"We must break through the provincial crust if we are to reach the core of all-India Nationalism."

MAHATMA GANDHI

THE

# BEHARIERALD

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NEW SERIES Vol. III. No. 38

THE PART HER SHOWER IN

PATNA, TUESDAY, JULY 1, 1941.

TWO ANNAS

THE

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### Local Notes

By Autochthon.

The Government resolution on the working of union boards and panchayats in Bihar during 1938-39 provides interesting study. The working of the union boards was not marked by any indication of real progress during the said term. of district "The Executives boards and their members," so runs the Government resolution, "displayed the usual lack of interest in the affairs of union boards." And as was expected, the maladministration large number of union boards was due to party factions and dissensions and want of cooperation and harmony among the executives and members. The Government resolution is disheartening to the extreme. But there can be no hope of satisfactory working of union boards, district boards, corporations or such other bodies so long as public spirited men are not put in charge of these institutions. In most cases the men who are elected members of these bodies are men who have no other end in view except to further selfish interests of their own. They care little for the well being of the public. The question can very well be put: why are these men as their sent by the voters Well, the representatives? can say is only thing that I that the voters are equally foolish and as such they deserve the treatment meted out to them by their representatives in the boards. Public welfare is not considered the only criterion in these cases, catchy political slogans are the only things that count. Hence this anomaly. So long as the public fail to realise that the programmes of the different political parties have very little to do with the better working of these public bodies . the same sickening old tale will be told every year.

The Eastern India National Propaganda Con-Language ference was held the other day at Calcutta. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Chairman of the Reception Committee, an ardent admirer of Hindi, while

that he regarded admitting Hindi as a unique symbol of Pan-Indian Unity and the only language which is the defacto national language of India, referred to the "move of the Congress Government of Bihar or its officials against Bengali". He appealed to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Conference, "to exert his intluence in his own province to stop this drive against the mother tongue of an important section of its provincials as such a state of things cannot but be prejudicial to the cause of Indian unity and of Hindi." No one knows better than the Biharis of Bengali-speaking Bihar how difficult it has become nowadays to educate daughters their sons and through their mother tongue. Those who have even the least regard for truth cannot deny that a deliberate policy is being carried on for years by some persons in power to oust Bengali in favour of Hindi. Neither is Dr. Prasad quite ignorant about this move. Some of the Congress stalwarts of this province are the most enthusiastic and active supporters of this crusade against Bengali. It is this anti-Bengali attitude of the supporters of Hindi in this province that has prejudiced the Bengalees of Bengal and the Bengali-speaking Biharis of Bihar against Hindi. Dr. Prasad asserted in his presidential address that Hindi, the national language, did by no means stand as a rival to any provincial But curiously language. enough he did not answer the charges of Dr. Chatterji: neither, could he give any assurance that the cause of Hindi will not be furthered any more in his province at the cost of Bengali.

> X X

The editor has forwarded to me a number of letters addressed to him in which

complaints have been made that the authorities of Colleges Government following are Patna the procedure in arbitrary matter of admission. No considerations, it is alleged, are being made for the students who have passed from the college. This seems same specially to be the case with the Patna College authorities. Students who have passed the intermediate examination with geography as one of their subjects and who desire to take the same subject in their B. A. classes have been refused admission. Geography is a subject which is not taught in the B. A. stage in any other college of Bihar. It is therefore, the duty of the Patna College authorities to accommodate some how those students who have passed I. A. with Geography and who desire to continue to study the same subject in the B. A. stage.

The other complaint is that many deserving students are being refused admission on the ground that seats have been limited by order of the provincial Government. The attitude of the Government seems to make no sense. Perhaps the only good thing that the Congress Ministry had done was to increase the number of seats in the Government Colleges. We would like to know the grounds for which the Government have taken such a step. Does the Government want to discourage higher education?

> X X X

I have before me a copy of a statement published in the local papers showing the wholesale price per standard maund of certain essential commodities ruling in selected markets of Bihar on the 4th June, 1941. After a careful perusal of this statement I am convinced that if this statement

cheated en masse by those who are selling these commodities. Let me explain. Coarse rice is being sold at Rs. 4-6 per maund in Purnea. And this is the lowest price. But those who have to do their own marketing know it that even the coarsest possible rice is not available at more than seven seers per rupee. That comes to maund. We about Rs. 6 per about much hearing price control these days and unofficial notes giving price lists . are being published at regular intervals. But the duty of the government cannot finish with the publishing of the price lists only. It is for them also to check the profiteers who are making money at the cost of the public. The public are already paying enough premium for the war, it is time that the profiteers are brought to book.

X

While dwelling on this subject, I am reminded of the salaries of the lecturers of the private colleges of Bihar. With the spread of higher education a number of private collehave sprung up in Bihar during the last two or three years. The Government, I understand, made it a rule that a minimum salary of rupees hundred per month must be paid to the lecturers. But it has reached my ears that what is actually being done in some of these new private colleges is . that the lecturers (or professors, whatever you choose to call them ) are paid a much lower salary and are forced to sign receipts for Rs. 100. This is a serious matter which needs immediate action. The authorities should at once start an enquiry and ascertain the truth and see that the poor lecturers is correct the public are being are paid their proper dues.

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#### From Madura to Calcutta

From Madura to Calcutta. What a heroic march have we not witnessed of the battalions of the Hindu Mahasabha! Direct action-that was what the Mahasabha decided at Madura, a dire fight to the finish with the British Government in order to secure the independence of Hindusthan. At Calcutta the stalwarts of the Mahasabha laid down their in the uncontrolable flush of victory and in the midst of the celebration of it. What a fight did they . not fight! Shivaji, who lives on the lips of these heroes, must have blushed crimson at the sight of these stalwarts fighting the Congress, the Muslim League and the British Government all at a dire weapons, with disastrous fatal courage and consequences for the enemy. As for the modern Generals like Keitel and Brauschitsh who have won all Europe for Hitler, they turned mouse and escaped under the skirts of their womenfolk as Veer Savarkar, Dr. Moonje and Dr. Syama Prasad proceeded from Mookerjee Madura to Calcutta emitting death and destruction from their looks and laying down the foundation of Hindudom in this country. What a terrible battle it was! The Congress was beaten hollow, the Muslim League was laid low on the ground and the British Government was burnt to ashes and scattered with the four winds to the four distant corners of the earth. As for Pakisthan, the stalwarts of the Mahasabha pierced it through with ten thousand spears and laid it down to the earth. Feel it with your hand if you like and you will find it dead as mutton. It was a triumphal march indeed from Madura to Calcutta of the Hindu Mahasabhites and they had every right to celebrate the end of it at Calcutta by burying the very idea of fight itself.

Going Backward

Who says that Hindus are no fighting people? It is a black lie and lie has been given direct to it by the stalwarts who claim the exclusive right to

## Through The X'Ray

By Politicus

speak for the Hindu community of India. Scan the address delivered by Veer Savarkar at the opening of the Calcutta meeting of the All-India Hindu Committee of the Mahasabha and you will be surprised notice how to thoroughly Mr. Savarkar has assimilated the latest techniques of the war. You know what a place of honour the term withdrawal' has come to in a dialectical duel and when in the vocabulary of occupy modern warfare. In Dunkirk the mighty British forces were on the point of annihilation at the hands of the barbarous Huns and the British forces beat a hasty retreat. That was a glorious withdrawal in the interest of the men and generals concerned, of the British Empire and of the war. It was a brilliant strategy, said the military commentators within the hearing of the world and the strategy was persisted in Greece and in Crete with even greater brilliance and, I believe to the greater advantage of the British Empire. This retreat as a means of advance is the latest of the military inventions which has yet to be perfected even in Europe. But in India the generals of the Mahasabha have already mastered it to perfection. Listen to what Veer Savarkar said at Calcutta. "If by going backward", he is reported to have said, "their aim was served, at that time going backward was the bravest act possible". So the Hindu Mahasabha has done the "bravest act" by going backward to the extent of abandoning the fight. Verily. it is a capital military attainment of which the Mahasabha may justly be proud and on which its Generalissimo, Veer Savarkar deserves to be awarded the highest honour in the gift of the Hindudom of his creation.

#### Wonderful Victory

Brave people—these stal-

. .

warts of the Hindu Mahasabha. They know no defeat, nobody defeat them. Who, can indeed, can defeat one who would acknowledge no defeat under circumstances? any Going through the proceedings of the Calcutta meeting I am reminded of that indefatigable Pandit of the anecdote who promised all his possessions to anyone who might defeat he rebuked by his infuriated wife for making such a foolish promise, quietly led her by the arm to a corner and told her with a broad smile, "Why worry, my dear? Who can defeat me if I do not acknowledge defeat?" Go through the proceedings of the Calcutta meeting and you will meet that Pandit in almost every paragraph of the report. The Viceroy's reply Mr. Savarkar might have contained nothing but kicks for the Mahasabha and its demands, but the booted foot was hugged with delight as Srikrishna the hugged foot Bhrigu. Why object to kicks if each one raises us higher and higher as the foot-ball is raised by the kicks of the players? - so argued the heroes who scanned every line of the Viceregal and American pronouncements to fish out arguments in support of their heroic resolve to turn their backs. After all, we made no demand and gave no threat, said one of them who shook his wise head, made wiser still by the defeat he had to sustain at the last provincial general elections at the hands of an unimportant Congress candidate. He was roared down by the son of the Bengal Tiger, I mean Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, who asserted and asserted vehemently that they had made a demand which had been turned down. All the same, he added, let us turn our backs and thereby will be demonstrated the victory we have won. Wonderful logic,

and wonderful heroism. Surely,

who can defeat the hero who would acknowledge no defeat?

