

# Behar Herald

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The Labour Government of Britain is faced with many knotty problems, both at home and abroad, but none presents a greater difficulty of solution than the deadlock in Palestine. Not only is it a complicated issue, it is also primarily a British responsibility. Mr. Attlee would be glad to share responsibility with other Great Powers for resolving the tangle in Palestine but nobody is apparently willing to lend a helping hand.

In May 1939, the Chamberlain Government, after many failures to bring about Arab-Jew agreement in Palestine, issued a White Paper which limited Jewish immigration to 75,000, to be spread over 5 years.

This quota is now exhausted with the expiry of 5 years. But there has arisen an urgent need to find a refuge for about one lakh miserable, homeless and destitute Jews who are among the "displaced persons" in occupied Germany. These Jews, knowing that they will not be received anywhere else in the world, desire anxiously to go to Palestine which, according to the Balfour Declaration of 1917, was to be established as a National Home for the Jewish People. The British Government have not been able to accede to this request on the ostensible ground that such large numbers of fresh immigrants can neither be housed nor absorbed in Palestine.

The real obstacle to further Jewish immigration is the stubborn opposition of the Arabs in Palestine (and also of Arabs in other countries). The Arab League, formed during the last war, representing the States of Syria, the Lebanon, Transjor-

## The Palestine Imbroglia

By Reader

Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Yemen and Egypt, with the object of drawing together all Arab peoples to resist Western encroachment and domination, —is naturally opposed to further Jewish immigration in Palestine. It wants the British Government to stand by the policy laid down in the White Paper of 1939. It also insists that there should be no more alienation of Arab lands to the Jews, The Arabs envisage Palestine as an Arab country. The present Jewish population of Palestine is 7 lakhs as against over 10 lakhs of Arabs. In 1918, there were only 10,000 Jews in Palestine. During the war years, Palestine took in about 65,000 Jews. Dr. Chaim Weizmann, the President of the World Zionist Organization, has said that most of these would have been dead to-day if they had stayed in Europe. He has also said that the lives of tens of thousands of Jews might have been saved but for the restriction imposed on Jewish immigration into Palestine by the White Paper.

The Jewish immigrants in Palestine have been a strong civilizing influence and have done wonders in developing the resources of the country. They claim that, by irrigation and other means, room can be found in Palestine for five times the present Jewish population, to the economic advantage of the country and hence to the Arabs also.

The Jews have started new industries in Palestine that were unknown in the Middle East, such as diamond-cutting (It is, not generally known that Palestine's share in the output of diamonds is worth over £2,500,

000, to-day, a quarter of the total world production.), laboratories for the manufacture of pharmaceutical products, making of optical precision instruments. The Palestine Potash Limited manufactures potassium salts, bromine and magnesium chloride from the water of the Dead Sea. In addition to these there are cement works (limestone rocks abound in Palestine), petroleum refineries. Engineering projects have harnessed the waters of the Jordan, providing irrigation and electric power over a wide area. The Jewish immigrants have converted extensive areas to the cultivation of citrus fruits— oranges and lemons. By-products of this horticultural industry are manufactures of lime juice, orange squash and essential oil from the peels. Olive cultivation has also been extended and olive oil is exported. Other Mediterranean fruits like

grapes, figs, almonds, apricots, besides apples, pears and plums are grown and tinned for export. Turkish tobacco, bananas and dates are also cultivated. Dairy-farming, poultry and bee-keeping are carried on extensively. The Jews invested £35,000,000 in agriculture and industry in Palestine. They have laid out 250 agricultural settlements, drained the north Palestine swamps, built the city of Tel-Aviv.

The strategic importance of Palestine is obvious. It is the eastern bastion against any potential threat to the Suez-Canal. The outlet of the oil-pipe line from Mosul (Iraq) is at Haifa. It is the halting place on the international air-route to India and the Far East. The newly constructed harbour at Haifa is one of the largest in the Near East. It is a naval base for the British Mediterranean fleet.

