

# Behar Herald

Editor—M. C. Samadhar

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The problem of tenancy reform has assumed great importance in the context of the present upheaval of ideas. It has dawned on our leaders that unless the entire village economy is replaced on a new and sound basis, it will be very difficult indeed to secure the well-being and happiness of the rural population. And naturally the Zamindari system has come under fire. The Congress, in its last election manifesto, pledged to abolish all intermediaries between the peasantry and the State and to establish direct relation between them.

But there seems to be no clear cut idea in the minds of our administrators how the vacuum created by the abolition of the Zamindari is to be filled up. They are not ready with concrete proposals to meet the counter-challenge of the vested interests who assert with truth that mere liquidation of zamindari and substitution of them by an army of paid revenue collectors will certainly not in any way better the lot of the peasantry. It may, they say, fill the coffers of the State, but the peasantry will find themselves pressed tightly between the two millstones of inexorable demands of the State on the one side and the unscrupulousness of the paid tax collectors on the other. It is said that in the Zamindari system there is no room for individual dispensation of mercy, charity and forbearance. Certainly there is none where one has to deal, not with men, but machinery.

Mere abolition of zamindari, leaving intact the present land tenure system and 'basis of land revenue' will not bring any appreciable change for the better in the lot of the peasantry. What is needed is a new

## OUTLINES OF A NEW BIHAR TENANCY SYSTEM

BY N. P. SINHA

orientation of our rural economy. The socialist solution of the problem is complete nationalisation of land, and co-operative and community farming. While it may be the ultimate ideal, it does not solve the immediate tasks before us. For one thing, hedged as we are by so many limitations, political, social, economic and psychological, it will meet with the strongest opposition from the peasants themselves, if such a drastic change is made without preparing them for it. Moreover, the average Indian peasant is attached to his land in an emotional and sentimental manner. Whatever land he has, however small the area be, he yet wishes to feel that it is his own. There is a vast degree of difference in the status of a cultivator and a labourer in the estimation of the rural people and as such, a cultivator will never view with equanimity the prospect of being deprived of his land and relegated to the status of a labourer, however well paid, on his own land. As a matter of fact, not only is this true of India but of every country. The lure of the soil of which poets have sung and philosophers mediated upon is a real, vital passion. Even the Bolsheviks with their rather drastic methods have not been able to 'root out this feeling from the Russian peasantry and at least in some parts of Russia large proprietary farms are not rare.

We shall have, therefore, to evolve a system which, while preserving the fundamental basis of our rural economy, viz. individual proprietorship of land, will yet remodel it in

such a way as to secure all advantages of modern farming and an efficient system of land taxation. We propose here to give a bare outline of such a plan and discuss it under three heads: Land Tenure System; Basis of Land Revenue; Method of collection and administration.

### Land Tenure System

The present system of land tenure is a most defective one. It is proprietary and hereditary. Thanks to our laws of inheritance, the whole country is divided into narrow strips of lands under different owners, with the result that the holdings of above 60 p. c of the peasantry are uneconomic, not sufficient to maintain them and their families for the whole year with what they save of the produce after paying off heavy dues. The result has been mounting rural indebtedness and more and more land passing into the hands of what we may call 'capitalist cultivators' i. e., people who invest their capital in land and get a return from it without actually cultivating it. The recent inflationary rise in prices have no doubt benefited to some extent the cultivators and a part of the huge rural debt have been redeemed. But it is mainly a small class of moneyed cultivators who have largely profited. They are making enormous profits by selling the produce of their land at famine rate prices and with that money purchasing more and more land from small and marginal cultivators by offering them even five times the actual price. Hence the number of landless agriculturists is fast increasing and thus accentuating the already existing

dis-equilibrium of our economic life.

The greatest defect of the fragmented holding is that it is responsible for poor production and at the same time does not admit of appreciable improvement in yield. Furthermore, if the holdings are in the hands of a capitalist cultivator, production declines all the more as he cannot give the same care and attention as one who cultivates for himself. Hence the whole basis of land tenure should be changed. Its proprietary and hereditary basis should be abolished and cultivation made a life profession. It should be clearly recognised that a cultivator is engaged in a task of national importance which is vital to the community and that he should be treated and cared for with sympathy and consideration. Every cultivator should be ensured of minimum necessities of life and comfort in return for the valuable service he renders to the community. At the same time land cannot be allowed to be exploited for the private benefit of moneyed and capitalist classes as a means of profitable investment of their surplus capital, depriving the poor cultivators of their legitimate share.

*A life profession*—Persons who belong to the agricultural class or who have decided to make cultivation their life's profession and are fitted for it by aptitude and training will be given land for their life time. They will not be allowed to encumber it in any way and it should not pass automatically to their heirs as a part of their inheritance. A son shall be entitled to his father's land only when his profession for life is also cultivation. If he chooses another

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# Behar Herald

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## ANARCHY AT STAKHANO-VITE PACE

A neighbour, who by his incompetence and carelessness sets his house on fire, is justly execrated by those who have the misfortune of living near him. "Disgraceful" would be a weak word to use to characterize the present Bengal administration. Without there being a war, thousands of "displaced" persons are roaming over the south-eastern part of that unfortunate province. It is the goonda that is to-day the ruler of Bengal, not Burrows, who has escaped to Darjeeling. Death stalks the streets of Calcutta, the once proud second city of the British Empire. The city of palaces is now a dreadful city of long knives and acid-filled bulbs. No outsider is willing to undertake a journey to Calcutta now, even on urgent business. During the last eight days, many people have returned the railway tickets which they purchased earlier for going to Calcutta. Buses and taxis are not plying because the government is unable to guarantee safety of life and limb to the drivers of these vehicles. The tram service is running fitfully in some sections only. The educational institutions were closed on the Direct Action Day, August 16—it has not been possible to allow them to re-open yet. No one knows how long this scandalous state of affairs will be allowed to continue in the "problem" province of India.

What has been, and is happening in Bengal, is of grave concern to her neighbours. She is not only stewing in her own juice but is also bubbling over. Sparks from the neighbouring province have set our houses aflame. Up to August 15 last, there was no apparent communal discord in Bihar. The gruesome accounts of the happenings in Calcutta, and later in Noakhali, given in the Press have been the sole cause

of the very unfortunate situation that has developed here. The majority is always powerful enough to crush like a moth the small minority living in its midst. It is base cowardice on the part of the majority to launch attacks on the minority, loot or burn their homes, and kill men, women and children indiscriminately. Because somebody has done it somewhere, there is no sense in others following the brutal example. Blood is not expiated by blood, the sufferings of one set of innocent people in one place are not relieved by making another set of innocent people suffer. None of these arguments appeal to a frenzied mob which believes in the old Mosaic law,—the *lex talionis*. The theory of Mr. Jinnah, that Muslims will not be oppressed in Hindustan for fear of retaliation on the Hindu minority in Pakistan, does not seem to be workable in practice. Persecution of a minority in one province brings about retaliation in another province, followed by reprisal and this killing and counter-killing can ultimately end only when all minorities everywhere are completely extinguished. But, as the actual number of these minorities runs into millions, the process will have to continue for a very long time and ultimately, there will not be either Hindustan or Pakistan, but a great charnel house of smoking ruins and putrefying corpses.

The Premier of Bihar is reported (Searchlight, Oct. 30) to have said in Chapra, on Oct. 29, that he had decided that "henceforth he would not allow inflammatory speeches to be made". The word "henceforth" indicates the dawning of wisdom after the event. We believe that our administrators can do worse than copy the precautionary measure taken by the District Magistrate of Cawnpore, who has prohibited all announcements, speeches, utterances of slogans on loud-speakers, microphones, megaphones, or by beat of drum. Anything that rouses the passion of the mob should be completely suppressed till conditions become normal again. We regret that the tone of our local contemporaries to-day is more aggressive than conciliatory.

## Notes & Comments

### Butchered For A Capitalist Holiday

The struggle for power between the Stalins and Trumans of this country will inevitably have deplorable consequences on the working classes of the fighting communities, breaking labour solidarity in the country. Political party leaders are out to recruit followers through communal Trade Unions. Ignorant Labour of this country will not realise that they have nothing to gain and everything to lose in the political game of "religious" leaders who only strive for power for themselves. It is well-known that while poor Muslims and poor Hindus are stabbing one another, the rich capitalists of both communities—Birlas, Sarkars and Ispahanis—are joining hands, floating new companies, for the exploitation of both Hindu and Muslim Labour.

### Provincial Competition in Beneficence

The Madras Government have prepared a scheme according to which "the cultivator must divert one of the members of his family from assisting on his farm to spinning" The U. P. Government have declared that every young man who has finished his secondary education will have to give one year's free social service to the community.

Other provincial Governments are not lagging much behind with similar chimerical projects. We understand that the Bombay Government is soon to basicize all post-graduate research work in the province. The C. P. Government intends to ask every parent to dedicate one child to truth-telling. The Assam Government would require every family to provide one member to take up the vow of non-violence.

### Ask Us Another

People have been asking why cotton-mill restriction has not been applied to Bombay or C. P., provinces, that produce more cloth than they need. Why Madras, which has not enough cotton mills to supply her own needs?

The answer is not difficult to seek: Mr. Prakasam wants to strengthen his own tottering position within his party. So he is eager to placate the Mahatma and receive his benedic-

tion. Kripalani became the President of the Congress by giving out that he had obtained the Mahatma's blessings. Mr. Prakasam also can sit firmly in the Premier's chair if he can secure the same talisman.

### It Can Be Done

Babu Rajendra Prasad has called for an increased food production in the country to make us self-sufficient. During the last war, the U. S. showed that it was possible to increase food production substantially without any increase in acreage, and even with a reduction in the number of agricultural workers.

The farm population of the U. S. declined during the war years by about 5,000,000. Yet during these years, particularly in 1944 and 1945, farm output in the U. S. was 30 p. c. more than the pre-war average. This increase was *not* brought about by cultivation of extra land.