#### Heroism Indeed!

Before my mind's eye I see the procession of the heroes of the Hindu Mahasabha marching to occupy the throne of the Hindudom 'trailing clouds of glory as the poet has said. I understand that the leaders of this body, after taking the heroic resolve at Calcutta, will shortly be going out touring in the countryside telling all and sundry that they have driven out, bag and baggage, Lord Linlithgow, Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah with all their followers and that Hindudom has come firmly to be established with Veer Savarkar as its Fuehrer. Hindu youths have now simply to slip themselves into the uniforms of the British Army of occupation in India and let themselves be killed by the German bombs under the behest of the British Generals and what remains of Hinduraj will drop imperceptibly from the kindly hands of Mr. Amery in the Whitehall. One must go back to the age of Brojolila to find a parallel to the bravery which the stalwarts of the Mahasabha have shown. They wanted the British Government to repudiate Pakisthan,—they have failed to obtain such repudiation. They wanted Mr. Jinnah to eat the humble pie that he has not been made to do. They wanted to steal the thunder from the Congress-they have not ventured even near the Congress. Imprudent as they are in addition to being cowards, they have not ventured even to make investment in the approved Congress fashion by going to jail. Persons less heroic than the Mahasabhites would have found it difficult to show their faces after all these performances. But so brave are the high priests of the Hindu renaissance that they have succeeded in conquering even such a formidable enemy of man as his sense of shame. Even after throwing away all their clothes at Calcutta they have no hesitation in going about and shouting even more loudly than before. In these they are equals of the Gopis of Brindaban who made the final offering of their sense of shame to their Lord, when they allowed their clothes to be taken away by Srikrishna. After this who can doubt that the Hindu Sabhites are the best Hindus on earth?

## THIS INDIA

By Mallinatha

#### Violating the gentleman's agreement

"Gandhiji can forgive a thousand and one wrongs frankly admitted, he cannot stand refusal to play the game."-Patna daily, June 19.

And that is exactly what the British Government are doing by not arresting the satyagrahis. An innovation

-Headlines in Patna daily, District."-Patna daily, June 22. June 19.

As the leaders' lead led nowhere, the followers are now taking a hand.

#### Has it really come to this?

"We are afraid that after defending Mahatma Gandhi for so long, Mr. Kripalani has very badly let him down at the crucial hour."-The Hindusthan Standard.

It must be a sad day for India if Mr. Gandhi can be propped up or let down by our muddle-headed Kripalanis and Satyamurtis.

#### The lovers of peace

"The Ankara Radio commenting on the Turko-German pact to-day said that the basic principles of Turkish policy had always been peace within and peace with other countries."-Reuter, June 20.

That is why Turkey is entering into pacts with the most peaceful nations on earth, viz. Germany and Italy.

#### Somewhat ambitious

"If lakhs of people offer themselves for recruitment in the army, will a thousand people be not ready to lay down their lives in the cause of non-violence."-Mr. Mahadeva Desai, Ahmedabad, June 21.

We would like to see a beginning made with one man, let alone one thousand.

#### Limited ban

"The film Inside Nazi Ger many has been declared an uncertified film in the hole of the Punjab."-Hindusthan Standard, June 21.

Is it passed for show in the exposed parts?

#### Communal preference

"The vital statistics of the Muzafferpore Municipality show that during the week under review there were 16 births and the coffin claimed [19."-Patna daily, June 21.

It is rather surprising that there were no deaths among the Hindus.

#### An unpleasant surprise

"....offered satyagraha at Purnea by shouting anti-war slogans. He was then and there arrested in spite of the fact that the policy of non-"Non-Leaders' Conference" is exists throughout the

Such lack of principle on the part of the police is highly reprehensible.

#### We can ignore the exceptions

"This unheard of attack (by Germany) on our country is without example in the history civilized nations."-M. Molotov's broadcast

Moscow, June 22.

There are few instances of such unprovoked international assault barring the instances of China, Abyssinia, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Albania, Yogo-slavia, Latvia, Finland, Greece, Lithuania and Esthonia.

#### Payment of four annas makes all the difference

"Mahatma Gandhi told the deputation on behalf of the Jaipur Praja Mandal that the Kisans could offer satyagraha provided they were intelligent enough to understand all its implications." - The A. B. Patrika, June 21.

Why should a higher standard be expected of kisan satyagrahis than that of the Congress satyagrahis?

#### A non sequitor

"If Government had believed in non-violence, India may not have been at war with Germany."-Mr. Kripalani, Patna daily, June 23.

nothing to prevent India from entering into a non-violent war with half a dozen states.

#### Lamenting inability to kill people from the sky

"A country lacking an adequate air force must be considoomed."-Mr. Kripalani, Ibid.

Fancy such blood-thirsty sentiments voiced by one of the chief cardinals of the nonviolent Church of Wardha!

#### The wisest thing to do is to remain silent

In an interview by the Associated Press at Cuttack (June 22), on the invasion of Russia by Germany, Acharya Kripalani, who preferred to be silent, however observed, "So far as we are concerned we are only to watch and wait."-The Hindusthan Standard, June 24.

It gives us the creeps to learn that Achar. Kripalani can make oral observations



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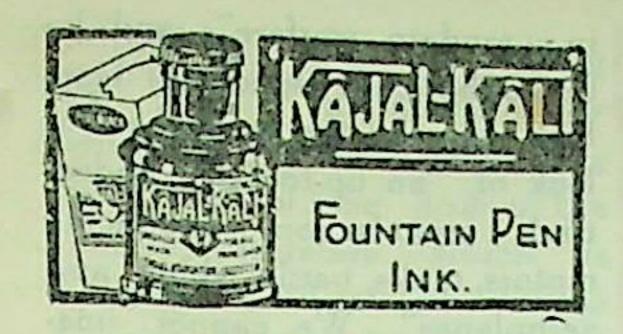
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### The Behar Herald

Patna,
Tuesday, July 1, 1941.

#### SHORT CUT TO SUCCESS

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The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha at its Calcutta session, June 10-12 resolved to suspend its Madura resolution in favour of "direct action" which is an euphemism for jail-going. Dr. Moonje revealed in an unguarded moment that the Mahasabha had resolved for "direct action" in view of possible elections in If the Mahasabha future. to copy Congress decides tactics, it should also be wise to profit by the failure of such tactics. The defects of the satyagraha campaign are obvious by now to everybody in the country. Since the decision to launch satyagraha, all initiative has left the Congress. Even if the Congress Dictator were now convinced of the fact that the cause of free speech would be better served without shouting of slogans, he is not free to call off satyagraha. The next move is always with the other party and if the opponent is obtuse enough not to appreciate the high moral value of satyagraha, nothing can be done but to persist in the course even with the full knowledge that it will lead nowhere. Face-saving, then, becomes more important than the original object for which the satyagraha was started. Mr. Gandhi has now fully realised that there has been a rapid dwindling in the number of prospective satyagrahis, but to keep up appearances he is now laying down almost impossible conditions, so that he might say that satyagraha failed, not because there was any lack

of men ready to go to jail, but because the country has not been able to produce enough men of the right type. The fact is that the average man has not the patience to continue satyagraha for long, one term of imprisonment is enough to convince 98% of the satyagrahis of the futility of such a Satyagrahers want course. quick results, and they are justified in their expectation as they consider satyagraha to be a form of magic, and what is magic unless it leads one quickly to one's goal by a short cut and without much effort. When they find that the British Government have not come down in spite of so many people being in jail for such a long period, they think the magic to be ineffective and lose all faith in

#### "DEHAT" CONTROVERSY

A big offensive, to use a war time phraseology, has been opened in a local newspaper against the Hindi Publicity Officer. A number of letters addressed to the editor have appeared in the paper rounded off by an editorial note. There are certain features in the controversy, which are significant. Firstly, the controversy has followed in the tail of a criticism of the Urdu edition of "Dehat". That criticism has stopped, but has become the starting point of big controversy. another Secondly, all the letters have appeared without the names of the writers: their authors (if they are merely more than one) prefering to remain anonymous for good reasons of their own! Thirdly, it seems rather curious that these correspondents, well-versed in English, not only take interest in the Hindi edition of "Dehat", but have also actually the time and patience to read and quote chapter and verse from its articles to show different kinds of mistakes appearing in them including those due to printing and proof-reading.

A clue to the real background is however furnished by the correspondent who signs his article as "Tom Chin". He says that capable writers can be had in this province. It may be noted in this connection that the present Hindi Publicity Officer hails from somewhere in the U. P. His predecessor who has been condemned and discharged belonged to this province and hence there was no such controversy against him in the press, though interested individual ( who since has attained his ambition but is still ambitious / carried his tale against him to the official doors. But this is not the full picture of the background, for behind every demand for communal and territorial discrimination there is always the personal factor for somebody himself in the first instance or in the alternative for his friend and conspirer.

We still have our doubts that the Hindi and Urdu editions are fulfilling the purpose which the Government have in view. Our view has received striking confirmation by the recent disclosure that several thousands of the copies of "Dehat" in Urdu and Hindi editions which were supposed to be in circulation were never printed, much less despatched and distributed. What then becomes of the tall demand of huge figures of circulation of this official publication made sometime back by the Govern-The hallucination ment? may continue, but the fact remains that there is as much room for fraud in the different distributing centres as in Patna under the very nose of the Government and the official paraphernalia that has been set up for publicity.

But even if there is utility for "Dehat" in Indian languages, what about the English edition? Is it published for the of officials who behoof being capable of besides Hindi or Urdu reading get their supply of edition news from the daily English newspapers? Can English supplement their "Dehat" of war knowledge news abundantly gathered and promptly from newspapers and

radio. The periodical review of war situation Mr. Churchill and other men in high position are much more telling to an English knowing reader than insipid items purveyed in cold print by the English "Dehat" long after they had ceased to be topical.

#### Notes & Comments

The communal trouble in Bombay

Mr. K. M. Munshi, the former Congress Minister of Bombay has gone one better than Achar. Kripalani in devising a method for preventing the recurrence of communal troubles in future. He suggests that each "group" (whatever that may mean) in the distrubed areas should organise its private guards to defend itself against the assaults of other "groups". It is not a suggestion which would be welcomed by the vast majority of those who still retain their faith in constitutional methods and who do not belong to any "group", but only like to live and earn their livelihood in peace. The recent illness of Mr. Munshi must be the cause of his surprising failure to see that it is the very existence of "groups" such as he recommends that constitutes the greatest menace public peace. Nothing but evil can come out of the formation of private armies to safeguard group interests as distinguished from public interests without reference to community or race. It is the surest means of perpetuating a civil war in the country.

