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MAHATMA GANDHI

THE BEHAR HERALD

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PATNA, TUESDAY, JUNE 3, 1941.

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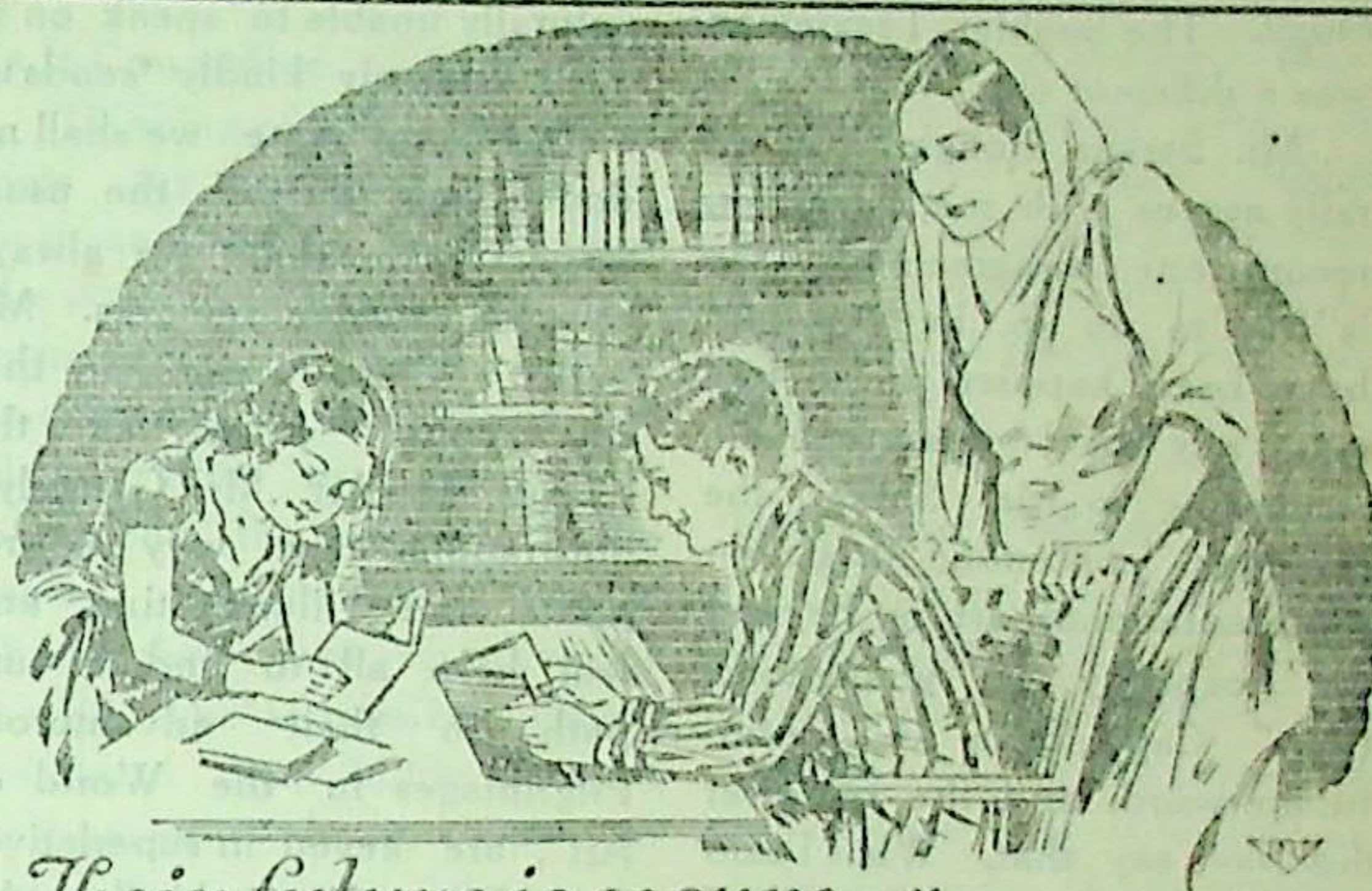
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Correspondence

Rupa Silpa Again

Sir,—I have very few objections to Mr. Sarkar's rather long letter. Most of it is in confirmation of the statement made by me that in India cultured opinion is not trained to enjoy the four arts. The remainder of Mr. Sarkar's letter is a rambling kudos of Mr. O. C. Gangoly's book, *Silpa Parichaya*. The booklet I reviewed was a different one.

Mr. Sarkar, though he 'generally agrees' with me, however, records one disagreement. He is free to do so, but it would have been happier if he had made any but *this* disagreement. According to Mr. Sarkar, the reviewer "contended that non-representational art is beyond the capacity of young-folks (sic)." Capacity is an unfortunate word, and the reviewer did *not* say that. What I said was this: "In the book itself undue emphasis has been laid on the grotesque and non-representational art. Now, for young folk these are not always safe ideals to hold up." Naturally I had no space to explain or elaborate my ideas.

Mr. O. C. Gangoly, it looked to me, was trying to teach inspiration. That is somewhat risky. No artist, much less a youngster, is the worse for a little discipline. Unless, that is, we are obsessed with the dream of child prodigies. This discipline need not be confused with a soulless routine. The argument is capable of being overstated, But my meaning is clear. Moreover, there seemed to be a slight 'toning up' in Mr. Gangoly's prescription for the young. The paradox seems to be that its very goodness as an original or a bold suggestion may make for its dangerousness in a text book. And it is after all a text book. In saying this I am assuming a duality which may be questioned. But in any case it would lead to a longer discussion which is not called for by the present occasion. What is relevant to Mr. Sarkar's

'contention' can be met with, bluntly, by saying that I did not say what, according to Mr. Sarkar, I am supposed to have said!

I, however, submit that Mr. O. C. Gangoly's "supplementary volume", *Silpa Parichaya* which, to believe Mr. Sarkar again, "covers all the phases of Art", is yet unknown to me. I am naturally unable to speak on it. If Mr. Gangoly kindly sends us a copy of the same we shall no doubt treat it with the usual respect with which we always treat his valuable remarks. Mr. Sarkar's own remarks that this book "covers all the phases of Art...Mr. Gangoly's illustrations are very appropriate and illuminating and will help all to find a sure path in their adventurous Pilgrimages in the World of Art", are keyed in superlatives and they refer to this "supplementary volume".

More in our supplementary review which please await.—Yours etc.

Uma Ghose

Cottage Industries

Sir,—I have seen your note on the Bihar Cottage Industries published in your issue of the 15th April 1941. The note is inaccurate in many respects. The large accumulation of stock at the Bihar Cottage Industries (Handloom Marketing Organisation) has mostly been disposed of before the close of the last financial year and I may inform you that at present the stock of goods at the Bihar Cottage Industries is the lowest on record.

It is not a fact that the depot of the Bihar Cottage Industries opened at Calcutta has been closed down. There has only been a change in the personnel of the agency and our shop in Lindsay Street in Calcutta is doing well. It is also not correct that the depot at Patna has been closed down. The agent has been changed and a new shop has been opened in a

more central locality namely Moradpur. I shall be glad if you would correct the statements made in your note dated the 15th April 1941.—Yours etc.

V. K. B. Pillai, I.C.S.
Director of Industries.

27. 5. 41.

[We are glad to note that the Handloom Marketing Organisation of the Bihar Government is going on as strong as ever. But may we point out that our main contention, that the task of popularising the cottage industries goods has not been taken up in right earnest, even now holds good? Ed. B. H.]

Purnima Sammelan

The tenth annual meeting of the Purnima Sammelan, Bhagalpur, was held in the local C. M. S. Raghunandan Hall on May, 18 under the presidency of Professor K. B. Gupta. Professor Makhanlal Roychoudhuri, Mr. Amulya Krishna Ray read two thought-provoking articles on the occasion. Master Asim Mukherjee, son of the celebrated novelist "Bonophul" recited a poem of D. L. Roy. Dr. Balaichand Mukherjee himself ("Bonophul") read one of his poems. The president in course of his address dealt on the necessity of such meetings for the betterment of Bengali social life. After the president's address, "ULTRA-MODERN", a modern social farce written by Mr. Nirode Chandra Mitra, an energetic young worker of the Sammelan, was staged with great success. The success of the function was largely due to the efforts of Mr. Khitish Chandra Mukherjee and Mr. Nirmal Chandra Banerjee.

B. & N. W. Rly Advisory Board

The 63rd Meeting of the Bengal & North Western Railway Local Advisory Committee, Bihar, was held recently at Muzaffarpur.

The Chairman stated, in reply to a request put forward that the Station Masters of all important junction stations should be authorised to run

additional trains during melas, that this was always done. During the last Sonopore Mela 282 extra special trains were run during a period of 6 days. This was considered satisfactory by the Committee.

On the question of the provision of an inter class carriage in 143 Up and 144 Down, the Chairman informed the Committee that this is being provided.

Regarding the improvement of the Railway Feeder Road behind the Mahrajganj Railway station, the Committee was informed that this would be carried out during this half-year.

It was suggested that the Railway should make arrangements for through booking of passengers to and from the East Indian Railway at Mahendrughat. The Chairman explained that it was not possible to arrange this as there is no rail-bus communication between Mahendrughat and Patna Jn. The through route is via Digha Ghat, connection between the E. I. and this Railway being maintained by the E. I. Railway working a rail-cum-bus service.

A complaint was made that 6 Down B. & N. W. Railway train often reached Katihar late resulting in the passengers having to wait a long time at Katihar before they could catch the next E. B. Railway train. The Chairman stated that there was a margin of 15 minutes between the arrival time of 6 Down train and the departure time of the E. B. Railway train and that during April 1941 6 Down train had arrived late on five occasions. The new time-table which came into force from 1st May provides for ample time for the connection to be made at Katihar.

Gift Parcels

The following Press Note has been issued by the Commerce Department, Government of India:

It was announced recently that parcels of tea despatched as bonafide unsolicited gifts to individuals in the United Kingdom should not exceed two pounds in weight. The two pound limit applies to the contents of each parcel and not to the gross weight.