By the end of World War II, there were 10 p. c. fewer farm workers in the U. S. than before the war, but the output per worker was 40 p. c. more than in 1939. It must also be remembered that as the war progressed, an increasing proportion of the farm labour force was made up of women, children and comparatively old men.

About half the increased wartime crop production was brought about by increased yield per acre. Three-fourths of the increased production was due to man-controlled factors (greater use of fertilizers and lime, wider use of improved varieties of seed, soil-improvement, increased mechanization) and one-fourth to favourable weather.

### War And Urbanization

The war caused a large increase in the population of cities which has led to an extreme shortage of accommodation in all urban centres. The population of Calcutta has increased from 25 lakhs to 32 lakhs between 1941 and 1945. That of Bombay from 15 lakhs to over 25 lakhs; that of Madras from under 8 lakhs to nearly 13 lakhs; that of Cawnpur from under 4½ lakhs to nearly 9 lakhs. As very few houses were built during this period or are being built to-day, it is a wonder that the "squatters' movement" has not begun in this country yet.

### Consistency

A correspondent of the *Statesman* writes: "Mahatma Gandhi's 'Mr.' Gandhi. Instead of this reason, the fanciful explanation done, not only to the Mahatma of exigencies 'Mahatma' 7 letters, while only two. explanation, *Statesman* was also a 'Mr.' and it tently used name of Jawahar from Oct. 21. has suddenly Nehru in the of the *Statesman*."

We believe that the name to be this be called Mahatma the *Statesman* the necessity of the Jinnah as Qu. So, to avoid partisanship, preferred to have "Mr." Vallabhbhai "Sardar" in the *Statesman*. It is to keep a sharp transformation very soon.

### What A Life

If any body only a week possibility of communal dis we would have to scorn. But the fact that we have that in There is undoubtedly many parts of villages round have become there has been of people to quite justifiable it tends to a vailing panic must be given trying to do tain peace. have been an anti-Hindu various quarrels their credit. of a majority special responsibility of m care. Had this in Bengal would have



**Consistency**

A correspondent wrote to the *Statesman* asking why Mahatma Gandhi was always "Mr." Gandhi in that paper. Instead of telling the true reason, the editor gave the fanciful explanation that it was done, not out of any disrespect to the Mahatma, but because of exigencies of space—"Mahatma" was a word of 7 letters, while "Mr." contained only two. After giving this explanation, it struck the *Statesman* that "Pandit" was also a longer word than "Mr." and it had been consistently used as a prefix to the name of Jawaharlal Nehru. So, from Oct. 21, "Pandit" Nehru has suddenly become "Mr." Nehru in the editorial columns of the *Statesman*.

We believe the real explanation to be this: If Mr. Gandhi be called Mahatma Gandhi by the *Statesman*, the strict neutrality of the paper would also necessitate its calling Mr. Jinnah as Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah. So, to avoid the charge of partisanship, the *Statesman* preferred to have both as plain "Mr." Vallabhbhai Patel is still "Sardar" in the columns of the *Statesman*. Readers should keep a sharp look-out for his transformation into "Mr." Patel very soon.

**What A Life!**

If any body had asked us only a week ago about the possibility of the occurrence of communal disturbances in Patna we would have laughed him to scorn. But it is a melancholy fact that we are unable to have that insouciance to-day. There is undoubted tension in many parts of the city. The villages round about Patna have become unsafe and so there has been a large influx of people to the city. This is quite justifiable but nevertheless it tends to increase the prevailing panic. The Ministers must be given the credit of trying to do their best to maintain peace. The fact that they have been accused of following an anti-Hindu policy, from various quarters, redounds to their credit. The Government of a majority party has a special responsibility for the protection of minorities under its care. Had the League Ministry in Bengal recognized this, there would have been no trouble

in that province to-day. If the Congress Ministry is able to maintain peace by a firm handling of the Hindus in Bihar, it will be greatly to their credit. The only duty of every provincial government in India to-day is to prevent the people from flying at each other's throat. They will be judged by their success or failure in this respect.

**Welcome If True**

In recent years, there has been a progressive decline in birth rate in India. Between 1921 and 1931, birth rate in British India varied round the figure of 34 per thousand. In 1941, it was 29 per thousand; in 1943 and 1944, it fell still lower to 26 per thousand. This reduction in the recorded birth rate is shown by every province, only it is more pronounced in some than in others. It is not possible to ascribe any known cause to this decline in birth rate.

**Lapsing Into Illiteracy**

It is said that 20% of the present day recruits to the British Army are illiterate. We do not understand how this is possible in a country where elementary education has been free and compulsory for the last 56 years.

**The Cost Of Occupation**

Among American occupation troops in Europe, the venereal disease rate has risen to 28 per cent per year, the highest in American military history. It was only 7% per year on V. E. Day. This proves that war is better than peace.

**NOAKHALI RELIEF**

A public meeting was held on the 25th October in the Bankipur Maidan to condemn the incidents in Noakhali, Tipperah and other districts of East Bengal and to organise relief for the victims. A relief Committee was formed to raise funds and collect other materials, as well as to enrol volunteers, to give relief to the sufferers. This Committee is appealing to the people of this province to contribute their maximum for this humanitarian work and is also appealing to youngmen, to enrol themselves as relief workers. This Committee is further appealing to public-spirited all over the province to form local Committees and act in co-operation with this Committee. Receipt books will be issued from the Central Office, located in the National Hall, P. O. Kadamkuan, Patna, and contributions are to be sent either to this Office or to the Bank of Behar, Ltd., Patna.

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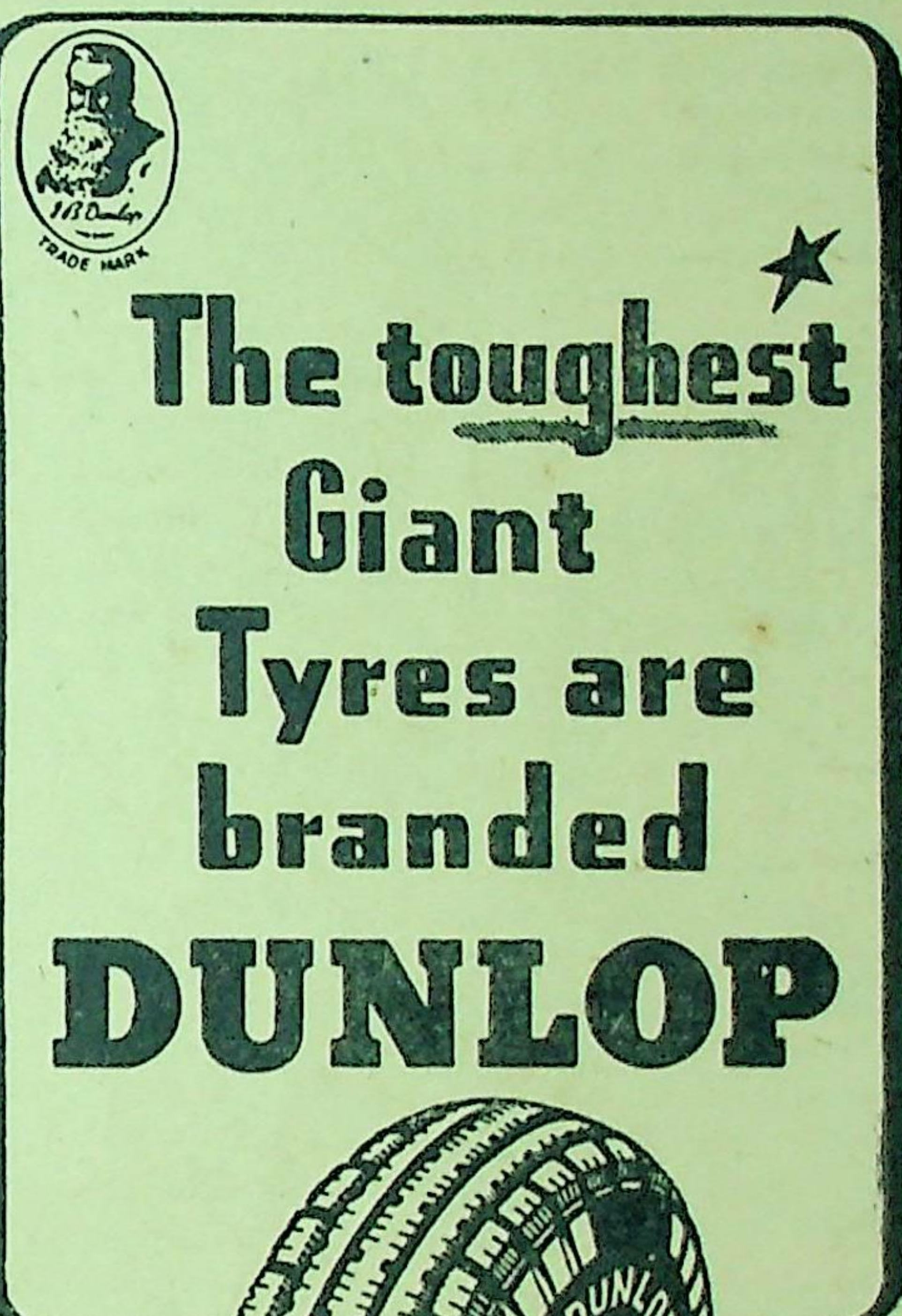
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THE Indian Messiah speaks on all topics under the sun from Vanaspati to birth control, from capitalism to feminism, from the darkness that sets around him to the light beyond, and on all conceivable subjects, war, peace, love... The uneducated Indians sit agape at his words while the educated ones try to improve their lots under his effulgence. This state of things have reached a climax and all thinking people of India—they are very few in

## Mahatma And Sita

By S. BANERJEE

number,—shudder at the fate overtaking the country if the Messiah does not stop his obiter dicta.