According to the Indian
Social Reformer, it is a fatal
mistake to assume that practically
the whole population of Bombay
is ranged on opposite sides:
"The fact is that the overwhelming majority of the population—
we do not hesitate to put it at
over ninety-nine and one-half
per cent—are completely out of
sympathy with the law-breakers
and are anxious to have peace
and normal times restored."

It is surprising that leaders of a non-violent party should be unable to think of anything except in the terms of "fight", "army" and "enemy".

#### A sufferer from rickets gazing at a cask of cod liver oil

In our last but one issue we drew the attention of our readers to the phenomenal rainfall of Cocanada on the 1st of June, -20 inches in 24 hours. We also expressed a doubt if such a record had ever been beaten by that aristocrat of rain, Cherapunji. Curiously enough, on the day of our publication, 17th June, Cherapunji recorded a rainfall of 22.3 inches in 24 hours. We, in Patna, have received a miserable 5 inches during the last six months and to us these astronomical figures of rainfall are just as interesting as the stories of duchesses with necklaces worth diamond millions of pounds are to the dwellers of slums who have to lunch on a glass of water.

#### The super-satyagrahis

Achar. Kripalani has issued full instructions for the guidance of future satyagrahis. It is said that the coming race of satyagrahis will be an altogether superior lot to those who have gone to jail so far. A satyagrahi while waiting for getting his colours will not be allowed to strut about and cool his heels but will be required to work out "one or more of the thirteenfold items of the constructive programme. The particular item that is likely to be very popular with future satyagrahis is the 12th one which is "cultivating love of one's own language". No satyagrahi will be allowed to love a language that is not his very own.

The constructive programme, as originally framed by Mr. Gandhi, had only four items on the agenda. Achar. Kripalani has improved on it by bringing the number upto the unlucky figure.

### The Prophet of the latest

Speaking at Vizagapatam on June 21, Mrs. Naidu said that she did not agree with Dr. Rajendra Prasad that the

Congress was in the wilderness, but the Congress would remain the centre of national activities "as long as it was guided by that little toothless man at Sewagram, our leader and prophet".

There are many nationalist Indians to-day who are not to be found in the genuflecting, flattering, kotowing, fawning, worshipping mob that pay homage to the "prophet". They think it was a wrong policy to oppose Federation, that it was withdraw the a mistake to Ministries from citadels of power, that it was a folly not to make use of opportunities for industrialization and militarization of India, that it was extremely silly to maintain a towards attitude dubious Pakistan, thus indirectly helping to increase the importance of the League in the eyes of the British Government.

## Meant for the illiterate Indian peasant

A statement has been drafted in Wardhaganj and issued over the signatures of a number of Congresswomen as a reply to the British Women's message to Indian women. The signatories claim to speak on behalf of the All-India Women's Conference to avoid giving the impression that they are speaking on behalf of a particular political party. One passage in the reply would strike any reader as singularly uninformed: "We are surprised at your quoting an untruth contained in President Roosevelt's pronouncement. You quote that today the whole world is divided between human slavery and human freedom. The furt is there is no such thing as human freedom for the Asiair races," (Italics ours).

The Turk, the majority of the Arabs, the Iraquis, the Iranians, the Afghans, the Nepalese, the Bhutanese, the Siamese, the Tibetans, the Chinese, and the Japanese are as free as any other people. The Soviet Republics of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikstan enjoy as much freedom as any constitutent of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

People who spend all their time spinning cannot be expect-ted to be accurate in their generalisations on anything, but it is a pity that a better draft could not be made in Sevagram.

#### Progress of satyagraha

The names of Babu
Mukunda Prasad Das, Speaker
of the Orissa Legislative
Assembly and two important
Congressmen of Balasore have
been removed from the list of
approved satyagrahis because
they have definitely refused to
shout the slogan.

There is a general tendency towards the weakening of the Congress hold in Orissa and Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Achar. Kripalani halted at Cuttack to ginger up the vacillators. A group of persons turned up with black flags in the reception given to the distinguished visitors.

In the U. P., 330 satyagrahis were arrested during the third week of May, 185 during the fourth week, 95 during the first week of June.

According to the former instruction of the A. I. C. C., Congress members on the local bodies were to resign their seats if they were unable to sign the satyagraha pledge. The Congress High Command have recently climbed down and have set aside its previous instruction allowing members of local bodies to retain their seats even if they are unable to shout the prescribed slogan. This was due to the revolt of the members of local bodies who said that if they were asked to give up their seats in these bodies they would much rather give up their Congress membership first as it involved a greater sacrifice.

## Kripalani's strong faith in violence

Ahear. Kripalani has written a jeremiad, three and a half columns long, lamenting that India has no adequate army, navy or air force. He lays particular stress on the lack of fighter and bomber planes. "To-day it (the air arm) is universally recognised as the most deadly weapon

in modern warfare", and he (metaphorically speaking) tears his hair by the handful at our lack of "an up-to-date industrial organisation producing motors, tanks, battle ships and aeroplanes". We cannot imagine how the charkha-spinning non-violent Acharya can feel so strongly on our lack of the deadly weapons of modern warfare. If thousands of charkhas and millions of yards of hand-spun yarn cannot save us from the attacks of foreign invaders, nothing ever will.

We do not know on what principle the selection of the General Secretary to the Congress is made, but out of our respect for the many sincere and honest Congressmen we know, we should hate to think that Achar. Kripalani's appointment was due to any intellectual superiority or clarity of thought.

## Legislative Department Appointment

From all reports it is evident that the complaint against a policy of discrimination between candidates possessing Indian qualifications and those holding the so-called British qualifications is well founded. Not only the advertisement inviting applications for the post of the Deputy Secretary in the Legislative Department of the Bihar Government bear testimony to this complaint, but the selection made by the Joint Public Service Commission, as indications point, is also an eloquent commentary on it. All those whose names have been recommended belong to a charmed circle of lawyers whose race is becoming extinct. A candidate may look smart or may possess presentable appearance which is no more than a surface veneer, but it is as different from merit as chalk is different from cheese. There were suitable candidates who were interviewed but were unsuccessful before the Commission. There are suitable persons for the post who did not apply, because they were scared away by the terms of advertisement. Men who made their mark in Indian

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universities and are doing well in the profession of law will ring true for performing the duties of the post of the Deputy Secretary which is a highly paid law office of the Crown. The candidate selected will be soon promoted to the office of Secretary as soon as Mr. Samuel retires, who was not directly recruited but rose to the position, it may be noted, from the lowest rung of the ladder. We would also add that while emphasising no inviduous distinction in a certain respect, we cannot urge distinction in another respect based on provincial should be basis. Efficiency the watchword in public appointments. It will be proper to call for further applications by issuing a new advertisement in which the preferertial clause should be deleted. The old candidates need not be troubled again, but their case should receive consideration along with the fresh applications of the new candidates.

#### CALCUTTA NATIONAL

We are glad to inform our readers that the Calcutta National Bank, Ltd. has recently been admitted in the Calcutta Clearing Association.

We have pleasure also to announce that the Pank has purchased land on the Exhibition Road for its Patna branch building, the construction of which will begin this month. Barring the Imperial Bank, the case of which is different, the Calcutta National Bank is the first outside Bank to have its own building at Patna. This is a laudable move and at the same time shows the popularity of the Bank at Patna and in the province of Bihar.

#### CORRESPONDENCE

#### Electric Workers' Unio

Sir,—We shall be obliged if you will please allow a little space in your esteemed journal to protest against the news that has appeared in a section of the local press on the 21st instant.

That on the 19th instant the annual general meeting of the Patna Electric Supply Workers' Union took place to elect the office bearers of the said Union for the current year. A large number of the workers present resented the manner in which the proceedings were conducted by the being president and objected to the reelection of the General Seceratary, Babu Chandra Deo Narayan for his "divide and rule" policy. When the president refused to listen to their grievances, they in a body walked out. After that the meeting was continued and the election carried out.

So, the election cannot be considered valid and unanimous. Yours etc.

(1) Julum Singh.

Patna 22.6.41. (2) S. Paul.

(3) Nawab Ali.

#### ON THE A. I. R.

From "Beggar Nuisance" by Mr. John Barnabas, broadcast from Lucknow:-

Who are these homeless men and women? Why have they become loafers and tramps? From the observation and records of a great many men the reasons why men take to this type of living seem to fall under several heads:.

- (1) The seasonal nature of our agriculture forces many to take the road to the city with great expectations and consequently lands them into pauperism
- (2) The uncertain condition of our industries, few as they are, causes many to become unemployed and makes some of them unemployables owing to industrial accidents.
- (3) Then there are those who suffer from an innate defect in personality.
- (4) Sometimes a person takes to vagrancy as a result of some crises in his personal life. It may have been family conflict, it may be a feeling of being a misfit in a given community or place, that drive him out of a settled life and he gradually drifts into permanent vagrancy.

(5) Lastly there is the wanderlust—a longing for new experience. He starts with the yearning to see new places, to feel the thrill of new sensations, to encounter new situations, and to know the freedom and exhibitation of being a stranger. It finally leads him to a life of change, danger, instability and social irresponsibility.

From "This Month In Economics" by Professor V. K. R. V. Rao, broadcast from Bombay:—

Negotiations with Burma for a trade agreement have been proceeding for a long time.
These negotiations have been concluded at last.

Under the new agreement, the Indian and Burman Government are at liberty to impose tariff duties subject to the reciprocal concession that their general tariff rates would give preference to the goods of India or Burma, as the case may be, of 10 per cent against Empire and 15 per cent against foreign goods.

Broken rice and timber—two of Burma's principal exports to India—are placed on the free list, while raw jute manufactures exported to Burma are exempted from the Indian export duty.

Moreover the questions of Indian emigrants and the status of Indian settlers in Burma have been left unsolved and, unlike in the case of Ceylon, a solution of these questions was not

made a condition precedent to the conclusion of a trade agreement.

One fails to understand why this should have been the case.