Wonderful Disquisition

Who says Mr. Gandhi's influence is waning in the country? Who says that non-violence is not gaining adherents among the masses? The communal riots must be deemed to have proved to the hilt the incorrectness of all such statements. The way the victims of aggression have been reacting to the attacks made on them by the *goondas* has proved that non-violence has thoroughly permeated the masses. From the villages in Dacca district thousands of Hindus,—men, women and children—who were attacked, gave no resistance at all and fled as fast as their legs could carry them. So, I am told, happened at Bombay and Ahmedabad although I do not know whether the persons who fled from those places were Hindus or Muslims. With most people I, too, had thought in the beginning that those who gave an exhibition of their mastery of the art of running away were just the kind of prudent men and women who believe in the good old doctrine that one should protect himself at all costs. But today I stand corrected and by no less a person than Mr. Gandhi himself. What do you think of the long disquisition he has issued on non-violence and its application and on the distinction between violent resistance and non-violent resistance? It is an admirable and inspiring thesis, you will say. I quite agree. But what has it sprung from? Ah! that is the most interesting point for study. It is based on the fundamental assumption that those who fled from their hearth and home were all devout disciples of Mr. Gandhi who erred in the application of the doctrine they had imbibed from the great protagonist of non-violence. Verily, Mr. Gandhi's own notion of the strength of his followings in the country is as accurate as the loyalty to non-violence is genuine of those who gave a demonstration of their discipleship of Mr. Gandhi to earn now only the title of 'coward' from Mr. Gandhi

Through The X'Ray

By Politicus

himself. Well, well;—there are so many ways man can flatter himself and why should I grudge if Mr. Gandhi has chosen an ingenuous one?

Magnificent Move

It is an excellent disquisition—this latest one by Mr. Gandhi on the correct application of non-violence. He has said in clearest possible terms that "running away in fear is cowardice". He has urged that it is the "duty" of the people to offer resistance—even violent, if they are incapable of non-violent resistance. "That people should flee for their lives for fear of the *goonda* should be intolerable", he has said again, "they ought to possess the capacity of resisting *goondashahi*, violently or non-violently." These are noble sentiments which should please the stoutest advocate of violence without giving the least offence to the most ardent champion of non-violence. But if only all that glitters were gold! If only Mr. Gandhi's latest statement were as innocent as it looks! Really it is not a thing of cherubic innocence. It is one more of the formidable moves by the astute political chess-player to consolidate his own forces in the Congress to the exclusion of all other forces in the organisation. Take the following gem skilfully interpolated in the midst of many others some of which I have culled above to your enlightenment and exhilaration—"Those who favour violent resistance must get out of the Congress and shape their conduct just as they think fit." Here, my friend, is the catch in this fascinating and exhilarating sermon from the Wardha shrine. Hitherto only those who favoured "violent resistance" to the established authority used to have been ordered out of the Congress. The scope of the expulsion is

now extended. Henceforward one must forego even the right that is conceded him by law to defend himself by violence, if he is to aspire for any position in the Congress. It is a magnificent move on the Chess board of the Congress politics. The purge will not now take long to be completed.

Is It Cowardice

Thinking of the communal riots my thoughts however go to those who flee away from the *goondas*. Of late they have come in for a good deal of condemnation at the hands of those who as a rule live far away from the scenes of the riots. Unfortunate people these—they are condemned by all. The aggressive rioters condemn them in the practical manner—they do not care to select the choicest terms to frame their condemnation. I note that Pandit Bharat Misra of the Bihar Provincial Hindu Sabha has described them as adherents of the Gandhi cult,—whatever they have done or not done is said to have been influenced by the teachings of Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi, in his turn, has completely repudiated them,—those who flee away from the aggressor are not my disciples, he has said. But both Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Bharat Misra have agreed in condemning them as cowards. Unfortunate people these to earn this epithet from all. What else would they do please? The Government could give them no protection, nor could Mr. Gandhi or Pandit Bharat Misra or even Mr. Jinnah. The leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha or Muslim League as the case might be, who for months fed them on the prospects of Hindusthan or Pakistan, could nowhere be seen at the time of the riot. If any of them were seen at all, he was seen in a car, heavily guarded by well-armed and stout private guards if not armed

constables and that too after the riot was brought under control. The poor people were attacked all on a sudden by persons presumably prepared and armed for the purpose. In the villages in Dacca district a hopeless minority of people were suddenly attacked with the assassin's knife and the incendiary spark; their properties were looted, their houses were burnt. At other places too, they were threatened with this fate, the protecting authority having either collapsed or lost the power to protect. Was it cowardice if under these circumstances people sought shelter in the place they thought was safe for them? I at least have not the heart to say that they were.

Distressing Position

Distressing position this for the millions of men and women of both the communities who possess too fine a culture and too much of respect for law and love for peace to turn overnight into assassins of innocent men. They have never been trained for self-defence, either violent or non-violent. They cannot get the training even now—the Government would not let them have it. The first thing which in the riot-affected areas the people are deprived of, is arms, if any is in any one's possession—even a lathi is not allowed to be retained. Everywhere collective self-defence is made impossible by the inevitable curfew order extending throughout day and night which the aggressors can disobey but not those who are sincerely anxious to live in peace. Any organised attempt to learn the art of self-defence is promptly suppressed as preparation for aggression. The worst about this business is that except in the very beginning the aggression does not come in the shape of organised attack which alone may be given organised resistance. No one, however well prepared, both mentally and physically, can resist either violently or non-violently, a person who stealthily

(Continued on page 4)

THIS INDIA

By Mallinatha

A simple way of starting a small select library

"A book depot in Bombay was searched on the 21st evening by the local police, who took hundred books from the shop."—A. P. I. message, May 23.

This is the result of the newspapers publishing lists of the "hundred best books".

Swaraj almost knocking at our gates

"Mahatma Gandhi considers the communal disturbances not from the standpoint of winning victory for the Hindus or the Moslems but acquiring power to win swaraj."—Mr. Mahadeva Desai, Ahmedabad, May 24.

It is quite evident that we have been "acquiring power to win Swaraj" by leaps and bounds recently.

A "danger"ous person

"One person was sentenced to-day to six months' R. I. by Mr. John, Extra Additional District Magistrate, Dacca, for having been found in possession

(Continued from page 3)

sets fire to a thatched house. A man gets little opportunity even to die heroically in the approved Gandhian fashion when he is stabbed from behind. Violent resistance is bound to prove not only ineffective but impossible when one man out for a quiet walk, is suddenly attacked by several armed men. What, in these circumstances, can an honest man do except leaving the affected area if his means permit? I am afraid those who are shedding tears over the "cowardice" being shown by the people and lecturing on the virtues of resistance, never care to understand the position of those who take recourse to fleeing. But I forget. Politicians would not be politicians if they had shown better appreciation of the reality. And Mr. Gandhi is a politician no less than Pandit Bharat Mishra.

of a danger in the Inglis Road."—Patna daily, May 26.

Why should the nature of the "danger" possessed by the man be kept a closely-guarded secret?

Putting even the extreme leftists to shame

"It was not only in the interests of India, but, also in the interests of Britain herself that the growing arrangement between the two countries was stopped at an early date."—Sir Badridas Goenka's Calcutta speech reported in Patna evening daily, May 26.

Fancy a capitalist giving expression to such sentiments!

A topsy turvy world

"By another resolution the Government urged the abolition of the Deoli Detention Camp as well as the Chaibasa Jail and also the restoration of the rights and privileges of the political prisoners."—Patna ex-evening daily, May 28.

After this we shall not be surprised to hear that Mr. Jinnah is shouting anti-war slogans in Mysore.

Vest pocket ships

"Since the beginning of the war up to middle of May, 561 German and Italian ships of a total tonnage of 2,873 have been sunk."—Ibid, May 29.

Our country boats on the Ganges can and do carry a greater tonnage than these so-called *ships* of the Axis powers.

A place where the temperature is constant

"Lucknow is experiencing sweltering heat. The temperature of 144 degrees has been steady for the last three days."—Patna daily, May 29.