Now he has again spoken and this time on Noakhali horrors. In his after-prayer speech he advises—though uncalled for, the Bengal women to emulate the example of Sita. Sita, he says, died bravely without murmur and the Bengal women

should also follow her lead. It is surprising that the Mahatma does not know the true story of the Ramayana. Sita, immolated herself because of Ram's suspicion on her character; she did not die at the hands of Ravana. Even the demon Ravana was a gentleman compared to the present day murderous hooligans who are devil incarnate in the guise of human beings. This perversion of the story of Ramayana—for the Mahatma must be knowing Tulsidas's Ramayana, shows two things clearly, one that the Mahatma does not wish to say anything which might lead to an embarrassing situation on the Interim Government front and the other that he wants the Bengalees—the Bengali Hindu's who were never complete believers in his theory of political Ahimsa, to commit suicide. It is the Mahatma who is as much responsible for the tragedies of present-day Bengal, as are the League leaders by their thoughtless utterances. The Communal Award with separate electorate was as much the creation of Ramsay Macdonald as that of the Mahatma. While Bengal agitated for its reversal and congressmen were divided on the issue, the Mahatma quietly acquiesced. This was again evident when the congress accepted the long term proposal of the Cabinet Mission.

This tame submission of the Mahatma also expresses in bold relief the weakness of the emasculated Hindu who must give away everything to the rapacious to satisfy his lust, for fear of evil consequences. This has been realised by Mr. Jinnah, who sitting in his Malabar Hill residence speaks of horrors that the Muslim is undergoing in the Hindu majority provinces. The Imperialist Churchill at the other end takes up the cue and shudders at the plight which might befall the Muslims if India goes out of British hands.

So while one has been surrendering all along the line, the other clamours for more and this succession of concession and further demands goes on at the

expense of those who does not know what to do, being congressmen, in the face of the communal question. The Mahatma and Mr. Jinnah are both playing a dangerous game at the expense of the lives of innocent men. This game must stop as also the spineless utterances of the Mahatma.

India wants a practical leadership and a clear-cut verdict on the main issues facing the country. If congress, which represented the national aspirations of the country, fails now it must liquidate itself in favour of another political group or party. If the lives, property and prestige of the people are at stake, what is the use of taking up the reins of Government anywhere, at the Centre or at the provinces. The communal question, the ugly progeny of the Communal Award, needs a solution. If the Centre fails to take up provincial matters affecting the lives of the people due to provincial autonomy, then the Centre is completely impotent. The Government there might cease to function, letting the provinces do as they like. Mr. Fazlul Huq, an ardent nationalist at one time, turned to the communal League when his efforts to form a congress-krishak proja alliance in Bengal—the worst sufferer of Communal Award, failed. The Bengal Congress looked to Headquarters, and the Headquarters with its insistence on an all-India uniform policy, sacrificed the Interests of Bengal, which has ultimately led to the Noakhali massacres.

So these utterances of the Mahatma about Ramrajya, Sita, Khadi, Non-violence... must cease. These only make him ridiculous. He should know that times have changed. The world has little illusions about Mahatmas and saints, A false atmosphere of spiritualism made India a slave throughout the centuries. If the Mahatma wants to be a political leader, let him be so. Let him face facts squarely. Let him not mix politics with religion in his after-prayer speeches. Much harm has come to this country through false prophets. Let him not repeat the same. But if he wants to be a religious leader, let him go to the Himalayas and meditate.

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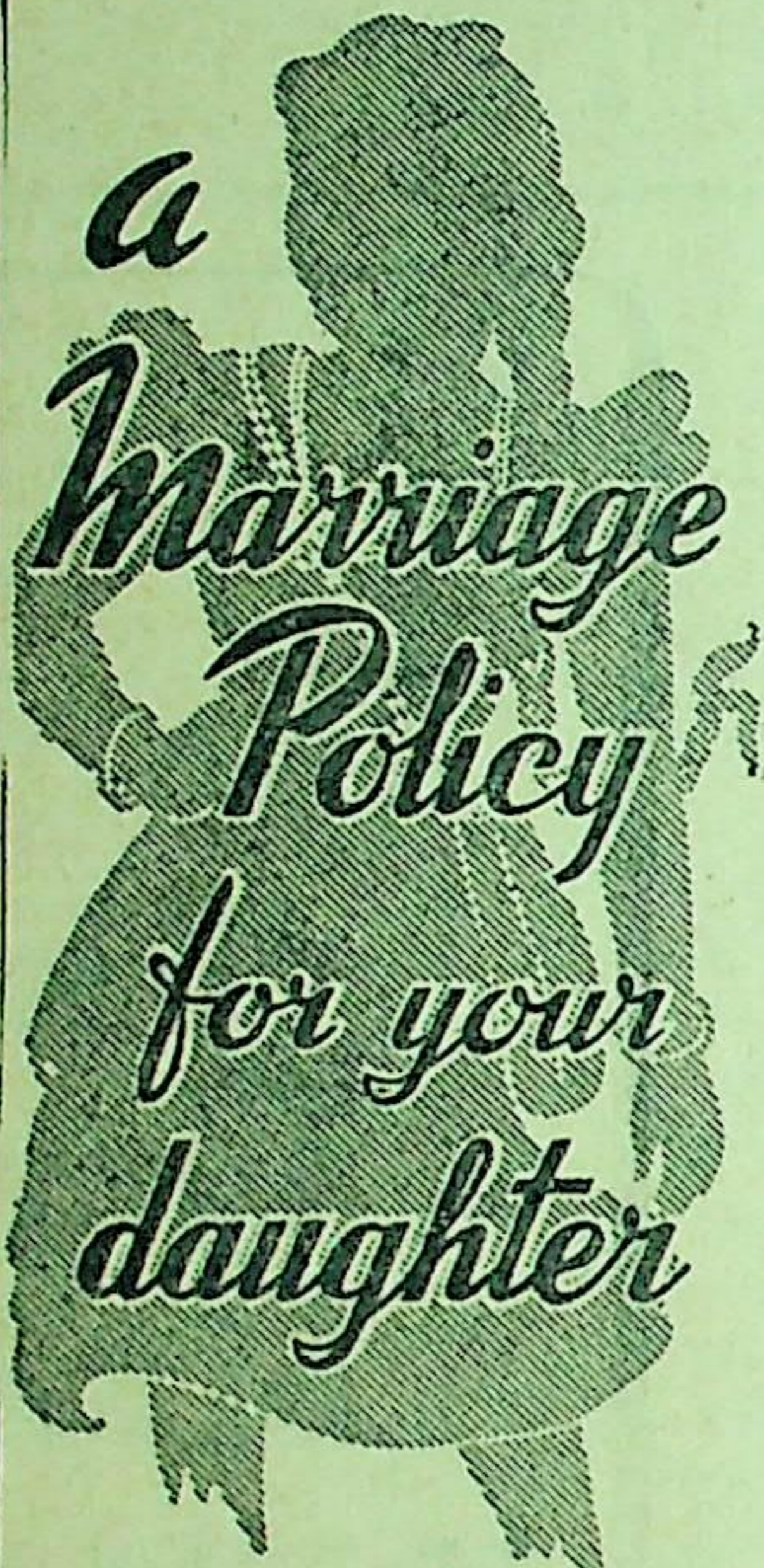
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## STALIN ON SOCIALIST DEMOCRATISM

[Extracts from his speeches in 1936 on the USSR Draft Constitution]

THE constitutions of bourgeois countries usually proceed from the conviction that the capitalist system is immutable. The main foundation of these constitutions consists of the principles of capitalism, of its main pillars,—private ownership of land, forests, factories, works, and other implements and means of production; the exploitation of man by man and the existence of exploiters and exploited; insecurity for the toiling majority at one pole of society, and luxury for the non-toiling but secure minority at the other pole, etc. They rest on these and similar pillars of capitalism. They reflect them, they embody them in law.

"Unlike these, the draft of the new Constitution of the USSR proceeds from the fact that the capitalist system has been liquidated and that the Socialist system has triumphed in the USSR. The main foundations of the draft of the new constitution of the USSR are the principles of Socialism, whose pillars are things that have already been achieved and realized: the Socialist ownership of land, forests, factories, works and other instruments and means of production, the abolition of exploitation and of exploiting classes; the abolition of poverty for the majority and of luxury for the minority; the abolition of unemployment; work as an obligation and an honourable duty for every able bodied citizen, in accordance with the formula: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat"; the right to work, i. e., the right of every citizen to receive guaranteed employment; the right to rest and leisure; the right to education, etc., The draft of the new Constitution rests on these and similar pillars of socialism. It reflects them, it embodies them in law.

"Bourgeois constitutions tacitly proceed from the premise that society consists of antagonistic classes, of classes which own wealth and classes which do not; that no matter what party comes into power, the guidance of society by the State must be in the hands of the bourgeoisie; that a constitution is needed for the purpose

of consolidating a social order desired by and beneficial to the propertied classes.

"Unlike bourgeois constitutions, the draft of the new constitution of the USSR proceeds from the fact that there are no longer any antagonistic classes in society; that society consists of two friendly classes, of workers and peasants; that it is these classes, the labouring classes, that are in power; that the guidance of society by the State is in the hands of the working class, the most advanced class in society, that a constitution is needed for the purpose of consolidating a social order desired by and beneficial to the working people.

"Further, bourgeois constitutions tacitly proceed from the premise that nations and races cannot have equal rights, that there are nations with full rights and nations without full rights, and that, in addition, there is a third category, of nations or races, for example in the colonies, which have even fewer rights than the nations without full rights. This means that, at bottom, all these constitutions are *nationalistic*.

"Unlike these constitutions, the draft of the new constitution of the USSR is, on the contrary, *profoundly internationalistic*. It proceeds from the proposition that all nations and races have equal rights. It proceeds from the fact that neither difference in colour, language, cultural level, or political development, nor any other difference between nations and races, can serve as grounds for justifying national inequality of rights. It proceeds from the proposition that all nations and races, irrespective of their past and present position, irrespective of their strength or weakness, should enjoy equal rights in all spheres of the economic, social, political and cultural life of society.