From "Symbols And Effigies"
By Mr. M. D. Raghavan, broadcast from Madras:

Apart from symbolisms in marriage rituals, there are symbolic marriages more properly so called, or marriages in which either the bridegroom or the bride is absent and the place of the bride or bridegroom is taken by a plant or a tree.

It is a universal belief that when anything untoward has occurred twice, it is bound to recur for the third time in succession.

A third marriage is therefore considered unlucky and so to avert the ill-luck the bridegroom goes through a marriage ceremony with a tree.

After the ceremony is over, the tree is cut symbolising the death of the third partner. The bridegroom or the bride thus becomes the fourth partner.

#### PRABHATI'S Pujah Number

The Aswin issue of the Prabhati will be its Pujah Number. There will be several pictorial supplements-Cinema, Industries, War, Travel and if possible Oriental Paintings. The print number will be at least 7000 copies and the rates as usual-Rs. 20 - per page and pro rata (less than 4 page will not however be accepted), with an extra of 25% for casual advertisers. (Covers-2nd & 3rd Rs. 30 -each. 1st and 4th already booked). Advertising instructions must reach the Office by the 4th of September

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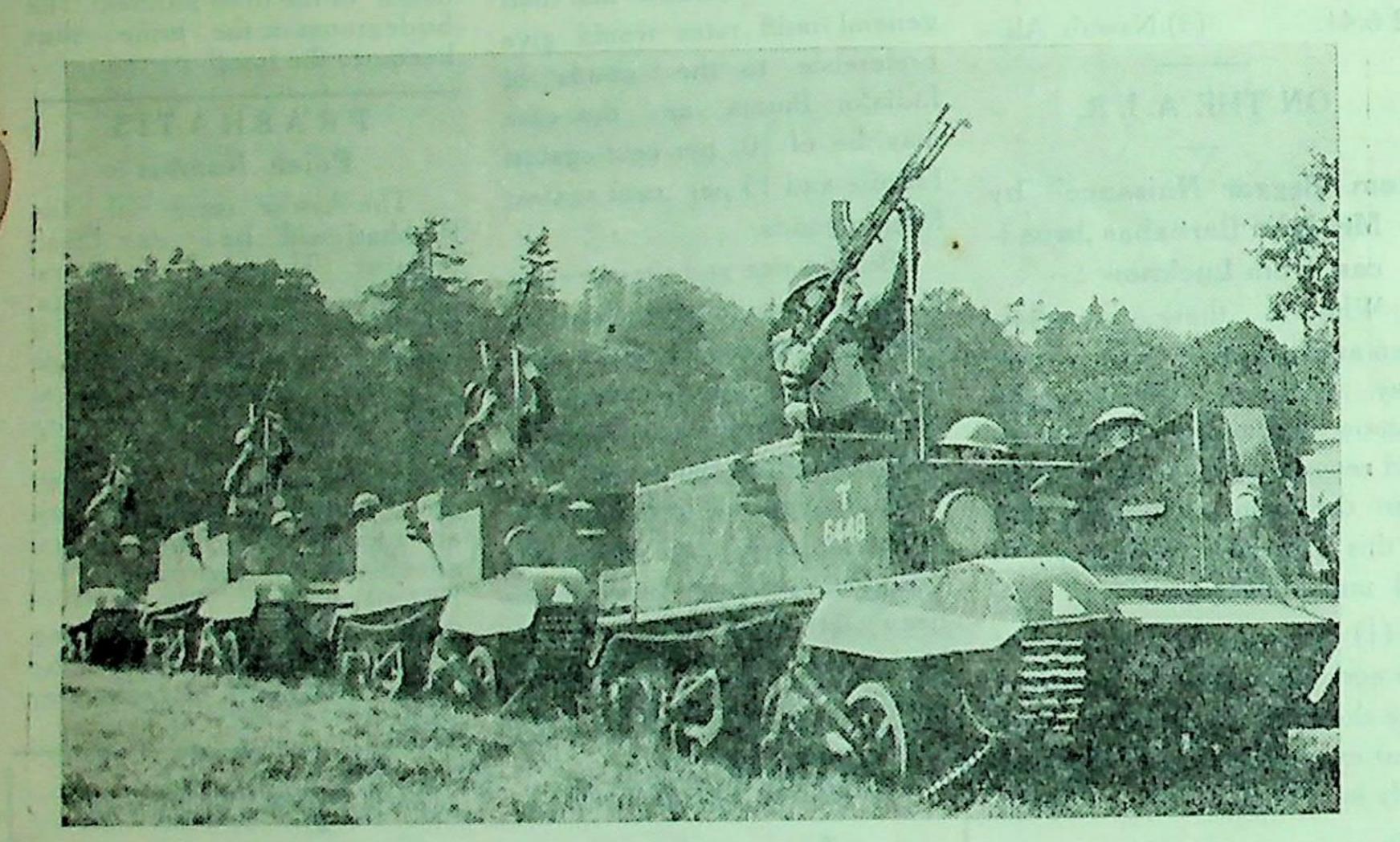
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Estd. 1907









## ON THE FRONTS

#### NEW ZEALANDERS ON GUARD IN ENGLAND

Many thousands of men from New Zealand have crossed the world to fight in the defence of Britain. Here is a detachment of New Zealand infantry moving up to their positions.

## BRITAIN'S ARMY MOVES ON WHEELS

Bren gun carriers, with the guns trained for aerial attack, move up during exercises in Britain. With the whole resources af the British Empire behind it, Britain's army now grows rapidly towards the greatest mechanised force the world has known.

# BRITISH INDIAN SOLDIERS IN THE SUDAN

Troops of an Indian Infantry Brigade stationed in one of Britain's outposts on the Eritrean border. They have been in several recent successful actions against the Italian forces. In this picture they are crossing the River Atbara.

Indian Shi The op modern sh India at 21st June, first-rate en Shipping i try. A nati is essential and natio the 19th one of the countries Sultan of to have hi It is on British na a caught in all the sh one which India. Th being lan an Indian Indian s ninteenth into the owners. by then would ta from the seamen. together steel ship

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#### Indian Shipbuilding Yard

The opening of the first modern shipbuilding yard in India at Vizagapatam on the 21st June, 1941, is an event of first-rate economic significance. Shipping is indeed a key industry. A national shipping industry is essential to national prosperity and national defence. Up till the 19th century, India was one of the greatest shipbuilding countries in the world. The Sultan of Constantinople used to have his ships built in India. It is on record that while a British naval detachment was caught in a storm in the Arctic all the ships went down except one which was constructed in India. The sight of Indian goods being landed in London from an Indian ship manned by Indian sailors early in the ninteenth century struck terror into the hearts of British shipowners. It was represented by them that Indian ships would take the bread away from the mouths of British seamen. This unholy agitation together with the advent of steel ships driven by steam and oil completely killed the Indian shipping industry.

\* A few shipping companies have been started in India during the present century foremost among which is the great Scindia Steam Navigation Company. The total tonnage ships of Indian-owned however, only 1,11,678. India's in shipping among position the nations of the world is 26th. Her shipping forms 0.16 per cent of the world's total tonnage. Indian ships carry about 25 per cent of the coastal trade of India and about 2 per cent of her foreign trade. The few ships that India possesses have all been built in foreign shipyards, mostly in Glasgow. The Scindia Company made valiant efforts to start a shipyard in India as far back as 1919 but its efforts came to naught owing to ill-luck and the hostile attitude of the Indian Government. Now in 1941, the same . Company has at last succeeded in starting a shipbuilding yard at Vizagapatam. This time An Economic Miscellany

By Economicus

too the Company's path has not been strewn with roses. The Government of India's attitude has been definitely and discouraging. distrustful Even at a time when the Battle of the Atlantic is proceeding none too favourably and the greatest need of Britain is ships and more ships the Government of India and His Majesty's Government have resfused to treat the devolepment of the shipbuilding industry as a part of the war effort. The Scindia Company has undertaken to deliver ships to the Government before the end of the year in 1942 provided sufficient priorities are granted for importing materials and machinery. As Mr. Churchill himself visualises phases of the war in 1943 and even in 1944, it is difficult to see why the Government of India should refuse the benefit of having ships supplied to them before 1943.

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* In all modern countries the State actively encourages the growth of a national mercantile marine. The encouragement takes several forms, e. g., building of giant liners at the State's expense, guaranteeing a minimum return on capital, grant of State loans for very long periods to shipping companies, subsidies, remission of Customs duty on shipping materials, payment of insurance premia from the public exchequer. In India the Scindia Company has not only not received any nid from the Government but has failed to secure simple "concessions" of priorities in respect of the importation of machinery without which the shipbuilding yard at Vizagapatam cannot start work according to plans. Even the Commerce Member could not persuade the Calcutta Port Trust to lend a site near George's Dock in to the Scindia Calcutta reasonable Company on rents. The Company proposes to build 16 ships a year.

This is a very modest project in view of the enormous leeway to be made up. All sections of opinion in India are unanimous in holding that the Government of India should put forth their very best endeavours to smooth the path of the Scindia Company and make the Vizagapatam yard a success.

#### Compulsory Consumption of Cotton

It is well-known that in 1940-41 there has been a sharp fall in the export of Cotton from India. Japan who is the largest purchaser of Indian Cotton has been steadily reducing her dependence on Indian Cotton. The movement is in keeping with the tendency of rival imperialisms to seek self-sufficiency within their respective spheres in view of the constant danger of war. Indian Cotton-growers suffered grievously have through the reduction in Japanese purchases. They will suffer more if Japan enters the war on the side of the axis powers. The Indian Central Cotton Committee has made a constructive suggestion for ameliorating the conditions of the Cotton-growers. The Comproposed that mittee has Indian Cotton mills should be compelled to consume minimum quantities of Indian Cotton. As an emergency measure the proposal deserves the support of all. Even as a feature of our permanent economic life the proposal has much to recommend it. It is a necessary condition of economic self-sufficiency that our dependence on exports should be reduced to the minimum. Some mills which specialise in the production of finer counts may be hit by the measure but their cases are certain to be taken into consideration.