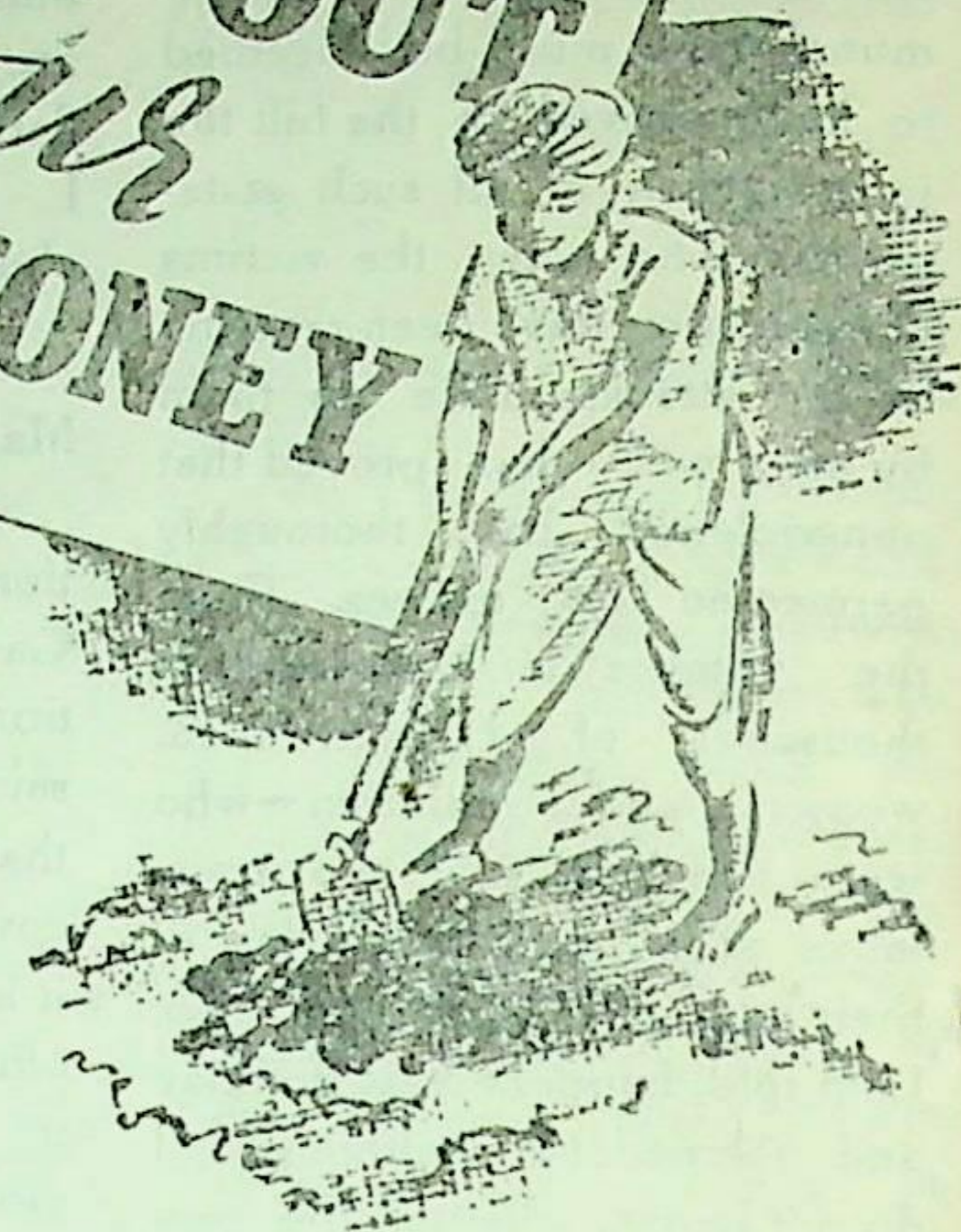
Compared to Lucknow, we in Patna are enjoying Arctic weather with a temperature of only 114 degrees.

Law's delays

"M. V. Daco executed. Fired at King of Italy five years ago."—The A. B. Patika, May 29.

Compared to this, our courts work with lightning rapidity.

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The Behar Herald

Patna,

Tuesday, June 3, 1941.

THE NEO-NON-VIOLENCE

In a letter recently published in the *Times of India*, Mr. Gandhi has said "My non-violence does admit of people who cannot or will not be non-violent, holding and making effective use of arms. Let me repeat for the thousandth time that non-violence is of the strongest, not of the weak". When Mr. Gandhi spoke of the "non-violence of the strong" we always understood him to imply that the men who are non-violent, are capable of violence but restrain themselves. Now when he says that his non-violence admits of certain people holding and using arms effectively, he undermines the very basis of the Satyagraha movements of 1922-41. It is right for him to call it "my non-violence" as it is not non-violence in the ordinary sense. Mr. Gandhi's mind has of late been realising the relative nature of a concept like non-violence, but as he is not prepared to follow the idea to its logical end, he is led into contradictions, over-subtleties and a good deal of confusion of thought. His previous reference to Poland's struggle counting in his mind as non-violent resistance to aggression is evidence of this confusion.

If we exclude those who "cannot be non-violent" and those who "will not be non-violent" as also those who are non-violent because they are weak, all that is left of humanity is the microscopic minority who can, but will not be violent. Formerly, Mr. Gandhi

was concerned only with this last little group, but in his latest statement he has taken under his wings those who cannot, no less than those who will not, be non-violent. The only persons left outside the pale of his non-violence are those who are non-violent because they are weak. In 1922, Mr. Gandhi tried to convert the superficial non-violence of the majority of the people ("non-violence of the weak") into a spiritual force. Now after twenty years of persistent endeavour, Mr. Gandhi finds that the non-violence of his followers still remains skin-deep. In 1922, he began with a rigid exclusion of those who cannot and will not be non-violent. This time, he is making a fresh start but with material that he rejected before and has decided to discard those for whom the original non-violent movement was started. Curiously enough, the three sections that he has indicated his desire to take under his aegis (those who cannot be non-violent, those who will not be non-violent and those who are non-violent in spite of their ability to be violent) are exactly those who can manage very well without him.

After this latest declaration of Mr. Gandhi we would ask our readers to read once more his famous "Appeal to Every Britain", in which he advised the Britishers that if the Germans attacked England the former should act non-violently and thus alone they will save their souls and that they should permit the Germans to take possession of England and even slaughter English women and children. It may be that Mr. Gandhi considers that the materialist Englishmen require a different sort of advice from that of his highly spiritual followers.

TROUBLES HYMENEAL

All is not well with girls' educational institutions in the Punjab. That is the deliberate conclusion of the Education De-

partment of the Government of the Punjab. In trying the probe into the root cause of this shortcoming, one has to follow the time-honoured method of the French police,—*cherchez la femme*. It appears that women are at the bottom of this, as many other, trouble. We are told that "trained women teachers of high academic qualifications are not always an asset to the education department". It appears that women teachers are usually lonely spinsters when they accept service under the Department. After being in service for a few months the loneliness of their lives becomes hard to bear and they start pining for a lord and master to rule over them. They do not have to pine for long, as Punjabi bachelors have the worldly sense to recognise a good thing when they see it. Although marriages are made in Heaven, the consequences are not always heavenly, and the Education Department's troubles start with the wedding bells. The inevitable biological consequence of marriage is quick to follow and the Education Department laments in very chaste language the fact that the lady teachers are more often to be seen in maternity wards than in their classrooms: "During the first few years of their married life"; the Report goes on to say delicately, "the teachers are absent for considerable periods and the schools suffer from constant substitutes". To us, there seems to be a ray of hope in the words "during the first few years of the married life". If the visits to laying-in hospitals become less frequent after the first few years of married-life, there does not seem to be any reason why even in the first few years, a sojourn in a nursing home should be regarded as an inevitable annual or biennial function. Why should not the Education Department make it clear at the time of appointment that maternity leave would be granted only once in every three years?

There is no sense in bann-

ing the appointment of married women teachers in schools as we do not consider sex-starved harridans to be the best teachers of children. It is possible to reconcile the needs of biology and the Education Department and there is no reason why this should not be attempted even during the "first few years of married life". In the life of many, knowledge dawns but late and all that is needed is to see that it comes earlier rather than later. It would not be difficult for the Punjab Government to have a "Handbook for Teachers who intend to marry" and to supply it free to those for whom it is intended.

Notes & Comments

High treason

Srimati Sarala Devi, Orissa's satyagrahi No. 1, has issued a statement to the Press as it is the fashion for all leaders to do after their release from jail. According to her, the Satyagraha movement failed because of three reasons: Firstly, the masses were unable to appreciate the highly metaphysical ideals of Mr. Gandhi; secondly, in the provinces, the Congress Committees continued to lay stress on quantity rather than quality, with the result that very poor stuff was used to fill the jails; thirdly, many of the people who were offering satyagraha were doing so with the hope of claiming a share in the future political gains in the country, in simple parlance—"jobs".

A gallant lady

Naturally such outspokenness could not be ignored by the Orissa Provincial Congress Committee. In the familiar Kripalanian style, the President of the O. P. C. C. asked Srimati Sarala Devi for an explanation for making such a statement "which is positively harmful to the present movement and is against the official policy of the Congress". The chivalrous President refrained from asking the dissident lady to show cause why disciplinary action

should not be taken against her for her frankness.

Srimati Sarala Devi has turned out to be more than a match for the puny male President of the O. P. C. C. She has neatly turned the tables by saying that "such free expression of views is not harmful to the present movement which had been started by the Mahatma on the issue of freedom of speech".

Even if the President points out that there never has been any intention to concede freedom of speech to individual Congressmen, Srimati Sarala Devi will be adjudged the winner of the first round by public opinion.

The man who refused to sing hallelujah

The late Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyangar framed a scheme, which was approved by Mr. Jinnah, of joint electorates for Hindus and Mahomedans. The rejection of this by the Congress was the cause of his break with that movement. The mystical elements in Mr. Gandhi's politics jarred upon his fine sensibilities and led him to decide not to join any political movement of which Mr. Gandhi was the guiding spirit. It is nothing short of a tragedy that, there was no place for a man of Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar's calibre in the leading political organisation in the land.

According to the *Indian Social Reformer* the responsibility for this must be shared between the Government and the Congress. Government would recognise no movement except the Congress and the Congress would tolerate no one who did not worship, or at least make a show of doing so, at the shrine of Khaddar and non-violence. Many people who have no antipathy to hand-spinning and have not the least inclination to violence, revolt against the idea of making a fetish of them. Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar was not the first Indian of high character and intellectual calibre who was obliged to give up the Congress because of its depressing effects on his personality. To stand up for one's convictions amidst

a crowd clamouring only for *darshan*, *prasad* and dust from feet is itself no mean service to the cause of intellectual and spiritual freedom without which national freedom is but a phantasma and a hideous dream.

God's elect treated as common people

After suggesting that Bastille and Black Hole pale into insignificance compared with the horrors inflicted on satyagrahis in U. P. jails, the *National Herald* records the mortifying fact that "there is no difference in food between ordinary criminals and satyagrahis". It is not clear why those who have deliberately courted arrest should be treated differently from those whose sojourn in jail is compulsory. In courting arrest, it is presumably their desire to manifest readiness to suffer for a cause. What virtue can there be in going to jail in order to live rather more comfortably than one lives at home? This is not our view but the view of the Congress Ministers of Bihar when they were in power. In 1939, they had to tackle the problem of Satyagraha directed against the Congress Government by Kisan Sabhaites and other Congress Leftists and when a satyagrahi prisoner went on hunger strike in this province the provincial Government issued a communique in which it was stated:

"Hunger strike for greater physical comfort in jail is against the spirit of satyagraha. Satyagraha of self-invited suffering, in order to purify the enemy's heart, is inconsistent with the idea of securing more comforts by putting pressure upon the Government. Mahatma Gandhi has always asked the political prisoners to treat themselves as ordinary prisoners."