"The specific feature of the new Constitution is its consistent and thoroughgoing democratism. From the standpoint of democratism, bourgeois constitutions may be divided into two groups: One group of constitutions openly denies, or actually nullifies, the equality of rights of citizens and democratic liberties. The other



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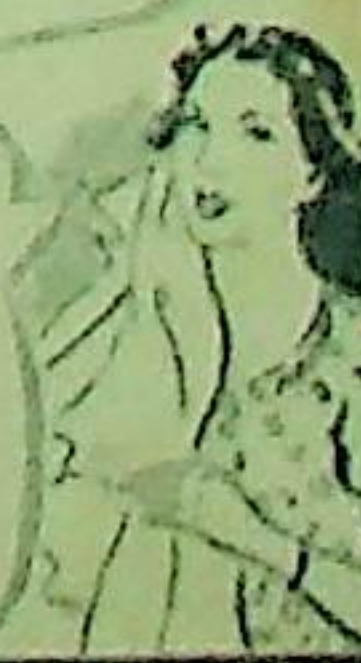
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**STALIN ...**  
group of constitutions readily accepts, and even advertises, democratic principles, but at the same time it makes reservations

and provides for restrictions which utterly mutilate these democratic rights and liberties. They speak of equal suffrage for all citizens. but at the same

time limit it by residential, educational and even property qualifications. They speak of equal rights for citizens, but at the same time they make the reservation that this does not apply to women, or applies to them only in part. And so on and so forth.

pated from all exploitation. It does not merely proclaim the right to work, but ensures it by giving legislative embodiment to the fact that the citizens have been emancipated from all exploitation. It does not merely proclaim the right to work, but ensures it by giving legislative embodiment to the fact that there are no crises in Soviet society, and that unemployment has been abolished. It does not merely proclaim democratic liberties, but legislatively ensures them by providing definite material resources.

"It is clear, therefore, that the democratism of the draft of the new Constitution is not the "ordinary" and "universally recognized" democratism in the abstract, but *Socialist* democratism.

"They (the bourgeois critics) talk of democracy. But what is democracy? Democracy in capitalist countries, where there are antagonistic classes, is, in the last analysis, democracy for the strong, democracy for the propertied minority. In the USSR, on the contrary, democracy is democracy for the working people, i.e., democracy for all.

"The international significance of the new Constitution of the USSR can hardly be exaggerated. Today, when the turbid wave of fascism is bespattering the Socialist movement of the working class and besmirching the democratic strivings of the best people in the civilised world, the new constitution of the USSR will be an indictment against Fascism, declaring that Socialism and democracy are invincible. The new Constitution of the USSR will give moral assistance and real support to all those who are to-day fighting fascist barbarism.

"While for the peoples of capitalist countries, the Constitution of the USSR will have the significance of a program of action, it is significant for the peoples of the USSR as the summary of their struggles, a summary of their victories in the struggle for the emancipation of mankind....."

"...What has been realized in the USSR, is, fully possible of realization in other countries also."

"What distinguishes the draft of the new Constitution of USSR is the fact that it is free from such reservations and restrictions. For it, there exists no division of citizens into active and passive ones; for it, all citizen are active. It does not recognize any difference in rights as between men and women, "residents" and "non-residents" propertied and propertyless, educated and uneducated. For it, all citizens have equal rights. It is not property status, not national origin, not sex, nor office, but personal ability and personal labour that determines the position of every citizen in society.

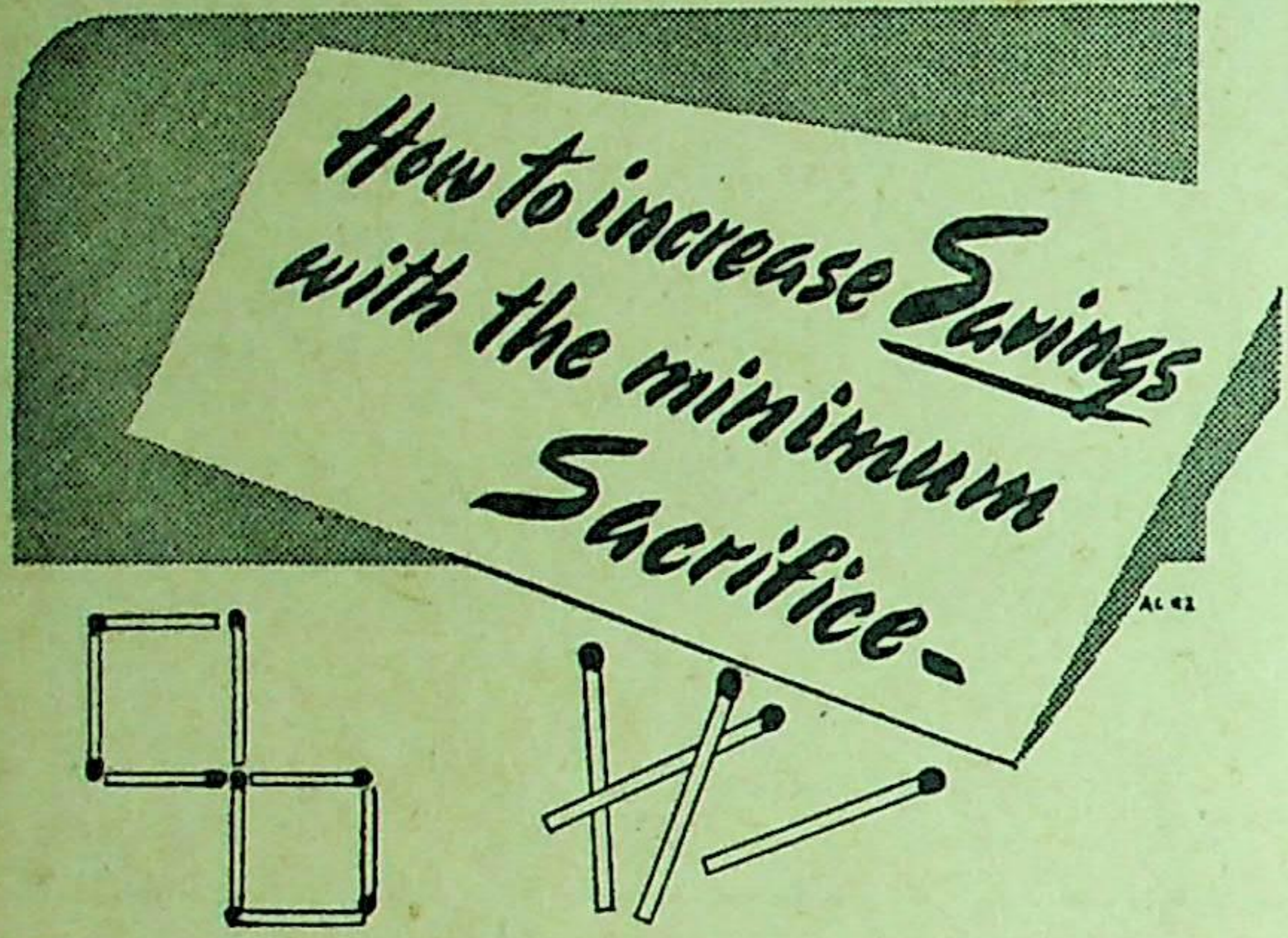
"Lastly, there is still one more specific feature of the draft of the new Constitution. Bourgeois constitutions usually confine themselves to stating the formal rights of citizens, without bothering about the conditions for the exercise of these rights, about the opportunity of exercising them, about the means by which they can be exercised. They speak of the equality of citizens, but forget that there cannot be real equality between employer and workman, landlord and peasant, if the former possess wealth and political weight in society while the latter are deprived of both—if the former are exploiters while the latter are exploited. Or again: they speak of freedom of speech, assembly, and the press, but forget that all these liberties may be merely a hollow sound for the working class, if the latter cannot have access to suitable premises for meetings, good printing shops, a sufficient quantity of printing paper, etc."

"What distinguishes the draft of the new constitution is the fact that it does not confine itself to stating the formal rights of citizens, but stresses the guarantees of these rights, the means by which these rights can be exercised. It does not merely proclaim equality of rights for citizens, but ensures it by giving legislative embodiment to the fact that the regime of exploitation has been abolished, to the fact that the citizens have been emanci-

**VISITING PATNA ?**

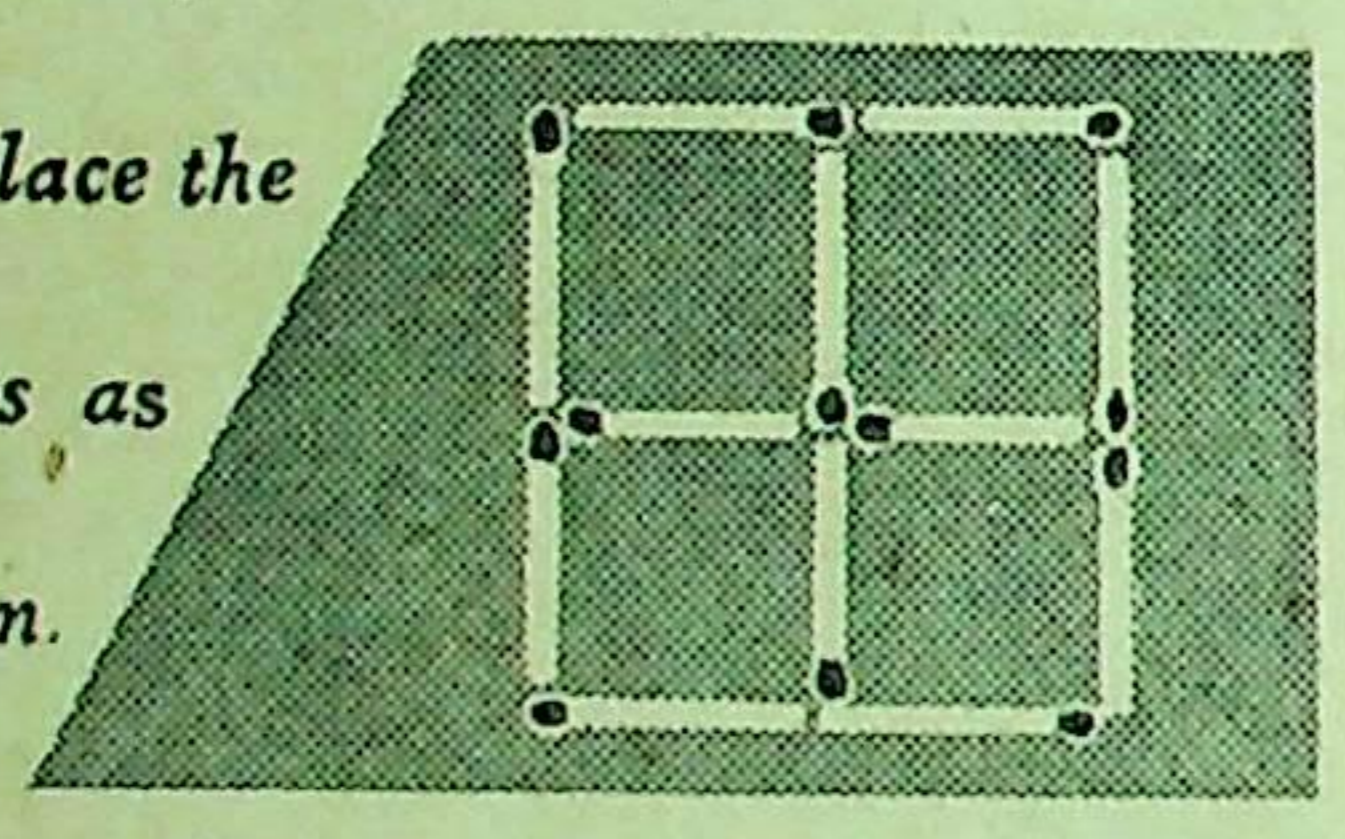
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**PROBLEM:** With four match sticks convert two squares into four