#### Ceylon Coconuts

India is the best customer for Ceylon's coconuts. The Indian market has absorbed 55 to 70 per cent of the copra

exports of Ceylon since 1935 in which year they reached the peak at 988,000 Cwts. In 1940 India was almost the only buyer. Coconut products represent 78 per cent of Ceylon's exports. The anti-Indian bias of the Ceylonese Ministry is thus from the economic point of view quite suicidal On the other hand, the Indian consumer's preference Ceylonese Coconuts is a solid argument against the South Indian demand for excluding Ceylonese Coconuts by means of a protective tariff.

#### Labour Reforms

The opposition of the Bombay mill-owners to the minimum wage and other far reaching reforms proposed by the Bombay Textile Labour Committee is to be deplored. Mr. Justice Divatia and his colleagues on the Committee are revolutionaries. Their proposals go no further than the standards reached many years ago in Britain and other modern countries. The millowners of Bombay take their stand chiefly on the ground that the proposals if put into effect will make it impossible for Bombay to stand the competition of other centres. There is something in the argument but it is not final. If the burdens on Bombay are great, its shoulders are also broader. begin should Reforms somewhere. Delay will create an ugly situation in Bombay. But the reforms should as early as possible be placed on an all-India basis by means of central legislation.

#### Science and Industry

The role of scientific research in industry has so long been not · properly appreciated either by the Government or by business leaders. Attention has been exclusively focussed on protection. Not that protection is of no importance. The prime requisite for industrialisation is a State policy of active encouragement of industries. Given that condition, it is to men of science that industrialists must look forward in keeping down the costs and striking out new lines of progress.

The war has led in India to the establishment of the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research with its sub-committees and exploratory committees and of the Industrial Research Committee. The Utilisation Board has done splendid work but the grant of 6 or 7 lakhs of rupees to the Board is quite inadequate. Vast sums of money are annually spent over research in countries like U. S. A., Germany, U. K. and Soviet Russia

Mr. G. L. Mehta, speaking at a meeting of the Institution of Chemists, suggested the formation of provincial research organisations to supplement the activities of the Research Board. (He did not, however, suggest where the money was to come from.) He also suggested that periodical meetings should be arranged between research scholars and manufacturers so that the requirements of different manufacturers and the feasibility of meeting them might be discussed from various points of view. Mr. Mehta stated that the Indian Chemical Manufacturers' Association were contemplating the formation of a Board of representatives of the chemical and pharmaceutical and various manufacturers research institutions and emphasised that other industries which were organised into associations should follow this laudable move. What Mr. Mehta failed to suggest is that our captains of industry should not merely petition Government and research associations, meet men of science and press for co-ordination but spend large sums of money themselves for the promotion of research in their own and allied lines. . a rule, for breakfast, Cannot the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce make a direct contribution to the promotion of scientific research in India? The Federation has got an organisation for economic research which it starves like a step-mother-inlaw. It is time our industrialists ceased to think that the Finance Member has got an inexhaustible box of silver under the

table.

#### Automobile Industry

It is reported that Mr. Walchand Hirachand is not disheartened by the refusal of the Mysore durbar to help the automobile industry. Sir M. Visvesvaraya and Mr. Walchand Hirachand, the two chief promoters of the industry, are, it is believed, working at another scheme to give effect to their project. It is proposed to start a joint-stock company with an authorised capital of Rs. 216 crores, a large part of which will be offered for subscription to the public (in this the new scheme differs sharply from the old ). Some Indian States are believed to have made promises to buy shares up to Rs. 50 lakhs. The plant that it is intended to set up is expected to turn out ultimately 15,000 vehicles per year (the minimum necessary for an economic unit ) though in the initial stages the production. would be no more than 7,000 vehicles.

### Russian Meals

"I have said that meals twenty-three cost the students roubles a month. What kind of food was supplied for these meals? Even with my own standards middle-class feeding in England I found the food adequate in quantity though somewhat lacking in variety. From notes made at the time I reproduce a typical menu. Breakfast: most often kasha (the Russian equivalent of our porridge), made from barley and other grain, either boiled, fried, or with milk. As would be small pieces of meat or egg mixed with this kasha. Or, sometimes, excellent cream cheeses would take the place of the kasha, or a cold herring, which had to be eaten with the fingers, since only spoons were supplied at breakfast, though knives and forks appeared at the mid-day meal! Sometimes we would have a hard-boiled egg or a 'cutlet' (a word used

in the U.S.S.R. to cover practically everything similar to our rissole), and, on the worst days, simply bread and jam, or bread and butter. In addition to these things there was always a glass of well-sugared tea (except when sugar ian short and sweets took its place), unlimited black bread and a good slice of white. For mid day dinner: always broth, containing a variety of vegetables, but mainly cabbage, and sometimes made with barley; a meat course of 'cutlets' or veal, with very occasionally beef, mutton or pork; or, sometimes, a purely such as dish. vegetarian and a macaroni, potatoes hard-boiled egg; or on a very bad day, potatoes and gravy

only. Supper, like breakfast, with soup sometimes but featuring as the main dish, and quite often a sweet in the form of compote, which at that time in the U. S. S. R. usually consisted of about three rather tasteless cherries swimming in some still more tasteless juice. Fresh fruit was also provided occasionally, and could be bought as an extra. From an English middle-class point of view there was a considerable lack of adequate fruit, eggs, butter or milk; while on the other hand sour cream quite often appeared, either in soup . or as a sweet." - Pat Sloan in "Russia Without Illusions".

### Reminiscences of an Insurance-man

By A. C. Das

the oldest As perhaps Insurance-men amongst the been called in Bihar I have upon to say something about my experiences of the Insurance field as it was when I stepped into this line in 1909.

When I began my career in Insurance the field was quite a different one from what it is now. Not only the Insurance Companies were limited in number but workers were medical limited and the examiners very limited. The only persons that had by then become prominent in the Insurance Circle in those days were, perhaps, (1) Late Mr. Durga Mohan Das, an uncle of the Late Mr. C. R. Das and a great social reformer, and (2) the Late Mr. Jatra Mohan Sen, the father of Late Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta. Both of them held very high position in Society and were lawyers of great repute, the former of the Calcutta High Court and the latter a Zaminder and leader of the Chittagong Bar and it was that they rather uncommon interested themselves so much in Insurance in spite of extensive practice and the busy time they had in their own

profession. It denied that the success of Insurance in our Country today owes a great deal to the initial enterprise taken by these two eminent men of our Country in those days. Durga Mohan Das founded the wellknown firm of Messrs. D. M. Das & Sons, the Chief Agents of the Empire and placed one of his sons, who was a barrister, in charge of the concern.

The names of Lala Har Kissan Lall of Lahore and Messrs. Allum & Bharucha of Bombay, were also regarded as pioneers in the field of Insurance but I have little personal knowledge about them.

The next batch that adorned the field of Insurance was Pannalal Banerjee, Ambika Ukil and Girish Chandra Bhar. All of them earned in thousands from Insurance and their contribution to the cause of this business is too wellknown to need any repetition by me. The memory of Pannalal whom I saw driving in his own landeau drawn by a pair of walers is still fresh in my mind. When I joined this line I saw him as the founder Secretary of the National He was a great

friend of Banerjee.

Ambik Chief Age Life Office the Hindu in the fie with this of his reca first traini his feet fo He took from the was fortu business stipulated trial perio were n special ag Ambika organisati he brough in the In rally th ordinary was 10% 5% for re Babu wh commissi Indian Co Compani ately ha by. Th · which ha househol Insurance unknown Circle in first br him. A himself (or धूत्रकत्) signifying in the ac Perhaps, different what its intended his instr must pr while ap pects a latter to by looking inferior t and a m prospect would ca must alw as their sense of professio 2 success.

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friend of Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee.

Ambika Ukil was at first a Chief Agent of the New York Life Office, then he founded the Hindusthan. My first venture in the field of Insurance was with this company. I was one of his recruits and received my first training in Insurance under his feet for which I feel proud. He took me as a Special Agent from the very beginning as I was fortunate enough to place business of more than the stipulated amount during my trial period. In those days there were not more than five special agents in the Hindusthan. Ambika Babu's capacity for organisation was immense and he brought about some changes in the Insurance Circle. Generally the commission for ordinary agents in those days, was 10% for the first years and 5% for renewal. It was Ambika Babu who raised the first year's commission to 25 amongst the Indian Companies and other Companies though not immediately had to follow suit by and by. The term "Organiser" \* which has become almost a household word for every office today was Insurance unknown in the Insurance Circle in those days and was first brought into use by him. Ambika Ukil first styled himself as the "Organiser" (or ধুরন্ধর) of the Hindusthan, signifying the principal brain in the activities of the society. Perhaps, the term has quite a different significance now from what its originator primarily intended it to mean. To agents his instruction was that they must preserve their dignity while approaching their prospects and never allow the latter to get the better of them by looking small or anyway inferior to them. It was business and a matter primarily of the prospects' benefit for which they would call and therefore they must always consider themselves as their equal. No body with a sense of inferiority in this profession could ever achieve success. Begging for business, he said, had no place in Insurance and to the class of workers who took recourse to

this he would say that they should not come to him.

It is a known fact that as soon as any insurance Agent leaves his company his agency commission is forfeited. Ambika Ukil was against such forfeitures. When I was appointed there was no clause of forfeiture of agency commission on any account. Ambika Babu used to say that it was the deposited money of the Agents as one deposits money into a Bank. As no Bank could forfeit any portion of the money deposited by any party by the law of the land similarly the Insurance Company had no right to forfeit any portion of the earned money of its Agents. It was a pity that the Society could not continue its speciality in this respect very long. The officers then in power outvoted Ambika Babu and introduced forfeiture clause like other Companies, as you all know that almost every company in one way or the other puts such clauses in the contract that it becomes easier to put a stop to further payment of commission whenever necessity calls for such. We used to get monthly statements showing the commission earned and withdrawn during the month with balance due if any, but the system was subsequently discontinued by the officer in power. The nonforfeiture of the Agents commission introduced by Ambika Ukil goes to illustrate how much he thought for the welfare of his agents. He was actuated, I think, in introducing it by a sympathetic consideration for these workers or to speak in his own words "the pillars of the Company" who unlike the rest of the company's staff were denied any privilege such as of pension or Provident Fund for their old age. Of late we find movements in this direction have been afoot but Ambika Babu perceived the inequity perpetrated on the Agents in this respect which he tried to rectify as far back as 34 years ago. In my opinion the system if followed and continued everywhere would greatly enhance the status of the Agents.