It may be pointed out that the above rule was laid down for those who satyagrahed against the Congress and does not apply to the Congress "quality" satyagrahis who have every reason to resent being treated as ordinary men.

Satyagraha variants

Our local daily in its issue of the 27th May has published the following news under the heading "Satyagraha Day by Day": "Three youngmen were arrested on May 24 by the Calcutta Police while creating disturbance at the Court of the Chief Presidency Magistrate". Satyagraha may be polymorphous and may be manifested in protean forms, but one wonders if creating disturbance in a court of law is officially recognized as a valid form of satyagraha. There is not much difference between creating disturbance in a law court and being drunk and disorderly on a public thoroughfare, and so far we have not heard anyone claiming the latter as a form of satyagraha. Is any form of conduct that lands one sooner or later in jail to be regarded as satyagraha?

The hand-picked satyagrahis

In spite of all talk about satyagrahis of quality, the slogan-shouters of the third phase are a poor lot,—mostly village idiots and ragamuffins. The large majority of them do not deserve any arrest or trial, but while they are ignored by the police they go on spreading idle rumours and indulge in a low type of propaganda. Some of the rumours said to have been spread by these third phase satyagrahis are given in the *Independent* of Nagpur (May 24): "The Government wanted to decrease the population of India by sending young men to the front", "the Government has used soldiers to outrage the modesty of Indian women", "the riots in Ahmedabad and Bombay were engineered by the dogs of Englishmen", "Turkey has entered the War on the side of Germany", "Calcutta has been evacuated and Rangoon is being bombarded", "all the troops abroad are already dead". If these allegations are correct, one can see the reason why the satyagraha movement died a natural death with the third phase.

Finding himself in a changed world

It is incumbent on every "leader" to promptly issue a statement to the Press immediately after his release from jail. Dr. P. Subbaroyan, former Congress Minister of Madras has not made any exception to this rule and has said that "the people of India by strictly adhering to the doctrine of non-violence would achieve freedom for the country." Judging from the intensity with which non-violence is being practised in the country in general and the world in particular, it is safe to predict that achievement of freedom is a mere matter of days. Perhaps Dr. Subbaroyan is not aware of the fact that Mr. Gandhi has recently opened wide the door of his non-violent camp to admit those who cannot be non-violent or will not be non-violent. So, "strict adherence to the doctrine of non-violence" is no more *de rigueur* for Congressmen.

The total War

Some idea of the sacrifices made by the people of England for the sake of their country will be evident from the unique scale of taxation imposed on the people: the postage on letters is 2½ annas, a tin of 50 cigarettes costs three rupees and seven annas, a 4 oz tin of tobacco is worth eight rupees, a glass of beer six annas and a bottle of whisky 12 rupees. Over all, there is an income tax of 8 annas in the rupee. A man with an income of 4 lakhs has to pay the income-tax department three lakhs and sixty-thousand, or in other words, is left with only 40,000.

A bit thick

"Satyagrahis who have been approved by Mr. Gandhi but have not offered satyagraha and those who have offered satyagraha once and are not doing so again have been warned by Mr. B. Thakedar, President of the Nagpur P.C.C. that unless they offer satyagraha before July 5, their names will be struck off". Mr. Thakedar is a

practical politician and has tempered the peremptory nature of his order by pointing out in the same breath, a loop hole of escape: "Those who are ill should produce medical certificates".

It seems to us that Mr. Thakekar has been unduly severe with the poor satyagrahis of the third phase. It is true that Mr. Gandhi was of opinion that a satyagrahi is always a satyagrahi. As soon as a satyagrahi was released from prison he was expected to start shouting slogans again. But this has been a counsel of perfection and not more than half a dozen satyagrahis have courted imprisonment a second time. None of the "leaders" have done so; in fact a "leader" on his release always hastens to issue a statement to the Press and never thinks of shouting slogans again. Why should the poor anonymous ("Five persons offered satyagraha in Madras, they were arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment") satyagrahis be expected to continue to pop in and out of jails?

Among those whose names were approved by Mr. Gandhi but who have shown no inclination to shout slogans so far, is Mr. Kripalani. It may be that he has got exemption on the production of a medical certificate, or it may have been conceded that when the better half is in jail, it does not very much matter whether the worse half follows or not. Whatever may be the reason, the fact remains that in future jamboories of satyagrahis, Mr. Kripalani's name will not be found even in the list of non-arrested satyagrahis. He will have to be introduced only as the husband of Mrs. Suchita Kripalani.

An unsolved mystery

Mr. K. M. Munshi has written an article in *The Social Reformer* on the recent communal riots. According to him "Gujarat has been the home of non-violent resistance". We are not told if the running away of a lakh of people from Ahmedabad on the outbreak of the recent riots is the result of non-violent resistance. Mr. Munshi is of opinion that on such occasions "public opinion should be mobilised in favour of non-

violence. Public disapproval is the greatest of deterrents. For about twenty years such an opinion created by Gandhiji saved Ahmedabad from the attentions of the goondas". One wonders how or why this twenty-years-strong public opinion suddenly collapsed on the twentieth year, and the goondas were able to triumph over non-violence carefully nurtured at its "home" for almost a quarter of a century.

Hypocrisy with a big H

Mrs. Anne Morrow Lindberg, wife of America's former air-ace and present "copperhead" writing in the *Atlantic Monthly* on the question of aiding Britain has said that she loves and admires the British with her heart but inspite of this she is unable to plump for full military aid to Britain. We in India are quite familiar with this sort of cerebro-cardiac conflict. The Congress attitude is exactly the same. Congress leaders profess abhorrence for Hitler and Nazism (they have done it more often than even the British have done), but they will do all they can to obstruct those who are trying to overthrow Hitler and his National Socialism. Unfortunately for Hitler, neither the Lindbergs in America nor the Congress in India represent the majority opinion of the people.

A page out of the past

The recent controversy in the Press between Babu Rajendra Prasad and Mr. Savarkar reminds one of a similar incident twenty years ago in which Babu Rajendra Prasad's chief was involved. Mr. Gandhi is very cautious in the matter of his pronouncements, but a tactless remark escaped from him and caused a furore in the country. The Moplah rebellion had played havoc in Malabar and some ignorant bigots who had taken it for a *Jihad* had committed several acts of violence and cruelty and the Hindus were the sufferers. Mr. Gandhi had hitched the Congress wagon to the Khilafat crescent and to please the Ali brothers he wrote of "the brave, Godfearing Moplahs". Naturally, the fat was in the fire and it was said that Mr. Gandhi had not a word of sympathy for the

poor sufferers but was lavish in his praise of the Moplahs commending them on their bravery and godliness.

Choosing one's opponents

The Governor of Central Provinces has complained that while during the first and second phases of the Satyagraha

movement the people who came forward were persons of standing and culture those "who were now coming forward are persons of a very low status and have no education".

There is truth in the Governor's complaint but considering the strategy adopted by Mr.

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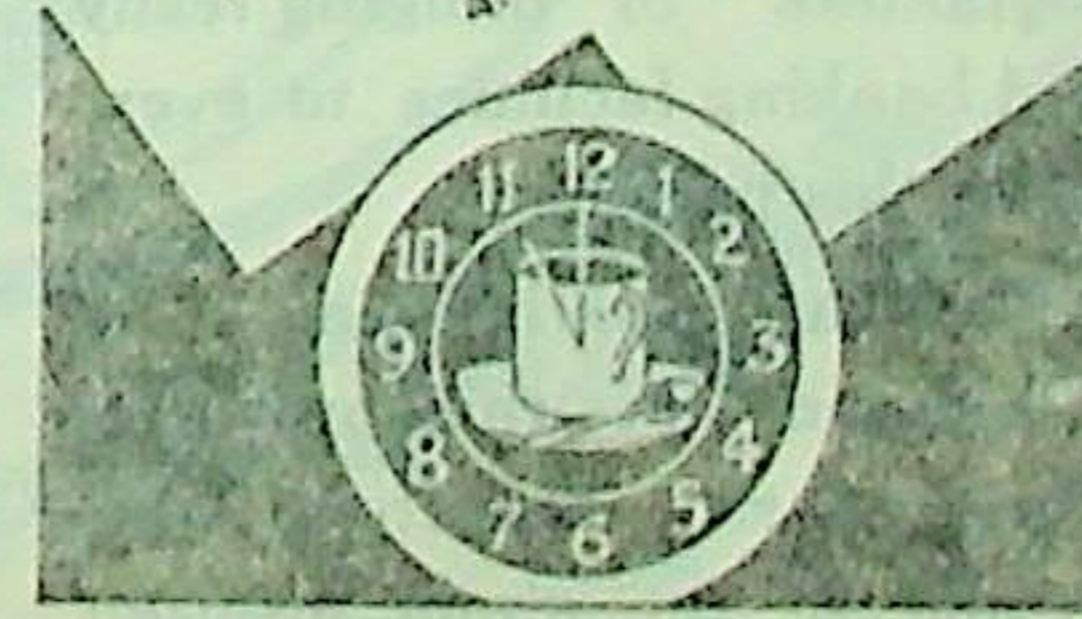
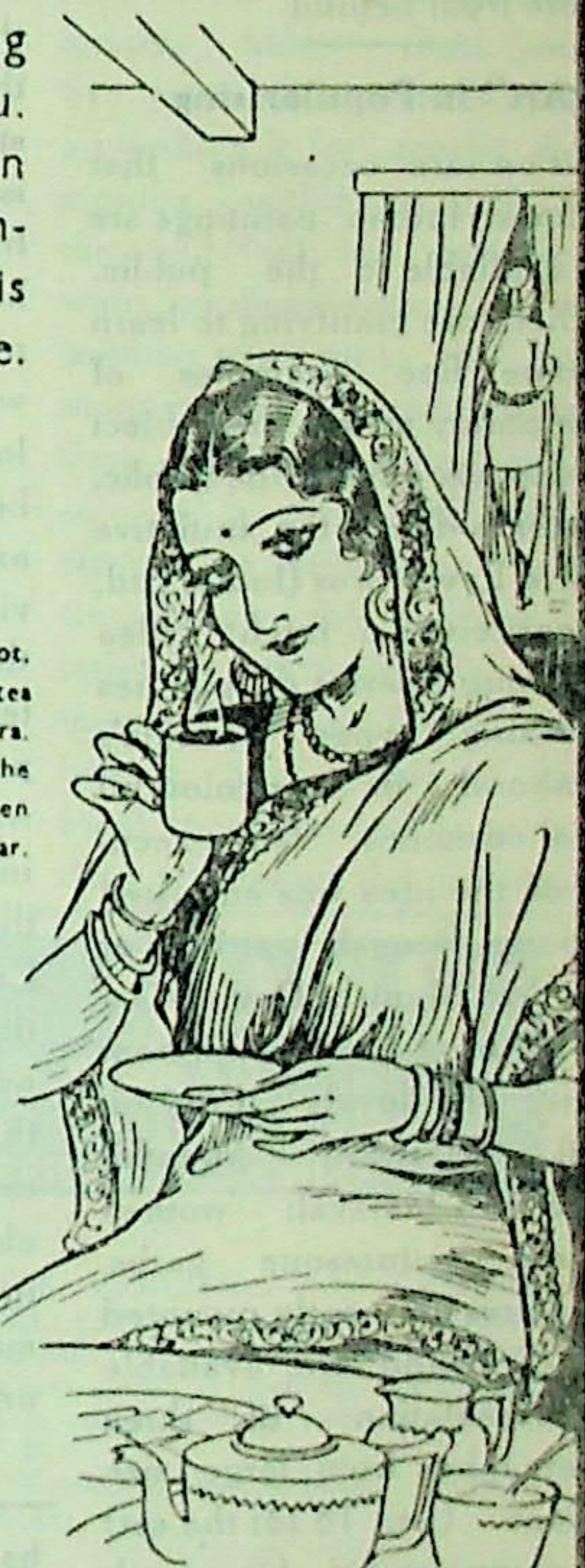
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Gandhi, things cannot be otherwise. There is not an unlimited supply of Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries and Members of Assemblies to last indefinitely. It was an initial mistake to start with howitzers and trench mortars that could not be used a second time; when these were used up, catapults were bound to be requisitioned. If the Governor of C. P. is not satisfied with the cultural and educational equipment of third phase satyagrahis, he will have greater reason for complaint when the fourth phase satyagrahis are pushed forward. The third phase satyagrahis are like the soldiers of Mussolini, they have no heart in doing what is expected of them; they come forward because of pressure from behind.