**ANSWER:** Place the additional four sticks as shown in the diagram.



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*My Experience about Roses in India* by B. K. Kerr, Member, National Rose Society, London. Himalaya Publications, Patna, Pp. 199. Price Rs. 4/-

The reviewer is diffident of making comments on a book on rose culture written by a recognized specialist who has made a life-long study of the subject. Mr. Kerr is heterodox in his way of approach, he questions the validity of age long traditions, tries methods of his own devising and is rewarded with success. The reviewer's knowledge of roses goes as far as to distinguish a rose from a carnation, so he is astounded at the wealth of information packed by Mr. Kerr within the small compass of this book. The proof of the pudding is in the eating and the welcome extended by rose-gardeners (a particularly fanatical race) all over India to Mr. Kerr's book is evident from the fact that a second (enlarged) edition of the book has been called for within a year of its publication.

READER

*Democratic Planning in Action*

By Hans Christian Sonne: Sanders Printing Company, New York.

This pamphlet sets forth the aims and objectives of the National Planning Association established in 1934, for planning in agriculture, business, labour, the professions, and government.

Sonne tells us: "Group discussion and action are typically American, whether over the checker-board in a country store, or over the conference table. Our early settlers, of necessity, had to recognise their interdependence. They had to come together to discuss common problems of welfare, security, and order; to place responsibilities for various functions; and then to see that their decisions were put into action." Interdependence amongst countries and amongst different industries has to be admitted, and then we can imagine a future, happy and prosperous. Isolation in trade and industry will not and cannot, lead us to a promised land of bright sunshine and greenness. And so Sonne writes: "The basis of NPA's effort was the recognition of the dangers of group

# Book Reviews



conflict and of the reality of group inter-dependence."

NPA members are leaders in agriculture, business and labour, who evolve common policies. They believe that the individual in a successful democracy must integrate his personal interests with those of the group, and the group in turn must integrate its interest with that of the nation. The nation further in its turn must integrate its interests with those of the world, and then only we can hope to dream of peace for a long time.

*Darshan; Arthaniti* by R. N. Roy Chowdhry, Bose Press, Muzaffarpore. Prices 4 annas and 6 annas respectively.

Two short essays, to explain Marxism and its application to life.

Mr. Roy has to be congratulated for writing these two essays in Hindi. The masses are not familiar with recent developments in thought and for them Mr. Roy has written. In one, he has traced the origin and progress of knowledge. In the other, he has shown that the world will have to welcome socialism.

The author has not succeeded in writing *popularly*: the language is rather difficult. He should also try to be more concrete.

*Old Calcutta Cameos* By B. V. Roy, M. A.: Published by S. K. Chatterjee, 169, Vivekananda Road, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4. Pp. 144.

Even in these days of paper scarcity, Mr. Roy has justification for bringing out this book. The past of a great and big city, where for the first time was felt the impress of a foreign culture and civilisation, is of interest. There are other books on the growth of Calcutta in its early stages; but these are of interest to students. Mr. Roy's book is for the general reader.

Mr. Amal Home writes in his Foreword: "He takes us through almost every phase of Calcutta life at a time when the Englishman dressed himself up in a long coat reaching below the knees, with large sleeves

and cuffs, a vest made of gold brocade or blue satin embroidered with silver, breeches buckled tight at the knees, long stockings and shoes with silver buckles; when he wore long, pomaded and powdered hair; when Englishmen and even some Englishwomen smoked the *hookah* and an English *beau* with a graceful bow and flourish would flick open his bejewelled gold snuff-box and offer his friend a pinch of "Prime Macouba".

There are chapters on "Origin and Development of Calcutta", "The Englishman And His Society", "Bengali Society. Its Manners and Customs", "Crimes and Punishments", and "Plays and Play houses."

B. S. MATHUR

*Sri Samkara's Soundarya-lahari* Translated by P. Sama Rao, Bellary. Foreword by K. S. Ramaswami Sastry. B. G. Paul

& Co., No. 4 Francis Joseph Street, Madras.

At no time in the history of the world was there a greater necessity for literature, whose main object is to give the reader aesthetic pleasure. Mr. Rao's Book aims at this: his thoughts of physical beauty and pleasure merge themselves into intellectual and philosophical beauty."

In these days when Sanskrit is losing its hold over the educated classes, Mr. Rao's effort to bring to the English-educated the Beauty of Sri Samkara is praise-worthy. Translations can of course never supplant the originals.

Mr. Rao has taken great pains to convey the meaning of the original, to the extent that is possible to understand without much of the esoteric meaning.

The get-up is neat and the price within reach of most.

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## Letter

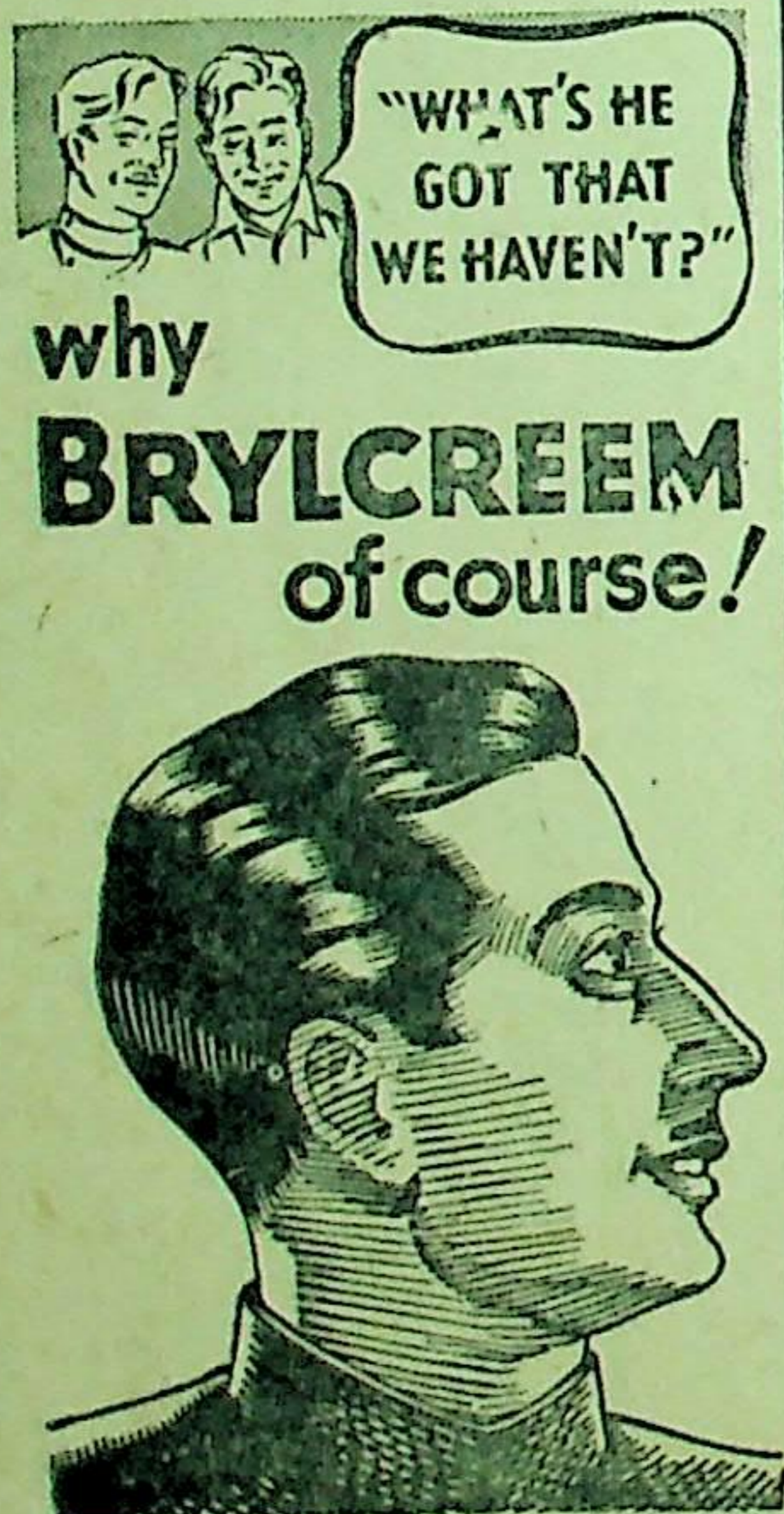
### Jute Prices

I read with pained surprise your editorial notes in B. H. of the 19th October 1946 eulogising the Bengal Premier's handling of the jute prices ordinance of Bengal. Evidently you do not know the inside story. After the great Calcutta killing, Suhrawardy made a pact with the European jute mill-owners that if the latter's representatives in the Bengal Assembly were not to support the no-confidence motion against the League ministry, the former would repeal the minimum prices fixed for the sale of raw jute. To the ordinary public it was made out, as you have made out, that ordinary laws of demand and supply should operate, and that the growers should be able to sell at prices higher than the repealed minimum. What actually happened was what the League ministry aimed at and the jute mills wanted—the raw jute was sold by the growers at prices below the previous minimum. This move was checkmated by the interim government who refused to grant the necessary license for the export abroad of finished products of raw jute which had not been paid for according to the minimum prices fixed. That is the long and short of it. I am sure, however, that U. S. A., which will be hard hit by the stoppage of import of jute products for which they have no substitutes, will take diplomatic action aiming at the lifting of this Anglo-Muslim League embargo on the national government. You will observe from the above that the League ministry does not even care for their Muslim cultivators the largest majority of the jute growers.