A short time ago, President Truman, pressed by American Jewry, wrote to Mr. Attlee (See page 136)

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# Behar Herald

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## IRAN

A few months ago, the ether tingled with the righteous indignation of Anglo-Americans because the provisional governments formed in Poland, Hungary, Yugo-Slavia, Bulgaria and Roumania were not "democratically" formed. Fresh elections have now taken place in the first four and we do not hear much about the "undemocratic nature" of these new governments. Iran to-day is a formidable rival of Indonesia for newspaper space. A great deal has been said by news agencies and our newspapers about the evil intentions of Soviet Russia in Iran. As we do not know exactly what the Russians have done in Azerbaijan (the reports are so conflicting that it is difficult for an outsider to discover the truth), we would not repeat what all our contemporaries have almost unanimously said, but for a change, turn our attention to the persecuted hero of the piece, viz., the Government of Iran.

It is much easier to criticize Soviet interference in north Persia than to defend the Iranian social and political system and the present administration of the country. There has been a crying need for agrarian and social reform in Iran, but nothing has even been attempted in these directions. Military occupation of the country by the Great Power trinity from September 1941, has not encouraged any change, rather the reverse.

What the population of Iran is nobody knows. The Statesman's Year Book hazards three guesses—15 millions, 18 millions, less than 10 millions. Another source says "probably 12 millions". A wide choice is afforded by these varying figures, but whatever be the population of Iran, there is no contradicting the fact that five-sixths of it is always hungry and totally illiterate.

Three-fourths of the babies born die before they are one year old. On paper, Iran is a constitutional monarchy, with a Shah, a Cabinet and a National Assembly (*Majlis*), to which the Cabinet is responsible, but in practice the country is ruled by 2000 wealthy families,—the remainder of the population is too poor and too ignorant to count. These feudal families own the country as practically all land belongs to them. They are the Cabinet, they are the *Majlis*, they control the finance and the army. Until the rise of the Tudeh (the masses) Party, the people had no voice nor interest in politics. To-day, there are only two political parties,—the Tudeh and the anti-Tudeh. The latter, the party of the 2000 have-alls, calls itself by the sonorous name of National Will Movement. (In Greece, the Royalists call themselves the People's Party). The anti-Tudeh newspapers are violently anti-Russian and always describe Stalin as a bank-robber. In the *Majlis*, only the Tudeh is organised as a party. The other Deputies belong to one or other of 6 factions, which are personal followings of individual Deputies, who constantly change sides. The only business of these factions is intrigue, getting relatives appointed to soft and highly paid jobs, and showing special favours to those who can pay handsome bribes. Naturally these corrupt representatives in the *Majlis* have always frustrated the slightest tendency towards reform. More than 100 Bills, proposing urgent reforms, political and social, have been before the *Majlis* for over a year without anything being done. This is easy to arrange. The *Majlis* has 127 members and a quorum of 82 is needed to pass a Bill. Those who benefit from a maintenance of status quo just stay away from the meeting and prevent even a discussion of reform measures.

Like all backward and mis-governed countries, Persia spends more than half her national revenue on the Army and the Police. The soldier's pay is only Rs. 7/8/- a month and thanks to Allied occupation, Iran like Egypt is to-day one of the most expensive countries in the world. How

the soldiers live on Rs. 7/8/- is anybody's guess and the most obvious guess is the correct one.

The 2000 propertied conservative families are naturally pro-British because they derive great benefit from the concessions granted to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. In 1943, this company imported over £5,000,000 worth of goods that did not pay any customs duty to the Iranian exchequer.

Azerbaijan, the northern province of Iran bordering on the Caspian Sea, adjoins the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan. The people in both are the same, their language is not Persian but Turki, their manners and customs are the same. It is only natural that the great progress made by the Azerbaijanis in the Soviet Union would influence their brothers living under a corrupt, mediaeval feudal system of Government and encourage democratic aspirations. Soviet Azerbaijan, with a population of 35 lakhs, has more than 7½ lakhs pupils in schools with 2620 teachers. There are 91 technical colleges with 17,200 students, 16 colleges with 11,600 students and 43 scientific research institutes. The Medical Institute of its capital, Baku, has 2500 students.