I would now like to narrate a piece of my experience which I gathered when I interviewed a British Office. It was Scottish Union. So far as I remember it was sometime in 1916 or 17. A friend of mine who was an Agent of that Company induced me to represent it. He told me that he would arrange an interview with Mr. Sweet who was then the Manager for India. My friend asked me to go · punctually at ten on a certain day. I went and sent in my card. After a minute a bearer gave me -a "Selam" and took me on to "Bara Saheb". As soon as I stepped in he left his chair and coming towards me shook his hands with mine and told "Come in Mr. Das, I was just waiting for you". As soon as I took my seat he enquired if I had some other engagements by which I understood that he wanted to know the time I would be able to spare for the interview. I told him that I would be at his service as long as he wanted me to be there. He thanked me and began his conversation by saying "You were no doubt aware Mr. Das that to select a good life office which you were expecting to represent, the essential points were to see that the Company might be able to satisfy you about the following points: Management, Security, Valuation Basis, Life Fund, Premium Rate, Distribution of Profit, Policy conditions and Service."

"I think I would be able to satisfy you with each and every item" and he dealt with them one by one. He also told me that the resources of the Company had gone very high . by the amalgamation of the City of Glasgow Office. I put some questions about the rates comparing with those of other companies. He very tactfully explained it without saying a word for or against any other company. He explained what was office premium and the percentage a company should load against the benefits of the policy conditions and the expenses. And told me that more the company accumulated

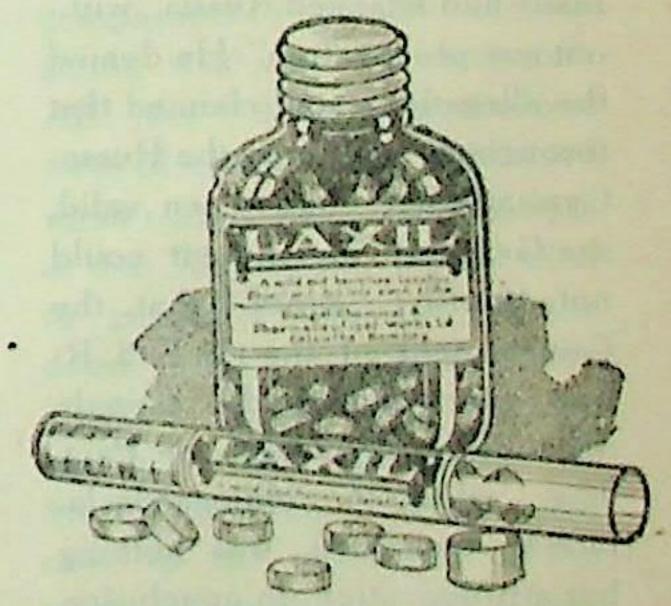
life fund more easier it would be for the Agents to represent it and to stand competition. I then put several questions and he answered them one by one. After an hour and a half when there were no more points to be discussed he placed an agency application form before me and asked me to complete it then and there. I wanted time but he replied in such a way as if he was guilty in not having been able to satisfy me but as soon as I replied that I was quite satisfied he at once jumped upon me and obtained the agency application form completed.

The matter did not terminate there. As soon as I submitted my application his next term of lecture began. His subject was why an agent should insure his life with the company he would represent before he commenced his business. To be plain I must admit that I fully agreed to what he said but watched carefully any loop-hole by which I could escape but found none. After all I explained him how helpless we were to do a thing like that all at once, without having consulted the members of our joint family when I was let off.

The impression I gathered was that Mr. Sweet was really sweet in all his spheres.—By courtesy of the Insurance Club, Patna.

### LAXII

FOR UNIVERSAL USE



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The declaration of war on Soviet Russia by Germany following, and not followed by, the launching of the German offensive on a fifteen hundred mile front from Finland to the Black Sea, has overshadowed all other events, national and international. The attack took place at 3-30 A. M. on Sunday, the 22nd and the news reached India at about noon the same day electrifying, as it were, the whole country from end to end. In a Proclamation which was made simultaneously with the Hitler accused the attack, Soviet of breach of the Russo-German Pact. He condemned the Russian occupation of the which, he said, Baltic States only against was directed Germany. He even linked Russia and Britain together as walking to the same end. He accused Russia of having organised the 'putch' in Yugoslavia. In conclusion he said, "Bolshevism is opposed to National Socialism in deadly enmity. Bolshevist Moscow desires stab nationalist-socialist Germany in the back while he was engaged in a struggle for Therefore existence". Fuehrer ordered the German forces to oppose 'this menace with all the might at their disposal" and "save the entire civilised world from the deadly dangers of Bolshevism and to clear the way for true social progress in Europe".

Broadcasting from Moscow M. Molotov declared that Germany had attacked Russia "without any provocation". He denied the allegations and claimed that throughout the time the Russe-German Pact had been valid, the German Government could not furnish proof that the Government of the U.S.S.R. had ever infringed a single one of the clauses of the Pact. The whole of Hitler's declaration, he added, was nothing but a provocation. In conclusion he said that Hitler would suffer as Napoleon the same fate when he invaded Russia.

Broadcasting from London on the same day Mr. Churchill declared that in his view the invasion of Russia was "a

## The Paseaut of Indian Polities

By Monitor

prelude to an attempt of an invasion of the British Isles" and added: "We shall give whatever help we can to Russia and to Russian people. We shall appeal to all our friends and Allies in every part of the world to take the same course and pursue it steadfastly to the end".

President Roosevelt took a little time to make up his mind. But on Tuesday he made the declararation at a Press Conference that the United States would give all possible aid to Russia, although it could not be determined yet what form the American help would take. Since then President Roosevelt's order freezing all Russian assets in the United States amounting hundred approximately to million dollars in Cash Securities and property, has been revoked. It means that this amount will now be available to Soviet Russia.

Spanish opinion seems to have approved the step taken by Germany but no indication is yet available of the Japanese attitude towards the new situation.

How is India to react to the new situation? That is the the problem before the Indian question which is agitating the man in the street no less than the leaders of political thought in the country. But no leader of any eminence has expressed any clear opinion as yet on this ticklish question. The reticence is easily understandable. for events have yet to unroll themselves before any decision can be taken. What is immediately perceptible is, however, reassuring to India. Prior to the German attack on the Soviet the danger of invasion to India was very real. It was thought that Germany might invade India simultaneously through the Egyptian route and via Iraq. Iran and Afghanistan. It was also thought by some that Russia herself might attack India with the

approval of Germany. That danger is now postponed at With least for the time being. her pre-occupation with the Soviet, Germany can now have no time to think of advancing in any other direction. For some time at least to come therefore we in India may breathe freely unless, of course, Japan chooses to enter the war on the side of Germany and attack India from the east.

This seems to be the position of India from the military point of view. It postulates a change, whatever the importance of it. But whether the change will be reflected on the political position is a difficult question to answer. That the developments have recent added complications to the question is certain. To the Indian eye the war hitherto has been a war between two rival imperialistic powers. The entry the field, of the Soviet in though by no means voluntary, in opposition to Germany has very largely altered the very character of the war. England's decision to help Russia has England and Russia made will jointly who allies rise or fall. That makes an extremely baffling one. Sympathy for Russia is as universal in India as antipathy to Britain. Even those who hate communism would not like Russia to go down though many of these would not mind if Britain were defeated in the war. The Anglo-Soviet alliance which has come most unexpectedly to be established, has baffled all these people who find it impossible to sympathise with Russia without showing sympathy for Britain.

While the perplexity of this kind is readily intelligible to me, I do not think that the time has yet come for India to change her attitude towards the war. To ascertain her duty even in the altered situation India may well take her lessons

from the conduct of the Soviet itself. Soviet's policy has all along been determined by its own concept of self-interest. It entered into a Pact with Germany in its own interest; it is fighting Germany today also in its own interest. If England has gone to the help of the Soviet, that also has been under pressure of England's own interest. The supremacy of self-interest thus is the lesson which India is to learn from the conduct of the Soviet as of Great Britain. The question before India therefore is whether the chafacter of the war has changed to such an extent as to make it a war in India's interest. The reply to this, I am afraid, is in the negative. Assuming that the Soviet is genuinely sympathetic to the political of India, and aspirations assuming further that Britain and the Soviet will jointly defeat Germany, it is doubtful if the Soviet will be able to influence the decision in favour of India in the Peace Conference against the powerful Anglo-American combination. The question before India thus is not whether Russia is on the side of Britain but whether Britain has changed her attitude towards India. To put it more precisely, we have to see whether the conditions which existed at the time of the Wardha resolution regarding non-participation in the war, still exist or not. Nonco-operation with war was decided upon because Britain would not give freedom to India. If that decision is to be reversed we have to be satisfied first that Britain has or is going to give us freedom. In the Anglo-Russian alliance that has come suddenly to be established, there is no favourable answer to our national demand for freedom. For India therefore there is no case yet for cooperation with Britain, in spite of all the sympathy for the Soviet that any Indian can possess. I therefore feel inclined to agree with Mr. J. B. Kripalani that so far as we are concerned, "we have but to wait and watch".