Allahabad. K. C. D.

[Our correspondent has been misinformed. The real facts are: (1) The Central Government, under pressure from Indian jute-mill owners, wanted to keep the price of jute at a

very low figure (2) This was done at the cost of the poor growers of jute. (3) What Mr. Suhrawardy has done is to abolish the price control (4) This has led TO A RISE IN THE PRICE OF JUTE, the cultivators are now getting more for their jute than they would have done under the system of price control imposed by the Central Government, (5) What Mr. Suhrawardy *should* have done was to fix the minimum selling price of jute. (6) This would have been best from the cultivators' point of view (7) He could not do it for fear of incurring the displeasure of the European group in the Bengal Assembly. (8) What Mr. Suhrawardy has done is better than what the Central Government wanted to do, but it is not the best that he could have done had his sole intention been to do good to the cultivator. The Central Government wanted to favour the capitalists alone, Mr Suhrawardy has compromised between the interests of the capitalists and growers.—Ed B H]



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## This India by MALLINATHA

### Paid Back In The Same Coin

"102 naval ratings from the British cruiser Bermuda married Sydney girls during the week ended Aug 24"

—Reuter

This is a sort of reverse lend-lease to be set against the Australians marrying English girls during the war.

### Hypocrisy Unlimited And Unashamed

"The view of the Europeans in the Legislatures is that we should take the greatest care to maintain a neutral attitude on subjects directly or indirectly communal"

—Mr. Pilkington in the Statesman, Sept 23

Neutrality has forced the Europeans in the Bengal and Sind Assemblies to side always with one party,—even to the extent of propping up a minority in the latter.

### Modern War Materials For Sale

"GOVERNMENT OF INDIA DISPOSALS

AMERICAN SURPLUS STORES.

Sealed tenders are invited

for the purchase of the following:—

...Sanitary Kotex Napkins, Hair oil, Pomade, Lipstick, Face and Talcum Powder..."

—Advt. Statesman, Sept, 25

We are disappointed not to find chastity belts included in the list of surplus war materials. We Have A Feeling Of Bigness

"India's right to be consulted in the final disposal of former Italian colonies appears to be assured."

—Reuter, Paris Sept. 24.

"India's" voice is to be heard in the settlement of all disputes anywhere in the world, barring those within her own frontiers.

### Speaking A Mouthful

"In the villages of India, the Congress was identified with Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Maulana Azad".

—Mr. S. K. Patil, A. I. C. C. meeting, New Delhi, Sept, 24.

Poor Mr. Gandhi is completely forgotten.

### Reason For Excluding India

"India will watch with close interest the development of events in Palestine, Iran, Indo-China, China, Siam, Indonesia, as well as in the foreign possessions in India itself, with every sympathy with the aspiration of the peoples of these lands for the attainment of internal peace".

—Pandit Nehru, Press Conference, New Delhi Sept. 26.

Q. Why has India been excluded from the above list of the names of countries?

A. Because the peoples of India have no aspiration for the attainment of internal peace.

### Sartorial Freedom

"Employees of the Government of India in Delhi have been permitted to attend office in national dress"—News report.

What is our national dress?

### Getting Ready For World War III

"The policy is that the 9th Indian Parachute Field Regiment will be dropped by parachute with all its guns".

—The Statesman, Oct. 1.

Where?



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# Bengalee Association, Bihar

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Report of the Proceedings of the Eighth Annual General meeting of the Association held at Patna on the 26th and 27th October 1946, at the P. N. Anglo-Sanskrit School.

The following members, besides a large number of local members and visitors, were present:—

**Bhagalpore:** Sjts Dhirendra Nath Sircar, Debendra Nath Neogy, Amal Chandra Mitra, Nirmal Chandra Banerji, Surendra Nath Basu, Kshitish Ch. Mukherji, Arabinda Mukherji.

**Monghyr:** Sjt Hem Chandra Basu.

**Muzaffarpore:** Sjts. H a r i Sadhan Bhaduri, Abanti Nath Banerji; Nisanath Chatterji, Shyama Charan Bose.

**Jamalpur:** Sjts Himangsu Bhushan Banerji, Ajit Kumar Roy, Nripendra Nath Roy Choudhury, Prafulla Majumdar, Sudhir Nath Sen.

**Darbhanga:** Sjt. Priyanath Mitra.

**Jamshedpur:** Sjt. Nagendra Nath Rakshit; Sjkta Niharbala Rakshit.

**Dinapur:** Sjts. Jatindra Nath Mukherji, Probodh Ch. Bose, Atulendu Gupta.

**Araria:** Sjts Jiten Choudhary, Anil Kumar Bose.

**Bakhtiarpur:** Sjt. Makhan Lal Choudhry

**Laberia Serai:** Sjts. Pasupati Banerji, Radhakanta Sinha, Sibdas Mitra.

**Purulia:** Sjts Probodh Kumar Mukherji, Bankim Chandra Basu.

**Hazaribagh:**—Sjt. Surath K. Gupta.

Visitors from outside Bihar included Sjt. Hemendra Nath Dutt (Calcutta), Sm. Amita Dutt Majumdar (Calcutta), Sjt Sarat Ch. Guha (Barisal).

Open Session on Saturday the 26th October, 1946, commenced with *Bande Mataram* song sung in chorus and was followed by a song by Mrs. Roma Sen.

In the absence of Mr. P. R. Das, President of the Association, due to serious illness of his wife, Sjt Hem Chandra Bose of Monghyr was elected to the chair.

As Dr. D. N. Mitter, chairman of the Reception Committee could not be present due to unavoidable reasons, his speech was read out by Sjt. Sarat Kumar Banerjee.

Messages for the success of the meeting from the following persons were then read out:—Sjts Bimal Ch. Sinha (Paikpara), Narendra K. Basu (Darjeeling), Debnarayan Mukh-

erji (Allahabad) T. C. Guha (Motihari), Bhupendra Nath Kar (Allahabad), Satish Ch. Sinha (Purulia), Upendranath Sen (Muzafferpore).

Sjt. Hemchandra Bose, in his presidential speech, traced the growth of the Bengali Association and narrated in what circumstances the Association was formed in 1938 under the leadership of Mr. P. R. Das.

Reverting to the present day happenings, he said: "During the great 'Calcutta Killing' he saw for himself how the Bengalees were killing Bengalees. But Noakhali eclipsed even the barbarities perpetrated by the Nazi hordes upon the Jews. In Calcutta, it was hooliganism pure and simple. But the Noakhali affair is entirely different.

"There is a deep laid plan behind the atrocities committed in Noakhali... People not only are being killed there, they are forcibly being converted and young girls forcibly married. This is not the outcome of hooliganism but a conspiracy.

"Revolutionary changes had taken place in the country within one year. Further changes are in the offing. The Bengalees in Bihar from now on should begin to think about their further development so that when time for redistribution of provincial boundaries comes they may not be caught napping.

"Many present ills of Bengal can be rectified if only provincial boundaries are resettled. Simply the demand including for Chota Nagpur Santhal Parganas, Manbhum, Singbhum and Purnea, would be of no avail if you fail to put forward cogent arguments in support of your demand."

Citing census figures, as also past history, he showed why these areas should be incorporated in Bengal.

Referring to Mr. Krishnaballav Sahai's assurance recently given, that Bihar's Congress Government would shortly implement Dr. Rajendra Prasad's award regarding Domicile rules for Bengalees. Sjt. Bose, said: "It is a hopeful sign" and he thanked the Congress Government.

"The Bengalees in Bihar are gradually forgetting their mother tongue. The Patna

University has given recognition to the Bengali language, but there is no adequate facility in colleges to teach Bengali. The Bengalees in Bihar must see to it and establish a college at Patna where their children could be taught Bengali.

After the presidential speech, Sjt. Annada Kumar Ghosh, General Secretary, Provincial Association, read the annual report in which he deplored that branch associations all over the province were not active.

He pointed out how resolutions adopted at the last Conference could not be translated into action due to the inaction of members, as also of branches. He appealed to both members and branches to be more active. He submitted accounts which were duly passed.

Referring to educational problems of the Bengali boys, Sjt. Nagendra Nath Rakshit of Jamshedpur said that these could not be solved by making a college here or there. Solution might be found by creating extra-territorial rights of universities.

"If that is done, many problems will be solved and all concerned will be benefited," said he. For instance, the Bihari residents in Calcutta may establish schools or colleges there and impart education if they like according to the curriculum of the Patna University. Similarly the Bengalees should be allowed to establish schools and colleges outside Bengal to educate their children and affiliation of these to the Calcutta University should be permitted."

Among others who spoke were Sjts. Sudhindra Lal Roy, D. N. Mukherji, Bankim Chandra Bose, Nirmal Banerji, Sarat Chandra Guha, Sm. Amita Dutt Majumdar.

The Subjects Committee was formed with all the delegates present and the movers of resolutions.

After the girls singing a song in chorus the open session terminated.

