some time ago. The reply it was stated further, would be given in a form which it might be possible to make public. The promised reply, however, has not yet been given. But that it will contain nothing to conciliate political India, may be inferred from the fact that Mr. Churchill has already given expression to the view that the present is no opportune time to undertake a revision of the Indian constitution. If that is the attitude of the British Government and it remains so all throughout the war, it is not quite clear to me what part the Congress can play even under the leadership of Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar. Whatever one may think of Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy

of non-violence, this much must be said that he has a complete programme to meet the eventuality even of a conquest of India by the Japanese forces. He would not ask people to offer violent resistance to the invader; but he has asked people to non-co-operate with them and get ready for that by becoming self-sufficient in the mean time by means of agriculture and rural industries. One may doubt the philosophy and the effectivity of this programme; but one cannot deny that is a programme comprehensive enough to cover all eventualities. But Mr. Rajagopalachariar's programme is different. It leaves the initiative in the other party's hand and therefore gives no real work to the people except to the extent he borrows from the programme of Mahatma Gandhi.

In one respect Mr. Rajagopalachariar's propaganda is tending to become mischievous. In more than one of his speeches he has approvingly referred to the Muslim League's policy of non-co-operation. On one occasion, in arguing the case for Indian freedom he, in effect, bracketed the Muslim League with the Congress and Mr. Jinnah with Mahatma Gandhi for proving that both Hindus and Muslims were at present non-cooperating with the Government. Propaganda on this line has been rightly taken exception to in a section of the Indian Press because by indulging in such remarks he has given Mr. Jinnah exactly the same recognition which Mr. Jinnah has been almost dying for. Mr. Rajagopalachariar's object perhaps is to woo Mr. Jinnah to the support of the Congress demand and thus present the British Government with the "Agreement" they have been demanding. The object is laudable, but one cannot be sure that Mr. Jinnah will respond to the appeal. Even if he does, the price paid will be too heavy. Besides, there is no guarantee that the British Government will give freedom to India as soon as an agreed

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