The present troubles in Iran have a two-fold origin. Firstly, there is the natural desire of an exploited people to assert its right to a better living. Secondly, there are the conflicting interests of two rival Great Powers, Britain and Russia. British influence has always been strong in the south and Russian influence in the north. The two causes have got inextricably intermingled. News from both British and Russian sources are bound to be coloured.

The revolt of the Azerbaijanians is called "autonomist movement" by Russia. The British consider it a "sponsored rebellion". Both are pleading their respective causes, in the name of Persian democracy.

A year ago, the Russians asked the Persian government for concessions to prospect for oil in Persian Azerbaijan province. Soviet Azerbaijan contains the famous oil fields of Baku and it is almost certain that oil can be had in north Persia. The terms offered by the Soviet were far more generous than

those under which the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company works. The negotiations had reached the final stage when suddenly the *Majlis* turned it down. What influences were at work is easy to guess. The Russians did not take their diplomatic defeat lying down. What the Iranian government refused to concede may be given by the Autonomous Republic of Azerbaijan.

A civil war is brewing in Iran, the Great Powers need only supply arms to the Tudeh and the anti-Tudeh, the Persians will do the fighting.

## Notes & Comments

### A Correction

We commented last week on the allegation that Mr. Jinnah was receiving an annual subsidy of 6 lakhs of rupees from Hyderabad for carrying on propaganda in favour of Pakistan. We are now glad to announce that Mr. Jinnah has repudiated the story. We did not see the Urdu papers in which the allegation appeared, our comment was based on the statement in the *Modern Review*.

### It Is Their Turn Now

The underground resistance movement in Germany is named *Deutschland fuer Deutscher* (Germany for Germans). It is trying to make the life of Allied occupation troops as uncomfortable as possible, in the hope that they may depart early. Vital parts of cars are stolen when parked or at night, wires are stretched across roads in the dark, the direction of sign posts at street crossings are reversed, telephone lines are cut, broken glass and nails are scattered on roads, obstacles are placed at dark entrances, subversive rumours are spread.

### An Exaggerated Expectation

It is very gratifying to read the impressions of his Assam tour given by Pandit Nehru in a meeting held in the Deshbandhu Park in Calcutta, on Dec. 21. He saw an eager, questioning look in the eyes of the people as of some one athirst searching for water to cool his parched throat: "When will Swaraj come? When will freedom be ours so that we may breathe again and be rid of our misery?" (A. P. Calcutta, Dec. 21).



Blessed are the people who are hungering and thirsting after freedom, for sooner or later they shall get it. Only we are sorry that when Swaraj or freedom comes these simple folk will suffer a rude disillusionment. The number of independent countries in the world is far greater than that of the subjugated ones. Is the common man "rid of his misery" in Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay, ... and is he able to "breathe again" which he presumably could not when these countries belonged to Spain? Is the common man "rid of his misery" in Iraq, Iran, Egypt, Arabia ... and can he "breathe again" now that he is no longer under Turkish yoke? Is the common man in Liberia, Mexico, Hayti, San Domingo, Abyssinia, Afghanistan, Guatemala, San Salvador, Nicaragua ... "rid of his misery"? We hope we will not be misunderstood. We believe that independence is as much the birthright of everybody as sunlight or fresh air. But we do not believe that sunlight or fresh air can rid the common man of his misery any more than can independence. The Japanese have been independent throughout history, but the lot of the average man in Japan has always seemed miserable to outsiders. So long as there is exploitation in the world, the common man can never be freed of his misery.