"Art" in Popularising

It is on rare occasions that the finest Indian paintings are made available to the public. It is therefore gratifying to learn that some fine examples of contemporary art are the subject of a generous offer to the public. The offer is due to the initiative of M/s Lever Bros (India) Ltd. They conceived a bright idea of preparing a series of pictures representing types of India's womanhood in their colourful national costumes. The execution of the idea was entrusted to a young Bengali artist of repute, Mr. Manishi Dey. As a result, we have now six different pictures of lovely Punjabi, Bengali, Marwari, Marathi, Madras, and Malayali women in their picturesque garbs. The pictures are neatly mounted on stiff cards and are available on presentation of three wrappers taken from large size Lux Soaps (i.e.; 18 for the set) and one anna stamp for each picture (or six annas for six), to P. O. Box 807, Bombay. These sets may be used for presentation purposes or for decorating one's drawing rooms, or stitched together into an album.

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THE DEVELOPING CRISIS By R.E. Russell, C.I.E., I.C.S.

This year we have reached the crisis of the War. In the West Britain's fight to maintain command of the sea, to crush the submarine menace and to keep open the sea routes with America and the British Commonwealth overseas has reached a vital stage. In the Middle East we have seen the war extend rapidly to new areas and that extension as yet shows no sign of ending. The Balkan countries and heroic Greece have one by one fallen before Hitler's vast armies and the threat has now touched Asia Minor and Iraq, while in North Africa and Crete a grim struggle is in progress. The fact that clearly emerges and that concerns us here today is that the war has moved and is still moving closer to India. It is to protect her safety that Indian troops have been fighting heroically in Libya and Abyssinia. There never was a time when this war did not concern India and there can no longer be any doubt in the heart of any one that her safety is now vitally involved. It has been the object of the War Committees to put steadily before the people the true facts about the war and what it means and to infuse in them understanding of the fact that this is India's war. Events are now speaking for themselves. It will now be our duty not only to interpret those events to the people so as to bring home the truths, but also to make people see them in due proportion so that they may not become victims to unnecessary alarm or panic.

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the strength that is on our side. Britain still holds the seas, and every day brings proof of it; our air force is growing daily in strength: the British and Indian armies are growing daily in numbers, equipment and training and the tide of help from America is rising steadily hour by hour. In Abyssinia, we have already freed our rear by the conquest of Abyssinia. The Axis powers have reached their greatest strength; they may have already passed it. We are still growing. Mr. Churchill has

told us that the struggle will be long and grim, but the war not only can be won but must be won if we put forth all our strength and all our determination. He has heartened the people of Britain in that determination: It is for us all in India to recognise the peril that is before us,—to harness ourselves to the preservation of this land with equal determination, to sustain the effort that India is making to increase it day by day and never to look back.

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Untouchability

By Bijon Behary Mukerjee

To-day we are expecting something, some improvement in our status. Arrangements are being made for that—so say the newspapers. But we do not know what it is; whether it is an illusion, or an indistinct shadow of real freedom. Only this much we know that whatever we may get, we are still far far away from our aim, the complete independence. There is neither any doubt nor the slightest difference of opinion about it. It is a well-admitted fact that complete independence cannot be obtained without achieving all-India Nationalism, and all-India nationalism can, by no means, be arrived at, as long as untouchability remains. So we must not let the old idea be washed away in the current of glee for what is coming, untouchability should first be stamped out from our country. We should not think that there is at present no need of caring for so petty a matter as untouchability, when we are proceeding to the goal without paying any heed to it. We should not forget that we are not expecting to meet what we actually desire and deserve, and that we shall have to continue our treads without a thought of retreat.

Untouchability, as every one well realises, has stood as a huge bar against political advancement of India. It is a system coming from time immemorial, and has stuck its roots firmly in our societies. Mahatma Gandhi's desperate struggles have experienced that eradication of untouchability has become a problem very difficult to solve; and yet the solution must invariably be found out.

Untouchability is not so dangerously prevalent in other societies as amongst Hindus; and it mainly rests on food concerns. A Christian can take food from any body, a Mahomadan has no objection to take food from any Muhamadan, whatever his rank in

the society may be. But a higher class Hindu will not mix with, or take food even from a Hindu of lower class. This classification is generated from the mode of procedure or livelihood. We all know that the mind is framed in infancy, and that formation becomes more and more hardened and stable along with age, taking a full unbreakable shape when grown up, turning at last into nature. Whatever one is habituated to from his infancy, becomes his nature. That is a general rule, even outside human community. Thus a Bedia (snake-catcher) boy can easily handle a snake without having a faint trace of fright; the son of a thief becomes well accustomed to his profession; a man who is born and brought up among the savages, must acquire the character of a savage, while to others, unacquainted with it, it will seem to be unbearable. That is how a Bengalee learns Bengali, a Brahmin possesses his usual tenderness, an idolator clings to his idols, and a descendent of a great man generally owns a good mind and qualities. That is why rank

or family or pedigree is so carefully marked in case of a respectable government service. That is how a rustic is quite different in mood from a townman; tame animals are different from wild ones; and that is how centuries of subjugation have entirely erased out the picture of our old happy days, squeezed out the last drop of manly spirit and courage, and made us peacefully accustomed to the present impotent timidity.