Sjt. Hem Chandra Bose opened the exhibition of arts and crafts organised by the "Shilpa Sanchayan".

The Subjects Committee met at 6.30 p.m. on the same evening and discussed the various resolutions.

The 2nd sitting commenced with a chorus by the Kishore Dal at the open session on Sunday the 27th October 1946 at 8.30 a. m. The following Office bearers and members of the central executive committee for the year 1946-47 were elected.

President: Mr. P. R. Das.

Vice-Presidents: Rai Bahadur S. C. Sinha (Purulia), Rai Bahadur S. N. Mukherji (Patna), Mr. N. N. Rakshit (Tatanagar);

Secretary & Treasurer: Rai Saheb A. K. Ghosh;

Joint Secretaries: Messrs A. C. Ray & B. K. Banerjee.

Assistant Secretaries: Messrs. A. C. Das and A. Gupta.

Members of the Committee: Rai Bahadur M. N. Roy, Saradindu Gupta, S. R. Banerji, T. C. Palit, B. N. Mitter, S. K. Majumdar, S. N. Dutta (Patna), Rai Bahadur H. P. Banerji (Dhanbad), R. P. Ghosh (Samastipur), D. P. Ghosh (Purnea), D. N. Sinha (Dumka), S. K. Ghosh (Daltongunj), Rai Saheb S. K. Gupta (Hazaribagh), N. K. Sen (Chaibasa), Messrs. D. N. Sircar and N. C. Banerjee (Bhagalpur), C. N. Banerjee (Darbhanga), U. N. Sen (Muzaffarpur), H. C. Mitra (Chapra), B. B. Mukherji (Motihari), Dr. S. N. Sen (Jamalpur), B. K. Chatterji (Ranchi), Dr. R. L. Banerji (Bettiah) Sunil K. Roy Choudhary, Hirendra Nath Chatterjee (Dhanbad) Brahma Prasad Mukherjee, Manindra Nath Sarkar (Jamshedpur) Bankim Bose (Purulia).

The following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

1. This meeting of the Association expresses its profound sorrow at the death of Messrs. Atul Krishna Roy, Dr. A. T. Sinha, D. N. Sen, Rai Bahadur Dr. Tarak Nath Mitra, Dr. Garib Das Gupta, Dr. P. N. Chatterji (Patna), Rai Bahadur P. C. Mujumdar (Purulia), Mr. Prem Sundar Basu, Rai Bahadur Sudhansu Bhusan Ray, Mr. J. N. Bose (Bhagalpur).

2. That the branch associations at places where there are colleges be requested to enquire and inform the Central

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Association if there are arrangements for teaching Bengali as principal as well as compulsory subjects in these colleges.

3. That the Bengali Association, Bihar, requests the Bihar government to abolish the system of domicile certificates in all matters and for all purposes from this province.

4. That the Association requests the government to abolish the quota system of admission into the government and government-aided institutions, and confine admissions strictly on the basis of merit alone viz. on results of University examinations for all classes and communities.

5. That in accordance with the Congress Manifesto to effect provincial redistribution on cultural and linguistic basis and in view of the fact that according to that manifesto, Manbhumi, Singhbhum, Purnea, Bhagalpur and Santhal Parganas in Bihar have, viewed from linguistic, cultural and historical standpoint, every claim to be incorporated in Bengal.

The Bengali Asscn. resolves that these areas which were tacked to Bihar in 1912 should be transferred to the province of Bengal.

That in view of the fact that a committee has been formed under the auspices of the Congress with Sjt. Shankar Rao Deo as Secretary to consider the matter of redistribution of provinces on linguistic and cultural basis, it is hereby resolved that a committee consisting of the following, with power to co-opt, be authorised to take steps for full and proper representation being made to the said committee

and members of the Constituent Assembly and take all such steps as may be necessary to give effect to the above resolution:

Messrs. P. R. Das, Hem Chandra Bose, Surendra Nath Basu, Priyanath Mitra, Satish Chandra Sinha, Nagendra Nath Rakshit, Gunendranath Roy and Bankim Ch. Bose.

Resolved that Sjt. Nagendranath Rakshit be authorised to prepare the memorandum and wait upon and place the same before the Committee to give effect to the resolution. The members of the committee will furnish all necessary facts to Sjt. Rakshit at an early date to enable him to prepare the Memorandum.

Resolved further that this Committee will also meet the Advisory Committee of the Constituent Assembly in the matter of the fundamental rights of all minority communities of India.

6. Resolved that every head of a Bengali family residing in Bihar should register himself with the nearest district association and pay a minimum annual subscription of one rupee.

7. Resolved that the Association should appoint a Committee to take a census of the Bengali population in Bihar, including information about their means of livelihood, &c. once in five years.

8. That this Association strongly condemns the communal Ministry of Bengal for their incompetence on their failure to maintain law and order in the city of Calcutta and also in various districts of Bengal, resulting in huge loss of human lives and property, as a sequel to the "Direct Action" day of the Muslim League.

This Association views with great concern the state of insecurity which is continuing unabated in Calcutta and in most parts of Bengal and believes that the present state of affairs would continue so long as the present Ministry remains in office.

This Association, therefore, requests the Central Association to move the Viceroy to take proper steps for restoration of peace and security to the province of Bengal.

9. Resolved that the statement of policy, as suggested by Messrs. M. C. Samaddar, Ajit Mitra, and M. L. Sen for adoption, be circulated to the different branches, and be discussed and taken into consideration in a special sitting of the Association, if desired by the Central Association.

10. Resolved that the Central Association do take early steps for the establishment of a Science and Commerce College at Patna.

11. Resolved that the letter of resignation of the General Secretary, Central Asscn. be not accepted and he be requested

to carry on the work of the Asscn. with the active help of the Joint Secretaries and Asst. Secretaries.

12. Resolved that this Asscn. calls upon all Branch Asscns. to encourage physical health associations and volunteer organisations and all branch associations may be requested to move in the matter.

13. This meeting records its grateful appreciation for the sympathy shown by the inhabitants of Bihar for the victims of communal frenzy in Noakhali and other parts of Bengal, expressed in the formation of a Bengal Relief Committee under the presidentship of Maulana Abdul Bari and assures the said committee full co-operation in their neighbourly efforts; and this meeting requests the Secretary, Executive Committee of the Bengali Asscn. to assist the said Relief Committee in every possible way and to act in co-operation with it and issue instructions to all Branches to form such committees immediately for the said purpose.

14. Resolved that in order to take an effective part in nation-building and civic activities by which alone Bengalees in this province can make themselves an integral and useful part of the population, they should take to learning the language of this province.

15. That a body of volunteers, consisting mainly of young men, be formed as an adjunct to each district Association. This body shall enquire into and formulate the needs and requirements of the community, keep in touch with the decisions, programmes and opinions of the association thereon and work out and help the fulfilment of the resolutions, programmes and objects of the Association.

That the body of volunteers shall include as far as available representatives from approved local associations and clubs for the development and training of physical, artistic and cultural aspects of the community.

That one or more representatives elected by the volunteers and approved by the local associations be included in the executive committee of each district as members.

That this Association shall try to help, guide and co-ordinate these associations and clubs, to put them in touch with experts and specialists and otherwise to make available to them means of progress and improvement on right line.

That each district association be asked to appoint sub-committees to give effect to these resolutions and also to suggest general rules and procedure for such bodies of volunteers for final formula-

tion by the Central Asscn. within six months.

17. In accordance with the recommendation of the Central Advisory Board of Education, the Patna University authorities are going to frame rules for teaching and examination of students in vernaculars in the college stage.

Resolved that this Asscn. request the P. U. authorities to include Bengali as one of the vernaculars, the medium through which teaching and examination of the students of Bihar will take place.

Copies of this resolution be sent to the Vice-Chancellor, the D.P.I. Bihar, the Education Secretary the and Minister of Education.

18. This meeting requests the Congress Ministry in general and Hon. Minister (Hon'ble Mr. Ram Charitra Singh) In-Charge Irrigation in particular, to make facilities available for improving the existing bunds, excavating new wells, tanks etc. for drinking and irrigational purposes which are badly needed for Manbhumi in particular and Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas in general. This development of irrigational tanks, wells, etc. had been deplorably neglected by Government so long and further inaction will be disastrous.

19. The British Government having allowed the recent fratricidal war between the Hindus and Moslems in Bengal and the representative of the Br. Govt. in India having taken no measures to stop the same, this Asscn. resolves that the members of this association be requested to renounce, as a protest, the titles conferred on them by the British Govt. (e.g. Rai Bahadur, Rai Sahib etc) and also request the entire Bengali community to do the same.

20. (a) Resolved that the invitation of Mr. N. N. Rakshit to hold the next annual General Meeting at Jamshedpur be accepted with thanks.

20. (b) Resolved that the next Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Central Association be held at Bhagalpur.

A vote of thanks was proposed by Sjt. Surendranath Mukherji.

After a closing song in chorus by the Kishore Dal, the Conference terminated.

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**OUTLINES ...**

(From page 57)

vocation the land will pass to some other deserving person preferably in the family of the deceased cultivator.

In order to give a practical shape to the above proposition, the State shall have to take certain preliminary steps along with creating the machinery for the abolition of the zamindari system. Speaking for Bihar alone, these steps, amongst others, will be:—

(1) The Government by an immediate enactment shall declare that all those lands which have remained in possession of a mortgagee for ten years shall be considered to have been redeemed of the loan thereon, and these lands shall be deemed to be in possession of the original tenure holder.

(2) Setting up of an Enquiry Board to collect statistics on the following points:—

(i) The number of tenants who own and cultivate ten bighas of land or less, either individually or jointly.

(ii) The number of tenants who own more than ten bighas of land, or less than 20 bighas, either individually or jointly.

(iii) The number of tenants who own twenty bighas of land or more, either individually or jointly.

(iv) The number of absentee tenants, who own cultivable land but depend upon some other means of livelihood.

(v) The number of tenants who cultivate land themselves.

(vi) The number of big cultivators who partly cultivate land themselves and partly get it cultivated by others

(vii) The number of landless labourers.