**The Peace Time War**

Two facts have to be borne in mind before one can have an idea of the length of time that Britain will have to "hold the baby" in Indonesia. One is that the natives of the East Indies have only a gradually dwindling stock of war-materials which were handed over to them by the Japanese. As there is no possibility of these being replenished from any source, resistance in Java is bound to come to an end some day. Another fact is that although

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Holland has earmarked 27,000 Dutch troops for reconquering their colonial empire of whom 10,000 have already arrived in Malaya, they are all raw and untried recruits and are undergoing training. (This is not admitted, but it is being given out that the landing of Dutch soldiers in Java is being postponed till some sort of settlement has been reached so that the arrival of Dutch troops may not be the signal for a wide-spread rising.)

The morale of these Dutch troops in Malaya is low; they have no enthusiasm for fighting the Javanese. They are restless and homesick. There have been several cases of insanity and two cases of attempted suicide among these raw recruits.

So, British and Indian troops can only leave Java either when the Dutch recruits complete their training and are ready for the field, or when the Javanese have thrown their last hand grenade.

In the meantime the figures of Indo-British casualties are mounting in this post-war war. So far, the total British casualties in Java are 50 killed and 57 wounded. The Indian casualties are 315 killed and 667 wounded. Grand total, 1089. Of course these figures will not be correct by the time these lines appear in print.

**A Bad Choice**

Eleven of the "beasts of Belsen" concentration camp have been executed by hanging. As execution by other than the firing squad is not carried out by the Army, the British official hangman, Albert Pierrepoint (38) of Manchester had to be flown to Germany to carry out the job. His ordinary remuneration is about Rs. 100 a month retainer and he gets a fee of about Rs. 140 plus the cost of a new rope per job. He is allowed to keep the rope as a souvenir. Pierrepoint, the master craftsman, has also an apprentice, his nephew, who helps him in his job and also works as his understudy. Both went to Hameln for the swinging of the Belsen Beasts and the younger Pierrepoint carried out the execution of John Amery in Wandsworth Prison in London.

The 11 executions took 6 hours 19 minutes and instead of receiving Rs. 1540, Pierrepoint got only Rs. 660, on a

wholesale basis.

The world is well rid of such monsters in human shape as Josef Kramer and Irma Grese, but we are shocked to learn that the executions were carried out in Hameln Jail. Hameln, on the Weser, in Brunswick has been made famous for generations of school boys by Browning in his well-known poem, *The Pied Piper of Hamelin*. The incident of the Pied Piper playing on his pipe and all the rats of Hameln coming out and following him into the Weser where they were drowned, was long regarded as historical and was supposed to have occurred in 1284 A. D. The legend prevailed, with variations in many countries of Europe, other than Germany. If the military authorities had any imagination they would not have associated the gruesome punishment of the brutal keepers of one of the worst Nazi concentration camps with the town whose name has been immortalized in English literature.

**Difference Between Poacher And Gamekeeper**

It has always been the lot of Britain to be misunderstood both by her friends and enemies. The R. A. F., which is in Java to help the Dutch to recover their colonial empire, set fire to the village of Bekassi on 13th Nov. and the village of Tabang on 11th Nov. as measures of reprisal. Dr. Van Mook, Lieutenant Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, who has now gone back to Holland, has said that he would not have done this neat job. He further said that people in Holland are not able to see the difference between the R. A. F.'s burning out of the villages of Tabang and Bekassi and the ruthless Nazis' destruction of the Czechoslovakian village Lidice to avenge the death of a German police chief.