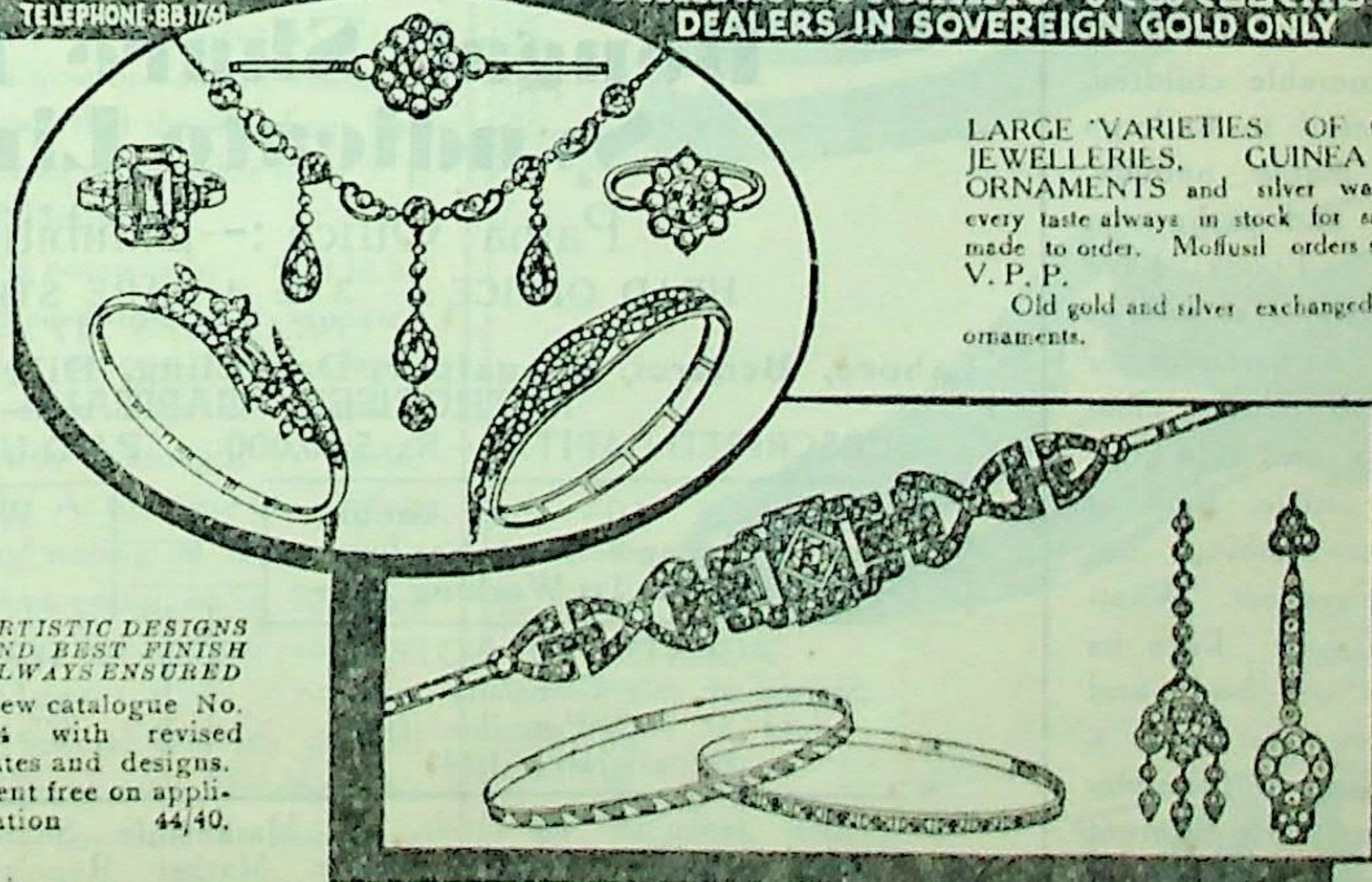
A boy learns from the very beginning of development of his knowledge that there are some foods strongly restricted. His onward procedure without those restricted foods becomes adherent to his nature that assumes a tendency to avoid them, and at last an aversion to such foods is automatically stored in the core of his heart, and his nature rejects them. It has, in course of time, become so strong that every one hesitates to take foods from the hands of another who often takes those restricted foods. Those hands will be treated as impure, however clean they may be. This has been continuing since long, and has become the natural order of the day. Any disorder or irregularity in it will cause a tumultuous agitation. None

can act against his nature; and if at all one attempts, he is severely and mercilessly snatched away from his society, his beloved ones, and has to dumbly tolerate the painful scourges of intuition and repentance. For whom, then, will he work?

This untouchability can, probably, be abolished if the main obstacle, the difference in food, is removed, and a common method is adopted. The difference exists only in meat. It is not possible that those who do not take meat, should be forced to take it against their nature; but it is possible, or rather easier, for meat-eaters to leave it. Meat is not an item of bare necessity to lead the daily life; it is more a luxury. More than ninety five per cent persons of India go without it for nearly eleven months within a year; and they will feel no trouble, no want, no disadvantage, if they promise to go on in the similar manner for the remaining few days. This will bring strength of mind. By this there will remain no difference or distinction, no delicacy or hesitation to mix with one another, there will be one Indian nation, having one common Indian meal, the depressed or wretched class will enjoy the opportunity

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of elevating their mentality by coming in contact with the so called enlightened people rendering better co-operation. Our strength will be doubled, cattle will increase, fields will yield more crops, and we are sure to hold pleasant lives.

I do not know whether my suggestion will appeal to my brethren, or invite ridicule from them, as luxury and passion have overcome them. My friends are trying to rub off this untouchability by other means, but of no avail. It is not my intention to undertake the task of eulogising vegetarianism in this tiny article, or to describe its properties on human body, as a medical man. Many others, with far higher qualifications, have already accomplished that. I wish to simply add a concluding word to what they have said, by an effort to see how far it (vegetarianism) can influence political affairs, specially in India. In other countries this thing is not wanted, as there are no varieties of races, nor varieties of food in a single place, and no necessity was consequently ever felt to raise this question. Other countries are quite unacquainted with untouchability; but in India it is a question of urgency. Meat is injurious to health in this tropical climate. The Soil of India is suitable for vegetarianism, and sacrifice. It is better to sacrifice luxury and passion for the sake of our mother land, with her innumerable children, allowing our mind to undergo a full bloom of manly nobility, and kindness, and extirpating untouchability. Foods have action on the mind as well as on the body. As narcotics or stimulants have both clear actions on body and mind, so has every other article, food or drug. Foods are nothing but drugs in one respect. Whatever we take, must have its own action in our body and mind. Meat gives our body a different formation, and thereby leads the mind in a different way. Nature of a vegetarian becomes quite different from others. Marked difference bet-

ween a lamb and a dog in nature will easily convince us of the action of food in other animals too. Vegetarianism will also teach us non-violence or proper "Ahimsa" that will be of great help to us in our mental development, and the present journey to unity and freedom.

I think vegetarianism will serve all purposes. None of the Hindu, Muslim or any other class, will have the slightest disinclination to shake hands with others, if the only hindrance in their union is away. A vast gap that has been created between the minds of one another, will smoothly disappear, and there will come a better chance for all to be directed in one path. So it is desirable that meat should be eliminated from our dishes, as it is at the bottom of all the evils.

I admit—it may take some time, and will meet protests and objections at every step, as time has taught us to ruin our originality, spoil our health by vacating our poverty-stricken pockets, to show brutal cruelty to domestic animals; but I am sure of success in the long run. Specially it is nothing difficult for him who succeeded in extracting access of Harijans into the temple of Gurubayoor, and has safely come across lots of trials far more serious. Every body, every Indian, is, therefore, fervently requested to pay a particular stress on the thing, and forward in this way with an ardent zeal to bring the joy of victory.

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The Pageant of Indian Politics

By Monitor

The communal problem in India has taken a dangerous form. Bad as it always has been, it had hitherto confined itself to the political plane. Till recently its manifestation used to take the form of rival conferences and at the worst, wranglings among the political leaders. The masses played no part except attending these conferences and meetings and occasionally going to the polling booth to vote. But since April last the masses have been dragged into these wrangles to play dangerous parts with the assassin's knife and the incendiary spark.

Communal riots have been taking place all over India on a scale and in a form with no precedent in this country. Riots of a communal character there have been in India in the past in which lives were lost and properties destroyed. But the riots which have taken place within the last two months have been of a different character. The present series started with a riot in Dacca town for reasons which are not yet clear to the public. In the very beginning big shops and godowns were set fire to. Persons were indiscriminately attacked and quite a number of them killed. Actual clashes between organised mobs were comparatively few. Before the situation in Dacca town could be brought under control attacks on a mass scale started on the Hindus in a number of villages in the Narayanganj Sub-division in that district. In all these villages the Hindus were in a minority—in some in a hopeless minority and the attack came on them almost in the form of an invasion. Almost all the Hindu houses in this vast area were burnt or otherwise destroyed and the Hindu victims en masse fled in panic to take shelter in the neighbouring native State of Tipperah. The riot in the Dacca district was followed by

a communal riot in Ahmedabad city. That in its turn was followed by another in Bombay city. Almost simultaneously another communal riot broke out at Cawnpore. That was followed by a riot in Bihar Shareef in our province. A communal riot has taken place also at Bhiwani in the Punjab.

In Bihar Shareef the immediate occasion for the outbreak was the observance by the Hindus of the Anti-Pakistan Day as a sort of reply to the observance of Pakistan Day by the Muslims. Whoever may have set the ball rolling, the Muslims suffered more in life and property than the Hindus in this area.

Details are not available of the riots in Ahmedabad, Bombay and Cawnpore. In the Press messages a rule has been observed not to mention the religion of the casualties. This however is known that more persons died in minor clashes and stray assaults than in the fight between large mobs on both sides. Incendiarism was also resorted to in these places though the extent of damages on this account is not clearly known as yet. As from Dacca so also from Ahmedabad and Bombay exodus of people took place on a large scale. From such indications as are available it appears that those who fled from these cities were most, if not all, Hindus.

It is noteworthy that in all these places riots were repeated for the second and even third time after the first was apparently brought under control. At the time of writing renewed rioting is reported to have been going on in Bombay while stray assaults are continuing at Dacca town.

The special features of all these riots may briefly be noted. They start without any apparent provocation. The common causes for the outbreak of communal riots in the past

such as cow-killing and music before mosque were absent from all the recent riots. They do not take place in the form of clash between two groups at one place only in a town; clashes take place between scattered groups and, more prominently, between individuals simultaneously all over the

area. This makes the Police practically ineffective. They do not die out in a few hours or even days but continue from day to day and break out afresh after a short-lived lull. The outbreak occurs with a suspicious suddenness and more suspicious similarity in the technique. This suggests the

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existence of brain behind the riots. Most observers have agreed that the riots are organised events set into motion by designing persons. The large number of knives, for example, which have been used in these riots, could not have been procured in a moment. At Ahmedabad several hundreds of lathis were recovered from one place which clearly suggests premeditated preparation. The continuation of the riot for weeks suggests that there are guiding brains behind these occurrences who are interested in their continuation.

More than one person including a Muslim Minister of Bengal has suggested that these communal riots are political events organised by politicians as so many steps to the seizure of power in the belief that the collapse of the established authority may not take long to come. The general belief is that the fanaticism and the misery of the ignorant people are being exploited by the shrewd and designing persons.