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What is Truth? said Jesting Pilate. And he paused for an answer. I will say not jesting but seriously what is Gandhi? As Pilate was dealing with an abstract notion he had to pause for an answer. I am dealing with a concrete object -- an object of flesh and blood. I will not have, therefore, to pause for an answer. I can catch the man in his movements and throw a flood of light on his actions and behaviours and make him speak even though it be his Monday. I will draw here two pen-pictures of the, man-pictures that are matters of my personal experience. There pictures are commentaries in themselves. Here is picture number one.

x x x

It was sometime in May 1938. I donot exactly remember the date but it was a day or two after Subhas Bose had been forced to resign from the presidentship of the Congress at Calcutta after due election for the second time. I was in village Motipur which falls in the district of Muzaffarpur. The village is a flourishing industrial centre with a Sugar Mill forming the hub of its life. There is a Railway station which you will come across while going to Motipur from Muzaffarpur. I happened to be at this place on that particular day. After I had finished my shopping I went to meet friend of mine who worked in the Sugar factory. We exchanged remarks regarding our mutual welfare and then came straightway to discuss politics. My friend asked of me if I knew about the resignation of Subhas Bose from the presidentship of the Congress that had been tendered at Calcutta. As I had been in an extreme interior village I had not been able to get hold of any newspaper. I. therefore, expressed my ignorance about the event. My friend then related the whole story of the drama that had been enacted at Calcutta. 1 regretted certain parts of it but there was one that struck me most-the resignation of Subhas Bose. Evidently it had been brought by the machinations of the

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## Spotlights On Mr. Gandhi

By Enkase

Gandhian dictatorship which had appeared in all its nakedness when faced with defeat. The King-maker had tried to manage the stage from behind the curtain but when that had failed he had come out in the open to beat his adversary down. He cared not a whit for the wishes of the electorate though he always swore by democracy and forced the elected representative to go down before him, all for maintaining his own power, all for keeping the Congress a safe preserve for himself, all for making the national organisation an instrument for experimenting his fanciful theory of truth and non-violence. This is intolerable. This Gandhi must be brought down from the high pedestal on which the Indian masses have placed him and sent to the forest to radiate from there his message of eternal peace and goodwill if he so likes. He should not be allowed to touch politics wherein he has exploited religion to entrench his position. At once he is to be divested of his political garb and if at all he is to be worshipped he is to be worshipped as a saint who constantly receives the inner light and at times can go into 'samadhi' and take a vow of silence.

In this mood I took leave of my friend and came to a shop to have my food. By now the sun had begun reclining towards the west. I finished my food and was taking a little rest and thinking over the resignation of Subhas Bose and the circumstances leading to it when to my surprise I found people running from all directions towards the station. The stampede grew and raised the dust from the earth and the sky was a bit darkened. For a moment I remained in suspense and could not make out the reason when I heard the cry, "Mahatma Gandhi is coming", "Mahatma Gandhi is coming". I then realised what was the matter. The Gandhi Sewa

Sangh session of that year was to be opened that very evening at Brindaban in the Motihari district-a place the passage to which lay through Motipur Gandhi was going station. there. It was, therefore, quite natural that his train should touch the station. Somhow or other the villagers were informed of this and hence the cry, hence the stampede. I did not know what to do when the whole village was heading towards the station. I must also see the man over again-I decided-that man who though propagating the method of the 'Changing of Heart' was a greater dictator than Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin all combined-the man who against the will of the vast electorate had forced the resignation of Subhas Bose. I had seen him years before. And I must not only see him like his blind followers. I must make him feel that there was a growing resentment in the villages against his dictatorial methods and that people were extremely dissatisfied, nay angry, that Subhas Bose had been made to resign.

I decided like this and got up and I also ran as the time for the arrival of the train bearing Gandhi had drawn near. dragged along with me another mine who companion of happened to be an uneducated but sturdy simple villager. I reached the station along with him and found the platform overflowing with men from one end to another. We also took up a certain position. In my mind was one thought, how to make Gandhi feel that there . was resentment, at least some resentment but strong resentment against his high-handed methods. The whole crowd that had assembled there seemed to be composed of his admirers. If I did anything contrary to their desire they would certainly hoot me down and might even mob me in the very presence of their nonviolent God. But that was not the fear. The fear was that in the

din and bustle my thin voice may not be heard by Mr. Gandhi and nty very purpose be frustrated. How could I then put my idea into effect? Were I to advance and try to win over a part of the crowd to my view? But it was predominantly a rural gathering and the time at my disposal was very short. It was not possible to drive home my conviction into them in a few minutes. What was the alternative then? I hit upon a plan. There was one man with me who though not educated was still loyal and obedient to me. . If I succeeded in educating him in my opinion even mechanically I might be able to carry my resentment to Gandhiji with the added force of his voice if I got a suitable opportunity and a convenient place wherefrom I could see Mr. Gandhi. I decided to take the help of my village companion and began to train him up. I told him, "Look here, when I will say 'Gandhi Ka Adhinayakbad' you will follow it up 'Murdabad''. The slogan I had manufactured to express my feeling of crying down the Gandhian dictatorship. The village companion picked up the instruction very swiftly and when everything was ready the train bearing Mr. Gandhi reached the station. But even before it had entered the station area cries of 'Gandhiji Ki Jai' began to rent the air. When the train stopped people ran ahead to have darshan of Mr. Gandhi. The compartment in which he was sitting was virtually besieged. All the doors and windows were blocked. Man clambered upon man to have one glimpse of the 'Mahatma'. I also tried to get near him but as the doors and windows were blocked neither I nor my companion could get a view of Mr. Gandhi. We, therefore, went over to the other side of the train where it was all free. I saw Mr. Gandhi sitting with a wet towel over his head. He was closing both his ears evidently to shut out the 'jayjaykar' of of his so-called followers and admirers. His eyes were fixed downwards and he was not

either this way or looking that. I waited for a moment or two and when I got my opportunity I shouted "Gandhi Ka Adhinayakbad" and my companion followed it up "Murdabad". Twice or thrice we shouted and though our voices appeared like voices in the wilderness they penetrated the closed ears of Mr. Gandhi and lo, he opened them. He looked surprised searching for the voices that had dared to condemn his dictatorship. His bright glance swiftly picked us out and as we went on shouting Adhinayakbad-Murdabad" he went on listening and listening, with his sharp clear eyes probing deep into us as if trying to find out the urge that had led us to adopt the unexpected course in that most remote place where everyone sang his praise. I cannot say what was the reaction on him but his facial expression said that he was not unmindful even of the thin voices of two lone people. He marked them and studied them. A few minutes later the train steamed off but even then we went on running with it and shouting the slogan. All the time his attention was fixed on us till we ourselves stopped and let him go to Brindaban. I donot know whether he realised the meaning and urge behind our slogan.

This is Mr. Gandhi, the politician, ever subtle and ever eluding taking note even of the slightest opposition and shutting his ears against his admirers.

Would you like to know Mr. Gandhi the great man whose heart is always with the poor, the lowly and the humble?

For that I would draw your attention to picture number IWO.

> X X

It was in the month of 1940. The entire February. Congress High Command had arrived at Patna for the meeting of the Congress Working Committee. Only Mr. Gandhi was due to arrive. We came to know that he would be coming to Patna from Calcutta. Interested in Mr. Gandhi I along with a friend of mine

went a few stations ahead right up to Mokamah junction to 'escort' him. We had to wait there at the station for about half an hour or so when the train carrying him arrived. on such A vast crowd, usual on the occasions, surging platform rushed to have a darshan of the 'Mahatma'. There was a demand from the anxious public that he should come to the door. But he sat in a calm repose on his bench presenting a sphinx-like appearance. Some correspondences were lying before him and he appeared to be intending to deal with them. Notable in his compartment were Sjt. Mahadeo Sjt. Shankarrao Desai and Deo the latter guarding the doorway. There were a few other minor fries of the character who because they live by accident with some great men think themselves to be as great.

I found at the station a lot of inconsiderate people who in their zeal for Mr. Gandhi tried to enter into his compartment and overwhelm the very God they But they were worshipped. kept out and their attempts failed. Then I saw a smart youth decently dressed with well-kempt hairs coming to the gate of the compartment. He got on the footboard and in this way came face to face with Shankarrao Deo. He wanted to get in and waited for Shankarrao Deo's permission. But Shankarrao without even caring to notice him tried to thrust him behind as he had thrust behind so many with violence writ large on his face. Shankarrao was fulfilling the duty of a 'sentry' with a vengeance and was attempting to make it clear that though he was a devout follower of Mr. Gandhi, non-violent in words, deeds and thoughts, he could be forceful and ruthless and could make his hand work like the baton of the police. But the sentiy-on-duty was strong enough to dislodge the youth who told him that he did not want to get in for nothing. When Shankarrao came to know that the youth wanted the autograph of Mr. Gandhi he withdrew from his

position and allowed him to get in which he aid by crossing over the door as it was locked. But no sooner had he cleared the first hurdle that he had to face another volley of fire. The other minor fries sitting by the side of Mr. Gandhi not aware of the reason of his entry flared up and demanded that he should clear out an once. One of them addressed Mahadeo Desai, See that man has entered in. Mahadeo Desai, however, kept quiet. Anyway when they came to know the purpose of his entry they also resumed their fore the very face of Mr. Gandhi but he was immersed in his correspondence and he did not even so much as raise his head. I donot know whether he was really thinking so deep that he could not know what was happening in his own compactment and remained unmoved or that he deliberately slept over the matter to let his followers treat the bold youth in any manner they liked. But it appeared to me very unfair on the part of Mr. Gandhi. But more of this. The youth in spite of all the protests of Mr. Gandhi's followers and inspite of all their barkings took his seat on the very bench Mr Gandhi was sitting as half of it was lying unoccupied. He then whipped out his note book and I saw him advancing it towards Gandhi and asking for his autograph. But he was still busy with his correspondence. At first he did not hear what the youth wanted but when he was addressed twice or thrice his 'samadhi' was broken and he looked up but did not even notice the youth fully. The youth helped him with his fountainand he signed his autograph and stretched forth his hand for his five rupees. There was some delay in bringing out the amount and down came Shankarrao Deo and said, 'Pay up the money'. The youth replied, I am paying it up, I am paying it up'. And he placed the amount at Mr. Gandhi's feet. Mr. Gandhi quietly kept the money, and was again immersed in his correspondence.