The Dutch must be extremely simple-minded not to see the difference between Lidice and Bekassi. The Germans are bad people, so when they burn a village it is frightfulness. We are

**DID YOU REALISE**

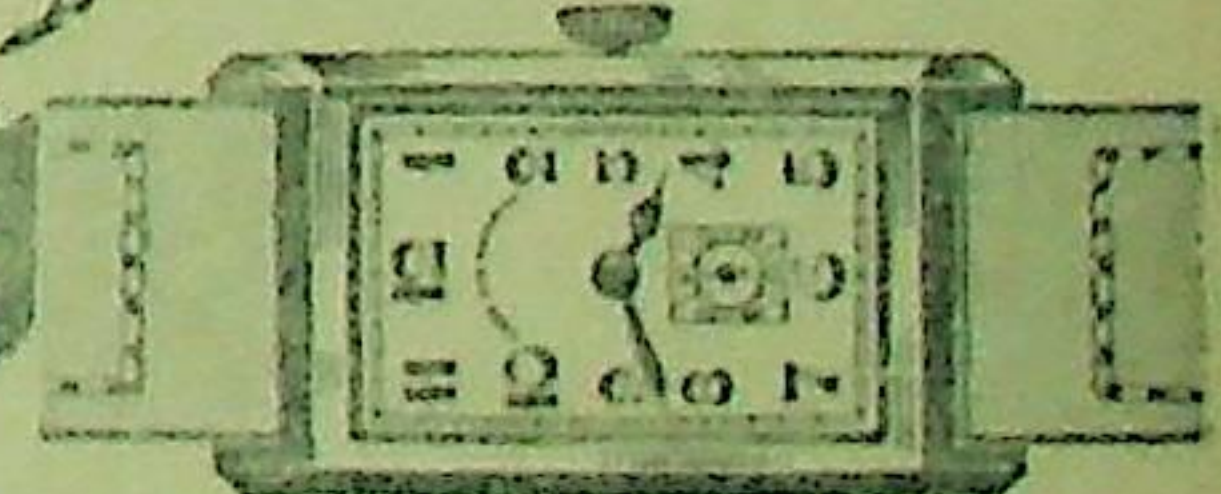
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good, so when we do the same thing it is only for the sake of law and order.

**A Sound Policy**

We are greatly heartened by the assurance of Pandit Nehru that he is "interested in creating conditions where every Indian man or woman will have to work" (Shillong speech). Journalists in all conscience, are a hard-working lot and we will naturally be glad to see the drones depart.

Pandit Nehru's statement is also less categorical than what a Madras Congressman said in an electioneering speech: "When the Congress comes to power, the workless will have work, the foodless will have food, the homeless will have homes and the taxless will have taxes." It was not an exaggerated claim as in Madras, during the rule of Rajah Gopal Achariar, new taxes were imposed on sales of articles, tobacco and on practitioners of Indian systems of medicine, besides others. The anti-Hindi agitators were given work, food and home.

**What Happened To Mira Ben?**

Six foot tall, 33 years old Miss Madeline Slade, the daughter of the British Ad-

miral, Sir Edmund Slade, felt attracted to Mr. Gandhi after reading a book about him.

In 1925, she left England for Mr. Gandhi's ashram and became his personal attendant, taking the name of Mira Ben (from the Rajput princess Mira Bai who abandoned her all to follow Krishna). Miss Slade went to jail twice during the Civil Disobedience Movement. After having been a constant companion of Mr. Gandhi for 20 years, Miss Slade has left Sevagram under mysterious circumstances. It is said that she fell in love with Prithvi Singh (55) another inmate of the Sevagram ashram. Mr. Gandhi, who prefers his disciples to lead a celibate life, was willing to make an exception in this case, but Prithvi Singh was unwilling to marry Miss Slade, now 53. Soon afterwards, he broke with Mr. Gandhi, became a Communist and married a girl Comrade. Miss Slade, tired of Sevagram, left for the Himalayas and founded an ashram of her own there. Her exact whereabouts are not known to anybody. Miss Slade's devotion to Mr. Gandhi is comparable to the attraction felt by Miss Margaret Woodrow Wilson (56), one of the daughters of President Woodrow Wilson, for Aurobindo Ghosh. She was turning over the card-index catalogue of a public library in

New York and happened to come upon the name *Essays on the Gita* by Sri Aurobindo. She took out the book and turned over the pages which fascinated her. She read on till closing time and came back the next day and on many subsequent days. Ultimately she decided to come to India to Aurobindo's ashram in Pondicherry. The poor lady died there a few years later.