Whether the stretching of the interpretation to such length is justified or not, it is difficult not to hold that these riots are organised affairs. They are more dangerous than the ones we used to notice in the past because of their special characteristics some of which I have noted above. These are difficult to be controlled by the Police. It is difficult also to organise effective popular resistance against those who play the aggressors' role. For one thing, no community is allowed by the authorities to prepare for self-defence. It is difficult to question the propriety of the Government action in this respect because it cannot be denied that preparations for defence may easily degenerate into preparations for attack. Besides, it cannot be known who exactly is likely to be the assailant. One may put up resistance if his house is attacked by one or even a group of persons openly. No resistance is possible when a house is stealthily set fire to or

when a person is stabbed on the back. In such circumstances self-defence takes the form of retaliation. Assassination of the innocent is answered with the assassination of another innocent person and incendiarism with incendiarism. In most cases the innocent person suffers while the guilty ones continue to flourish, no one knowing who exactly is the guilty person to be killed with a semblance of justice. The result is the general brutalisation on a progressive scale, Hindus and Muslims vying with one another in demonstrating their respective ability to kill without provocation.

This is what is happening now. Things are moving in a vicious circle, every dastardly action provoking an even more dastardly one. The contagion is spreading from province to province and the whole country seems ablaze with communal passion. What all these will ultimately lead to it is difficult to foretell; but everyone has reasons to be apprehensive about the future.

Who can control the situation? The Government of course can do a lot, but I am afraid that the Government as such cannot effectively deal with the situation as it obtains today. The riots are undoubtedly largely if not wholly political events. The power to control these outbreaks lie with the political leaders of the two communities. It is difficult to hold that these leaders are doing all they can do. Those who are sincere Congressmen are alone viewing these events as symptoms of a national calamity; they alone are trying to quell the fire. All others who are not altogether inactive, are talking in the language of fault-finding and thinking in terms of retaliation. It is the leaders of the Mahasabha and the Muslim League who must be held responsible for the calamitous events of the last two months. Indirectly if not directly they are fanning the fire. It is worth-noting that Mr. Jinnah has not uttered a word in condemnation of

these riots. Mr. Savarkar in his turn has not acted better. By attacking Dr. Rajendra Prasad for his outspoken condemnation of the atrocities committed by the Hindus in Bihar Shareef, Mr. Savarkar has acted even worse than Mr. Jinnah. These two leaders of the rival communal organisations must share, between themselves most of the blame for the deplorable situation of today. If they undertake a peace mission, condemn the activities committed by their respective co-religionists and appeal to their followers to abstain from violence of the kind they have indulged in, I think the situation will soon show improvement. The campaign they should undertake must be an incessant one and on an all-India scale. It is needless to emphasise that they should be whole-heartedly supported by their respective lieutenants. I can think of no other means to ensure perfect communal peace in India in the existing conditions.

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Reference was made, in the note on Pakistan and Anti-Pakistan in the issue of the 20th instant, to the inconsistency between the Moslem League's urgent insistence in September 1939 on satisfaction of Arab demands and its present-day omission to say anything in disapproval of the measures that are being taken by the Imperial forces to dislodge Rashid Ali Gilani from Iraq; and it was added that this later attitude was an eminently satisfactory thing rather than the contrary. It is gratifying to find that the first Mahomedan gentleman in India, His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, has since come forward with a definite condemnation of Rashid Ali, and that Khan Bahadur Momin in Calcutta has followed suit.

Another eminent Mahomedan, the Nawab Bhadur of Murshidabad, has condemned the whole Pakistan scheme (which probably has the indirect effect of dropping the Arab question altogether); the Nawab Bahadur evidently takes much greater interest (in the political sphere at least) in the affairs of what he describes as "the two sister communities" living within India side by side than in those of any community, Moslem or otherwise, living outside India's geographical boundary.

Q. A. Mahomed Ali Jinnah has preferred to continue silent about the question of Arab demands, and condemnation of the Pakistan scheme from him is of course unthinkable. He has, however, made a remarkable statement, viz. that the Pakistan scheme of the All-India Muslim League has nothing to do with the States—a statement which has made me rub my eyes more than once. To my mind till now, essential items of the Pakistan scheme included a zone provided by the "Dominions of Hyderabad and Berar, with a narrow strip of territory restored to them in the South running down via Kurnool and Cuddapah to the city of Madras", preferably supplemented by "an opening on the

Pakistan and Anti-Pakistan-II

By Chuni Lal Ray

western coast also, in Bijapur", another zone consisting of "a newly-constituted free city of Ajmer" and the adjoining Moslem States wherein would "concentrate Moslems living in Rajputana, Gujrat, Malwa and the Western India States", and also a desire that the Maharaja of Kashmir might be induced to exchange such portions of his territories as are predominantly Moslem in population for the Kangra valley in British India or for a payment in cash (no similar action being of course demanded from the Nizam in respect of such portions of his territories as are the home of the 88 per cent of his subjects who are Hindus). But now I stand disabused; and if the Delhi-Lucknow-Rampur block is also to be dropped, as I hope it will be, much of the average Hindu's suspicion of the Pakistan scheme would vanish.

In any case, much of the ground for grumbling would disappear for the average man, the man who, instead of being aggressively Hindu or aggressively Mahomedan, is a nearer approach to the Philistine. One of the greatest difficulties likely to arise from any scheme of a number of Pakistans interspersed between a number of Hindu States (and one at least of the Pakistan States being so placed that it would cut off completely all Hindus living south of a line drawn from near about Goa on the western coast to Madras on the Coromandal coast from portions of the continent north of the line from Ratnagiri to Masulipatam) would be from the fact that the Hindustan-resident would be an "alien" in Pakistan, and a Pakistan-resident an "alien" in Hindustan, having to face in each case the limitations imposed upon aliens. It would be a perfectly miserable life in such circumstances for travellers and pilgrims at least—Hindus south of Madras would possibly have to forego dreams of pilgrimage to Benares,

and concession trips to Shillong in the east or to Kashmere in the west would cease to have attraction for Bengalees and Beharees, the devout Muselman from Eastern Bengal finding it equally troublesome to pay a visit to Ajmer Sharif or to Piran Kaliyar. Nor would it be sufficient compensation for this to have the feeling that, within his own *itaya*, the Hindu or the Mahomedan as the case may be, would have everything in his own way, that Calcutta residents for example, would find it possible then to ask Mahomedans to take their fingers out of the Municipal Corporation Board pie, asserting that the recent enactment had become automatically void, and Madras and Karachi residents would similarly be in a position to ask Hindus "to mind their own business"—the pleasure would be only indirect and mental, while the difficulty arising from "alien" status would be physical and direct.

If the Pakistani is now prepared to give up the Deccan zone, the free city of Ajmer with the adjoining Mahomedan States zone and the Delhi-Lucknow zone under the leading strings of Rampur (poor Bhopal made very little show in the picture, even in the original, fading before the strong lime-light of the free city of Ajmer), and if, on the other hand, the Mahasabhite gives up his ardour for a pan-Hindu State "represented by the pan-Hindu flag alone" right up to the bank of the Indus, it should be possible for ordinary people from the two communities to put their heads together and to arrive at an early decision about the course of action for the future. And, in all probability, it will be agreed that the troubles attendant on an exchange of population necessary for the formation of theocratic Muslim or Hindu States are so considerable, and that the Bengalee or Beharee Mahomedan would feel so very much less at ease

in the company of the Pushtoo-speaking Peshwaree than in that of the Bengalee-speaking or the *dilati boli* speaking Hindu that it would be very much wiser to devise means for the two communities as well as others living side by side, without the necessity of statutory safeguards, under a secular government which would be neither aggressively Hindu nor aggressively Mahomedan, which, desiring at all times the maintenance of the most cordial relations with the adjoining Muslim country Afghanistan, would nevertheless be prepared to resist to a man, as ardently as Maulana Obedulla Sindhi, any invasion of India from that direction.

Conditions favourable for an atmosphere of mutual give-and-take were very much in evidence at the beginning of this week when, close upon the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad's statement favouring a United India for "the two sister communities" came the Bengal Premier's move for a Round Table Conference of Indians representing all communities and interests, and this again followed by Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan's renewed reference to his 18 month old suggestion of a Round Table Conference of Premiers and leaders of various parties in the Legislatures. An attempt on the part of the Calcutta Dist. Muslim League to overawe Mr. Faziul Huq brought forth a hot retort in course of which he said: "There was no question of going over the head or tail of any League or of challenging the authority of any leader, Muslim or non-Muslim.... I am not merely the oldest member of the League in India at the present moment, I have done more for the League than the biggest personalities who seem to dominate the fortunes of the body.... I am determined to press it (the peace move) to the very end. A future constitution of India must be built not on strife but on love, and it is in this view that I shall make an appeal to all the warring communities to cease their strife and sit together to

evolve a solution of the present difficulty and work out a scheme which will be worthy of India and its peoples."

Unfortunately, however, the situation has again deteriorated. Mr. Fazlul Huq's courage has since fizzled out; and the declaration in his latest statement dated 21st May that he still adheres to the "view that Hindus and Moslems can, if they will, agree to a working pact to put their shoulders together" is qualified by the further declaration that "in any Round Table Conference that may be held the League will naturally represent the Moslem nation, and no decision could be acceptable to the Moslems unless the League ratified it" and that the conference would leave the leaders "either to come to an agreement on the whole question of India's future constitution or to demonstrate to the world definitely for the last time that Hindus and Moslems are incapable of arriving at a mutual agreement".

This latest attitude of the Bengal Premier which savours of "Abide by the Muslim League's veto or perish" is not very helpful and possibly indicates a greater desire to prove the "Never the twain can meet" theory than to come to a reasonable agreement. Even so, something real would be gained if it serves to make Mr. Huq realise

(1) That he would be attending the Conference in the double role of (a) Bengal's Premier and (b) oldest member of the Muslim League in India, and that it is the latter role which, at this latest moment in his ever-changing role, looms largest in his eyes.

(2) That it is but fair in consequence that Mr. Huq should arrange to have place in the Conference for (a) representatives of such Mahomedan organisations as do not subscribe to his dogmatic

statement that the League alone can represent the Moslems, (b) important members of the Hindu Mahasabha which has at least as much representative character for Hindus as the Muslim League has for Muslims, and has as much (or as little) justification as the Muslim League for claiming a vetoing power and (c) leaders of the Indian Christian, Parsi and other important minority communities in India, although they may not be claiming the rights of separate nationality.