While all these things were in progress the train had started. and had begun to move ahead but very slowly. A number of people had clambered around Mr. Gandhi's compartment. The train was, therefore, stopped through the alarm chain and those people were forced to get into their respective compartments. Shankarrao Deo came near the youth and finding that his work had also been finished by this time and Mr. Gandhi had got his money, whatever he could get from him, asked clear the youth also to silence. All these went on be- out. The youth requested Shankarrao Deo to allow him to stay till the next station where he said he would get down of his own accord. But Shankarrao in a rude and undignified way went on insisting that . he should get down. The youth again pointed out the difficulties in getting down at that place and said that he just wanted a few minutes opportunity to watch Mr. Gandhi at close quarters and that it was a great desire of his life. But all the followers of Mr. Gandhi who were there save Mahadeo Desai went on insisting that the youth should get out. He was not being allowed a moment's rest. I found Shankarrao most cruel in his behaviour towards him and extremely discourteous. There was not the slightest touch of non-violence in all that he said and did at the moment. It was pure violence -violence which was all the more violent because a nonviolent man was indulging in it. He was trying to hustle out the youth by force. There was no recourse to love in asking the youth to leave Mr. Gandhi's compartment free.

The whole fun of the scene was that all these things were happening before the very eyes of Mr. Gandhi but he was keeping his head down and looking over the correspondence. I think Buddha also must not have been as deep in contemplation when he received the light as Mr. Gandhi was at the time. He was simply closing himself against all that was happening there before him. He could have very easily intervened

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settled the matter in a moment. But did not. He could have very easily imagined that the youth was his admirer and a sincere admirer from the fact that he underwent through so many difficulties and spent five rupees to secure his autograph. The youth might have had to labour hard to earn those five rupees, who knows? Mr. Gandhi could have very well allowed him to stay in his compartment after once he had got entry, at least till the next station and then he would have cleared, out himself. The youth seemed reasonable and he could not possibly be such a fool that he could see Mr. Gandhi's compartment overcrowded. being But Mr. Gandhi did not even look up to him after he .had once signed the autograph. I wonder whether Mr. Gandhi would have behaved with him in the same way if he would have come to know that he was the son of some Raja or Nawab. I wonder and go on wondering still. It comes to me that the anonymous mass may be admired and idealised and even worshipped in the abstract, the greatest humanitarian and lover of the poor and the most convinced Republican or the greatest Communist might place the mass on the highest pedestal and make it the supreme arbiter of the State but when a member of it should make hold to approach anyone of them they Acannot and donot extend even ordinary courtesy to him. They treat him with contempt and look on him with derision and frown on him even though he might be their greatest follower, most sincere and most honest. Is it inherent in the social laws? And cannot even a Candhi who is supposed to be the representative and emblem of naked humanity help it? Possibly he could not help it in the case of the youth who went to him to seek his autograph as one of the anonymous mass.

These thoughts come to me again and again even today when I visualise how the youth had to leave Mr. Gandhi's compartment when he found everyone there demanding his exit and

Mr. Gandhi maintaining a stony silence and adopting a most unsympathetic \* attitude. He had to cross the doorway once again and run for getting a seat somewhere. But neither Mr. Gandhi nor his great followers showed the least concern about it. What a shock the dreams of the youth must have got!

This is Mr. Gandhi-the great man whose heart is always with the lowly, the poor and the humble and who is the greatest lover of the anonymous mass.

When Mr. Gandhi arrived at Sadakat Ashram where the meeting of the Congress Work ing Committee was held in February, 1940. I followed him and studied him at close quarters. I saw that as he sat, as he talked, as he moved and walked and discussed certain subjects he went on weaving an air of mysticism about him. He never revealed himself at full to his followers. He never gave them an opportunity to probe into his personality. He always kept them at a distance though always remaining with them. Is it the secret of dictatorship?

Mr. Gandhi eludes my grasp. When I analyse him contradictions face me and I know not what to do, is he a Mahatma or a true bania? I know not what to do. But I go on preserving my interest in Mr. Gandhi and try to read him. There is no doubt that he is a man of eternal interest in whatever respects it might be.

#### ORGANISING OUR SCHOOLS

A review of the book, "An outline of Secondary School Organisation" by Debnarayan Mukerjee, Secretary, Board of High School and Intermediate Education, United Provinces.

The importance of school administration as a function of the Head Master and his staff can not be over estimated, and it is obvious that the success of a school depends largely on an effective discharge of this function. The book quoted above is an honest attempt at

helping the Head Masters and teachers of Indian Secondary schools in regard to the school administration with every thing that it implies, by advancing valuable and practical suggestions drawn from famous authors and educational committees as well as from the author's own vast experience in the field of education.

The aims of secondary edugenesis, scope cation, -its & the underlying principles, have been carefully analysed & formulated by the author in conformity with the present day trends in educational evolution in India and abroad. Important items of discussion buildings. like the school equipment and office; the Head master and the staff; their relation with the pupils on one hand and the society on the other; curricular and extra-curricular activities; recording progress and class promotions; training in responsibility and discipline: social work; physical education and hostel life; educational measurements and researches-are all dealt with most comprehensively and in a way really helpful to the practical school master.

Every suggestion that the author has advanced is based on sound fundamental principles but he has wisely left the details of these principles to the Head Masters to be worked out in accordance with the local conditions. Thus, his position is not rigid and dogmatic, but rather elastic and liberal. The author has rightly stressed the close relation between the Head Master and his staff, and has shown how the former's personal efficiency, breadth of operation with teachers contribute so much to the successful working of his school. He has brought out clearly the bearing of the fact of individual differences on the homogeneity of classification, and has set forth and discussed in a very practical way the various problems that evolve from such differences. His masterly way of tackling subjects like time table, distribution of school work, home work, etc.

can not be improved upon. deprecated with He has justification the undue importance attached to specialisation in regard to teaching subjects, although it is not clear why he has brought under the same category of discussion the teacher's general ability to practice his profession under the terms "real specialisation".

The chapter on recording progress and class promotion is highly interesting and contains many new principles. After dealing with various problems e. g., the inherent defects of the existing system of examination, the new type objective tests, the cases of failures, the backward children and the technique of their treatment, etc., he has tried to establish how a mere verdict of "passed" or "failed" on the basis of ordinary examinations is misleading and falls far short of the total appraisal of a pupil's personality, and has indicated how to improve the method of recording a student's achievement in its wider generality.

The chapter on educational experiments and research in schools is full of ideas and is closely in keeping with the modern stress laid on this aspect of education. But it would serve the teachers better had it been a little more clarifying, detailed and illustrative in view of the newness of the subject.

The author is silent, perhaps with reasons, over the official inspection and the Head Master's relation with the School Managing Committee. In view, however, of the growing power and responsibility that are being attached to the view and sympathetic co- Managing Committee regarding the school administration, some space, say, a little chapter, on the subject would have been highly appreciated, and I hope this will be done in the next edition of the book.

> Lastly, let me congratulate the author on his eminent service done to the teaching profession in bringing out a book of this nature, and I shall be glad to see a very wide circulation of the same among the teachers, guardians and the reading public.

N. C. Chatterji

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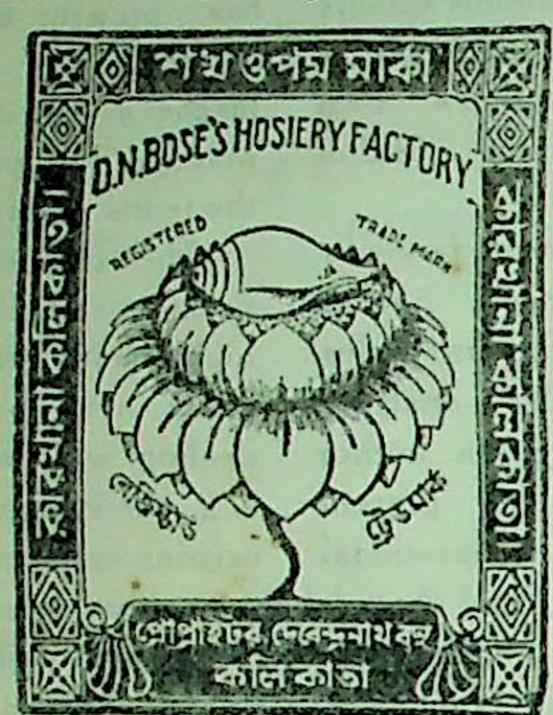
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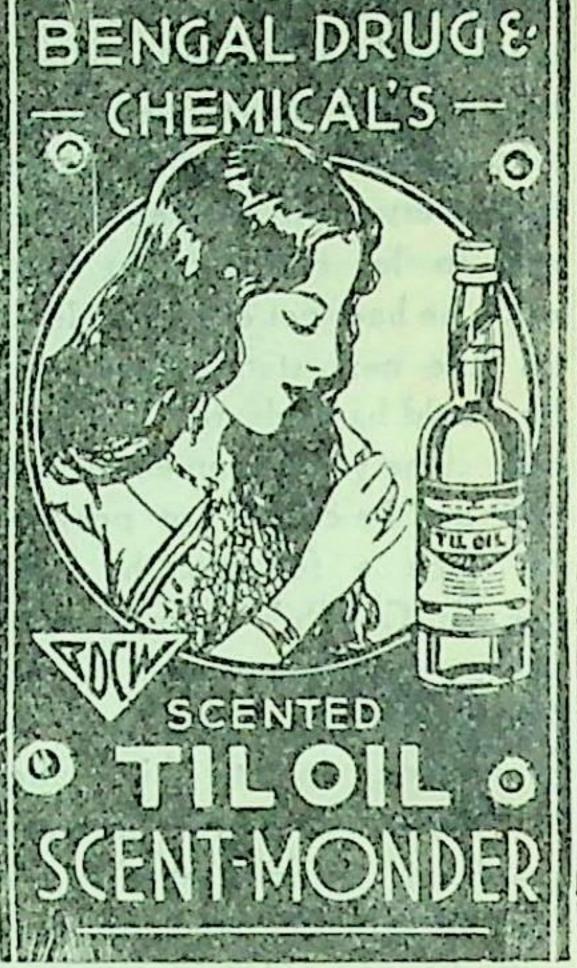
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