**"Easy, My Dear Watson"**

A New York message of Dec. 18 said that a group of American textile experts would leave for Japan shortly, in response to Gen. MacArthur's request, to study conditions there.

To those who may be wondering what "conditions" can be studied by American textile experts in Japan, we would present the following facts:

Manchester taught the Japanese how to spin cotton and sold them textile machinery and looms. Soon Japan was able to make cotton shirts, send them halfway round the world, and sell them in the shops of Manchester at a price which Manchester men regarded as absurd. They bluntly said it could not be done. But that was not the worst of it. A Japanese, Toyada by name, invented an improved loom that would do more work with less attention. While in Lancashire mills, each girl worker could attend to eight looms, in a Japanese cotton mill in Osaka or Kobe one girl could tend sixty.

Lancashire stubbornly refused to believe it. It was only when the markets of the world were flooded with Japanese textiles at prices from a third to a tenth of Lancashire's and the cotton capital of the world had definitely moved from Mersey-side to Osaka, that Lancashire textile engineers and cotton magnates made a pilgrimage to Japan to study Nippon's cotton industry.

They took no loom with them this time, but only their cheque book. After they had inspected the Japanese mills, they paid a million yens for the license rights to use the Toyada loom in Lancashire.

One can be perfectly certain that the American textile experts who are going to Japan are not taking cheque books with them but only empty crates, nails and hammer.

**Hitler, A Disguised Communist**

The following comparative figures show the present strength of the Communists in those countries of liberated Europe where elections have been held recently:—

Country	No. of Communist seats in legislatures
	Pre-war      To-day
France ...	72              152 (largest party)
Norway ...	nil              10
Denmark ...	nil              18
Hungary ...	nil              70
Austria ...	nil              3
Bulgaria ...	nil              98 (largest party)

In Yugo-Slavia, the government of Marshal Tito is communist-led. In Czecho-slovakia, in the provincial elections, the communists have secured the largest number of seats.