It is superfluous to add that Mr. Huq knows well enough that the Congress is not a Hindu organization, that it cannot be representative of the Hindu standpoint, and that Mr. Gandhi positively declined to appear in the role of a representative of the Hindu community. Any attempt to pass off the Congress as representative of the Hindu view would therefore be positively insincere.

And the meanest intelligence should be able to realize that insistence on vetoing powers can only mean that there is a set purpose to defeat reasonable decision on a mutual give-and-take arrangement, that alleged desire to see the future constitution of India built not on strife but on love is mere eyewash, and that the real object is to delude the outside world into the erroneous belief that because firebrands of the two communities cannot come to an agreement, this is the case also with the general bodies of the two communities.

The Hindu Mahasabha also would be strengthening the case for separation unless it is prepared to give up its talk of a pan-Hindu Raj, represented by the pan-Hindu flag over the whole country right up to the bank of the Indus.

Palestine in Middle East Strategy

By Norman E. Shohet

The Manchester Guardian writing on the eve of the Italo-Greek hostilities said, "It would be unwise to think of the Mediterranean fighting as merely between us and Italy. Our chief enemy is Germany. Not only does the Mediterranean give control of things which Germany badly needs, such as the oil of Iraq and Iran, but it is a theatre of war in which our blockade might be broken and the whole fabric of the Empire upturned".

The middle East is a prize the Nazis will go to every limit to get and the key to the domination of the Middle East is Palestine. Situated as it is, the clearing house for war supplies from Australia, manpower from India and the storehouse of oil from Iraq, Palestine is destined to play a leading role in Middle East Strategy.

Palestine, if Hitler can get it, will prove the downfall of British power in the Mediterranean. The British Navy would be forced out of Alexandria and the Mediterranean. The oil of Iraq and Iran, the mines and minerals of French North Africa, the exposure of Russia to the North, the vast mineral resources of the Caucasus, and the Petroleum of Baku, these will be the fruits the Nazis will secure by the capture of Palestine. Even India will be isolated and find itself surrounded to East and West by Germany and Japan, and by a doubtful neutral in the North.

It is indeed heartening to know that the Allies are pouring in troops into Palestine, which is the most important link in the Mediterranean chain of defence. Palestine is also important in the Strategy of the Middle East due to its vast resources of potash and oil developed largely by Jewish enterprise. It is the centre of communication to Egypt, Iraq, Turkey and Arabia. It would be used as a jumping off ground to and Allied attack on Germany through the backdoor of the Balkans.

Added to this, the importance of Palestine lies in the fact that it is the Jewish National Home. Palestine with a population of 500,000 Jews, all ready to lay down their lives in the defence of the National Home. For this war, as Dr. Weizmann, the president of the world Zionist Organisation and the Jewish Agency, put it, "is our war" and all assistance that we may be able to give to the British Army and the British People we shall render wholeheartedly."

The importance of Jewish Palestine is not only due to the vast manpower the Jews are willing to put on the field (at the outbreak of war 130,000 Jews, 40% of the Jews of military age, volunteered) but also to the vast agricultural and industrial resources the Jews have created. Jewish Palestine produces food, a vital commodity in war. The country's output of vegetables due to Jewish enterprise and devotion to the soil, has risen from 17,000 tons in 1924 to 129,000 tons in 1939, Dairying has been developed by Jewish mixed farming to an output of 35,000,000 litres in 1939, and egg production to 59,000,000. During the first year of war this production has been increased by 20%.

The Jewish population of Palestine has considerable numbers of trained technicians, skilled workers, and scientists, many of them, like Dr. Goldburg, who attended the Delhi Supply Conference, have been foremost in Germany's industrial life. The Jews have created a network of industries, many vital for war, which makes Palestine a repair workshop of the East. Besides, Jewish Palestine has highly developed medical services, and facilities for convalescences and rest.

This in short is the importance of Palestine in Middle East Strategy, and the time is not far off when it will witness on its soil the greatest and most decisive battle of this war.

Review

The Calcutta Municipal Gazette, 12th Health Number—Edited by Mr. Amal Home; price annas Eight only.

The Calcutta Corporation and the Editor are to be praised for bringing out such a nice volume containing useful articles from the pen of eminent authorities.

The Book is meant for the general public but some articles are of a very high standard and can be used more by medical men and specialists than the lay public.

Books like these should be published in the Vernacular of the locality than in English.

Municipal authorities should encourage maternity and child welfare centres as also "homes" for Tuberculosis, Venereal diseases and blind and disabled persons.

Maternity and child welfare centres should receive the best attention as children are the future hopes of a nation. If the structure is strongly built it is expected to keep long against the wear and tear of life as also against gales and earthquakes of life.

There is a large number of articles on food. It is upto the public to help the authorities in detecting crimes in adulteration of food. A good food would save a lot of expenditure on medicines and doctors.

The Venereal diseases are best prevented by the compulsory examination of Prostitutes weekly or monthly, even to see that they are not infected and that they keep these certificates of fitness.

Preventive treatments for Tuberculosis, Venereal diseases, infantile mortality, maternal mortality during child birth should be depicted in Charts (like the article "War on Human Body") and kept in important places and occasional lectures be given.

It is necessary that the authorities should seek the services of medical men on honorary basis to do these propaganda.

A healthy body has a healthy mind. One should

follow this adage and follow what our city fathers say.

Cooperation of the authorities, public and medical men is required to improve the socio-economic structure of the nation.

The endeavour of the Calcutta Corporation in at least publishing such volumes goes some way in showing their pious wish and every sister organisation and institution should try to follow in these footsteps to improve their constituencies.

S. Samaddar, M.B.B.S.

ASSEMBLY ELECTORAL ROLLS

The following Press Note has been issued on the 24th May:—

The triennial revision of the electoral rolls for the non-Muhammadan and Muhammadan constituencies of the Indian (Central) Legislative Assembly is now in progress.

The dates provisionally fixed for completing the different stages in the revision of electoral rolls are as follows:—

I. Preparation of electoral rolls and their draft publication ... 2nd July, 1941.

II. Presentation of claims and objections—16th July, 1941 for urban areas and 23rd July, 1941 for rural areas.

III. Hearing of claims and objections—29th August, 1941.

IV. Final publication of the electoral rolls, 15th October, 1941.

The franchise qualifications are noted below:—

Non-Muhammadan and Muhammadan constituencies:— A person shall be qualified as an elector for a general constituency who has a place of residence in the constituency and

(a) holds an estate or estates or a portion of an estate or portions of estates for which a separate account or accounts (including a residuary account) has or have been opened, for which land, whether revenue-paying or revenue-free or rent-free land, an aggregate amount of not less (i) in the

case of land in the Patna Division, than Rs. 30, or (ii) in the case of land in the Bhagalpur and Tirhut Divisions, than Rs. 24, or (iii) in the case of land in the Orissa and Chota Nagpur Divisions, than Rs. 12, is payable direct to the treasury as local cess; or

(b) holds a tenure or tenures, which is or are valued for the purpose of local cess at an aggregate amount of not less (i) in the case of tenures in the Patna Division, than Rs. 400 per annum; or (ii) in the case of tenures in the Chota Nagpur Division, than Rs. 300 per annum; or (iii) in the case of tenures in the Bhagalpur Division, than Rs. 200 per annum; or (iv) in the case of tenures in the Tirhut Division, than Rs. 150 per annum; or (v) in the case of tenures in the Orissa Division, than Rs. 100 per annum; or

(c) holds land as raiyat and is liable to pay an annual aggregate rent or local cess amounting respectively—(i) to Rs. 160 and Rs. 5 in the Patna Division; or (ii) to Rs. 96 and Rs. 3 in the Tirhut Division; or (iii) to Rs. 64 and Rs. 2 in the Orissa Division; or (iv) to Rs. 40 and Rs. 1-4-0 in the Chota Nagpur Division; or (v) to Rs. 144 and Rs. 4-8-0 in the Bhagalpur and Monghyr districts; or (vi) to Rs. 96 and Rs. 3 in the Purnea and Santhal Parganas districts; or

(d) was in the previous year assessed to income-tax on an income of not less than Rs. 3,840; or

(e) was in the previous year assessed to an aggregate amount of not less than Rs. 15 in respect of any municipal or cantonment rates or taxes;

Provided that (i) no person who is not a Muhammadan shall be qualified as an elector for a Muhammadan constituency; and (ii) no Muhammadan shall be qualified as an elector for a non-Muhammadan constituency.

EXPLANATION—If a person who is not qualified as an elector under clause (a), or (b) or (c) in respect of estates,

tenures or land held in any one division or district, holds estates, tenures or land in more than one division or district and if the aggregate amount of the local cess or rent payable on such estates or land or of the valuation of such tenures, is not less than the amount prescribed for the division or district in which the local cess or rent payable or the valuation of his tenure or tenures, as the case may be, is largest, he shall be qualified as an elector for the constituency in which that division or district is situated, provided that he has a place of residence in any one of such divisions or districts.

The expression "Municipal rates or taxes" includes all rates and taxes levied under any of the provisions of the Bihar and Orissa Municipal Act, 1922, not only in a municipality constituted under the Act, but also in areas in respect of which notifications have issued under section 388 thereof.

The local enquiries in urban areas are expected to be completed by the 5th June, 1941. Persons desirous of having their names entered in the electoral rolls should approach the local agents, show them the franchise qualifications which they possess and see that their names are duly entered in the list of additions which will be a supplement to the existing electoral rolls.



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The Behar Herald

Important Notice

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 Prabhati—Rs. 20/- per page per insertion & pro rata. (Less than ¼ page will not however be accepted). Cover—1st Rs. 40/- 2nd, 3rd and 4th Rs. 30/- each.

Note:—For our old patrons these rates will come into force from 1st October, 1941, or, as and when their budgets are prepared, whichever is earlier.

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