After the completion of this enquiry the Government should take the following steps:—

(1) Those cultivators who own ten bighas of land or less should be left undisturbed for the present, with the understanding that they will be subject to the new tenancy regulations.

(2) Those who own more than ten bighas of land shall have to surrender it to the State after payment of compensation at pre-war price level. The rate of compensation will be half for those plots which are cultivated by others on crop-sharing basis.

(3) Capitalist cultivators, trading, professional and salaried classes and all those who possess lands but have other means of livelihood shall have to surrender them to the Government at one-fourth the normal rate of compensation.

*Division of land*—After these a Survey Commission will survey the entire province and divide the land village-wise in four categories: A; B; C; D.

A class lands will be those that are very fertile and possess irrigation facilities as well as immunity from flood.

B class lands, inferior to A class, but capable of improvement with better irrigation facilities and improved means of production.

C class, indifferent lands, but capable of some improvement.

D class lands, fallow land found everywhere capable of development with a large outlay of capital and labour. There are, it has been estimated, 170 million acres of such land in India.

The entire area of a village should be divided into a number of compact holdings of suitable size. No hard and fast rule can be laid down as this will vary from area to area. No holding should give inadequate return, insufficient to support the family of the cultivator. The holding should normally contain, A B and C classes of land, or if this be not possible, both B & C, but not D class of land. D class lands will be reserved mainly for landless labourers. For developing such lands they will be granted adequate State aid, Efficiency and willingness to work hard must be the main criterion in selecting such people. This class of land may also be settled with those cultivators who have shown skill in their occupation, as an incentive. A good part of it will be the common grazing ground for raising cattle and will be entrusted to the village committee to raise fodder on a large scale.

A person to be entitled to get settlement must be willing to adopt cultivation as his profession and must have fitness for this. As far as possible, people belonging to the present agricultural class and to the same village

should be preferred. In the beginning, preference may be shown to such people who have been dispossessed of land but are prepared to conform to the new conditions. The settlement will be at first for 30 years. If the tenure holder in the meantime dies, the contract would be void, but if he survives, the contract would be automatically confirmed for life unless he relinquishes it voluntarily in favour of some one else. After the death of the original tenure holder, preference should be given to his heirs. Land may also be settled jointly.

**Land Revenue**

The whole purpose of the reform proposed above is bound to be defeated if the present pernicious system of land revenue is allowed to continue. At present it is the land that is taxed, the zamindars or the Government claim a share in the produce which is generally half of it. No consideration is given to whether the share of the cultivator, after deducting the cost of production, is sufficient to meet his needs. Compared to the lot of other classes, this is flagrantly unjust. For, an industrialist, an artisan, a doctor or an individual of any other profession has not to pay half of his gross income to the State irrespective of the fact whether it is Re. 1/- or Rs. 1000/-. In assessing taxation on the income of other classes a sufficient margin is left over as the living wage, and people whose income is within that margin are entirely excluded from the scope of taxation. It is only in assessing land revenue that no such consideration is shown, and half the produce is claimed irrespective of whether the left-over is sufficient to meet the needs of the cultivator or not.

Whatever justification for this there might have been in old times, when the inroads made by the State on purses of individuals were not many, this system is completely out of date in modern times. In old times the cultivator paid a part of the produce of his land to the State, or its agent, as rent and then he was left free to live his life. Indirect taxations were few and the unsophisticated were wholly untouched even if there were any. But incidence of indirect taxation has abnormally increas-

ed in modern times and there seems to be no end to it. The cultivator to-day, besides paying nearly half the produce of the land directly to the State or its agents, has to pay indirect taxes for the salt he eats, the kerosine oil he burns, the clothes he wears, tobacco he smokes or chews and the intoxicants he consumes. Besides, he has to pay other taxes, like Road Cess, Poll-Tax, terminal tax etc. Well one may say with Premchand, who had a rare insight into the life and problems of the kisans, "The life story of a Kisan from cradle to grave is a story of taxation and more taxation, legal or illegal"

So the new basic principle of land taxation should be that *it is the cultivator who is to be taxed and not the land he cultivates*. In assessing the amount of land revenue of each cultivator, the cost of production as well as a comfortable margin as the minimum required for his subsistence should be let off and the rest taxed on a graduated and sliding scale: graduated on total amount of production and sliding on the quality of the harvest. For this purpose, the Government after each harvest will announce the scale of taxation and the ruling price of each commodity. The land revenue will then be calculated.

**Administrative Machinery**

For working the above system, a competent governmental machinery will be necessary. A system, however good, cannot be successful unless its operation is cheap and speedy. Each village shall have a government-paid revenue agent and a village committee of five members, elected by the villagers themselves. The revenue agent will maintain a record of the agricultural activities of each cultivator. The village com-

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## OUTLINES ...

mittee will render every help in compilation of the figures and will see that these are as accurate as possible. Every month, a cultivator must submit figures and details of his cost of production. For this purpose, regulations regarding the wages, hours of work etc. of the agricultural labouring class will be issued from time to time by Government. The figures, after proper scrutiny by the village agent and the committee, will be entered in a register. At the time of harvest the entire produce of land will be weighed.

The work of the village revenue agent will be subject to periodical check and inspection by Inspectors appointed for the purpose. The revenue agent will submit periodical returns to the Chief Assessment and Revenue Officer of the area. The Assessment Officer, on the basis of supplied figures will, after each harvest season, issue demand notice to each cultivator of his area and will furnish a list of the total demand with full particulars of each village to the President of the village committees.

The State dues will be collected by the village committee who by a certain fixed date will forward the collections to the local treasury, reporting at the same time the names of defaulters to the Assessment Officer. Thereafter it will be the business of the permanent staff to realise revenue with penalty, and on persistent and regular default, to forward the names of the defaulters to the local revenue board for suspending or dispossessing the offender of his tenancy rights.

For administration of the land revenue system there shall be constituted local boards of revenue of which the majority of members will be elected from the village committees of the area, the rest being nominated by the Government and presided over by the Chief Revenue Officer of the area. It will be their duty, on recom-

(See bottom, next column)

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## The Civil War

By MRITYOONJAYA MUKHERJI, DHANBAD

Civil War has been a common topic in world politics for more than a decade. The Chinese Civil war and the Spanish Fascist-Communist war are still fresh in our memory. But India never bothered over the matter till she herself was confronted with it when apparently she was marching ahead towards the goal of independence. Here, a Civil War looms in the offing. We are witnessing two types of Civil Wars—one communal and the other economic. In some provinces we observe a combination of the two. One is the crusade against the capitalist tyranny over the poor labouring classes and the other is the Hindu-Muslim clash which is a product of slave mentality of leaders who want either Purna Swaraj for all or Pakistan or Holy Land for their brothers in faith. Here also comes the politico-economic question, that is to say, the question, of loaves and fishes of office.

In spite of these conflicts, the teeming millions, who live in remote villages, half fed, ill clad and mostly illiterate, still lead a peaceful life as did their forefathers. This arises from the fact that persons who play at politics in towns or their neighbourhood have less opportunity for mixing with the masses for want of communications.

The clashes between capitalists and labourers are more frequent than communal riots, though much importance has been given to the latter since the Great Calcutta Killing of August last. But from the Communist press we learn that the entire labour population remained aloof from communal struggles and it has also been corroborated by non Communist socialists and others. Not only that, the Hindu workers agreed to observe hartal on the 16th August as a token of sympathy for their Muslim comrades. In Calcutta, itself, the labour classes never encouraged the communal clash. But it is said that they suffered most and now their condition, both social and economic, is worse.

There are more capitalists among the Hindus than among the Muhammedans, but most of the Hindus are as poor as most of the Muhammedans. During communal disturbances the poor Hindus have to look for help from the rich men of their community who can supply men and money for their safety. The big men make necessary arrangements for protection in their own interest. Therefore, though from the economic point of view the poor Hindu can never like a rich Hindu, yet the former has to count upon the support of the latter in times of turmoil.

The reverse is the case with the Muhammedans. They have not so much social and religious aristocracy as the Hindus have. They scarcely think of the equal distribution of land and wealth. Religion is an important factor in their everyday life. The Muslim League itself is a popular expression of all illiterate

This scheme has been drawn up keeping conditions in Bihar mainly in view, but it can be tried in other parts of India also. It must be clearly understood that mere tenancy reform cannot achieve satisfactory results unless the twin problems of providing full employment and raising production of land, are tackled successfully. Agriculture can be organised according to modern ideas in the above pattern and my scheme provides for raising the moral and material stature of our age-long down-trodden peasantry, without creating any large scale disturbance in their way of life.

and half-literate Muhammedans. Though the League is more a political body than a religious one, the name 'Muslim' itself attracts the religious sentiment of the common Mussalman even more than the League leaders themselves. In spite of their more conciliatory attitude towards the Muslim League than the Congress, specially in connection with Pakistan, the Communists could not get a single Muslim seat in the last election. This shows that the Muslims have no hatred for their Capitalist co-religionists as the Hindus have for their own.

So it is difficult to distinguish which part of the civil war is communal and which economic. If the two nation theory of the Muslim League is accepted, we cannot consider a communal class as civil war. These should be considered as struggles between two nations under one British Raj. Therefore, a communal clash is a civil war or a gigantic cockfight with the British Cabinet as the sole umpire.

The Provisional Interim Government has been functioning under the guidance of our leaders. But they have not been able to put a stop to the domestic civil war waged between husbands and wives due to high price of necessaries of life and comparatively low wages. The black-marketeers who were to be hung by the neck by the Great Pandit when his Party came in power, have not only been carrying on their illicit trade but also getting high places in Congress and official circles.

The Congress leaders know that anti-congress elements are gaining influence among the masses and would try to jeopardise their administration in co-operation with other groups. It has been possible because the Congress government has done practically nothing for the improvement of the lot of the working class, nor have they been able to stop black-marketing. In some places, only a set of opportunists have got hold of the organisation. If such a state of things goes on for some time, the prestige and popularity of the Congress would go down, corruption and nepotism would prevail. The old bureaucracy will simply change its hue but function as ever.