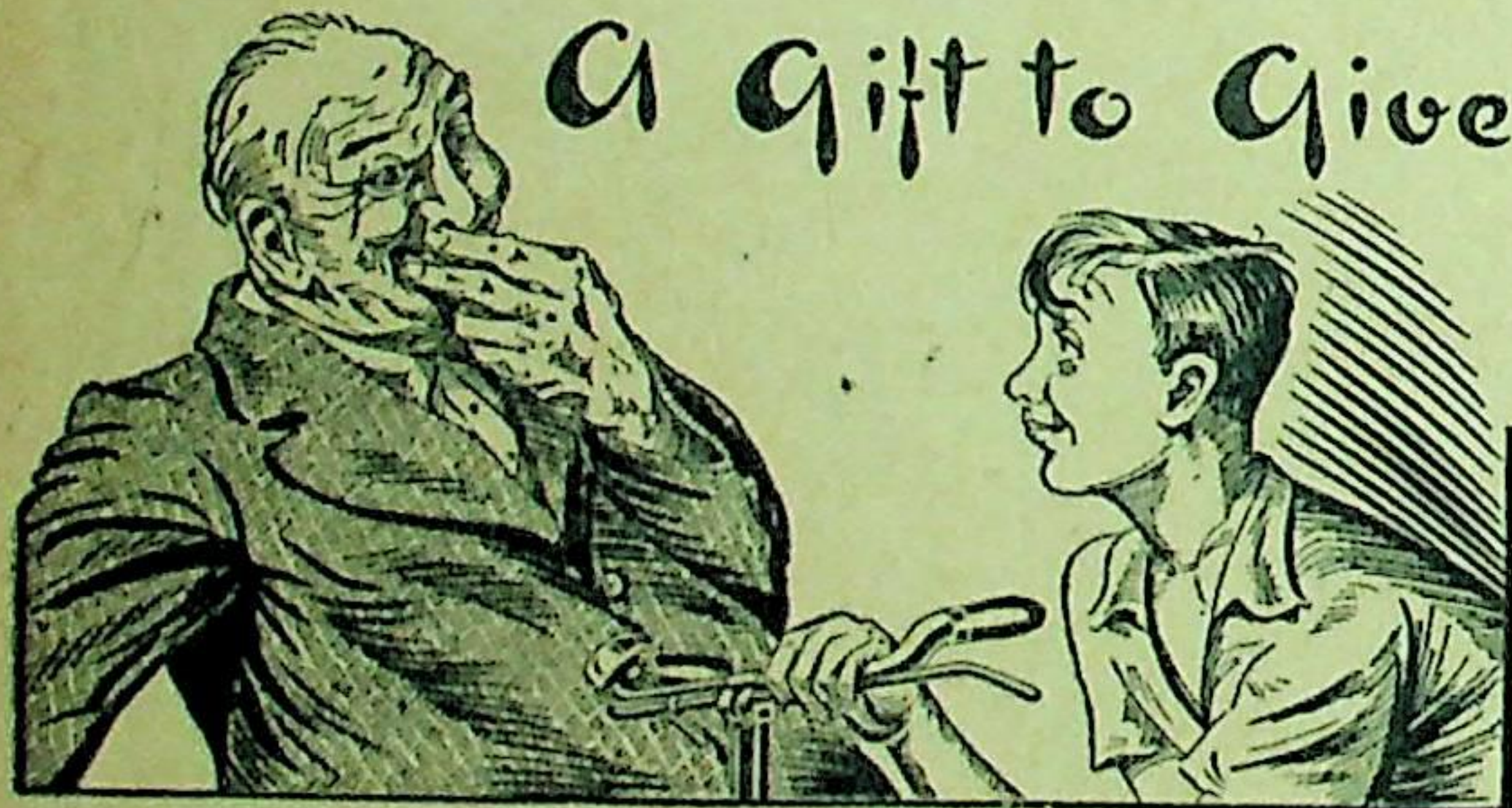
Poor Hitler has been roundly abused from all quarters without a realization of the fact that he did his best for the spread of communism beyond the borders of Soviet Russia.

**Points Of View**

Mr. Churchill used all his powers of oratory to argue in the House of Commons that the American loan to Britain was an impossible burden and a hard bargain. Mr. Weyland Brooks of Illinois, in the U. S. Senate, made it clear that the proposed American loan was over-generous, that its terms were much too light and that the whole of the Lend-lease account should be collected in full.

**Death of a Leading Lawyer**

Muzaffarpur people were grieved to hear the sudden death of Babu Haribilas Banerjee M. A. B. L. Advocate, the seniormost lawyer of Muzaffarpur Bar. The melancholy event took place on the evening of 22nd December at his Muzaffarpur residence at Haribilas Road. The deceased was well known throughout Bihar for his scholarly attainments. He was a brilliant student of the Calcutta University, having stood first in all his examinations and was well versed in continental languages like French, German, Italian, Greek and Spanish. He used to take prominent part in the activities of the town. He was the Secretary of Mukherjee's Seminary for several years, he was also the President of the Hari Sabha M. E. School. He was for some time one of the Vice-Presidents of the Bengali Association, Muzaffarpur branch and was one of the founders of the Orient Club Muzaffarpur. He worked for more than 33 years as the Senior Bettiah Raj lawyer under the Court of Ward. He was highly respected and loved by Bengalis and Biharis alike and as soon as the news of his death spread in the town, large numbers of his friends, admirers and colleagues called at his residence to pay their last respect to him.



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Whatever I put below is strictly a personal viewpoint and I request that the few things said here may be taken as an individual's views—preferably a layman's views. They are not comprehensive either, only what appears important to me.

The Sociological Institute movement intends to bring about an intellectual life in the country that would, firstly, organise thought on a rational basis, secondly subject most dogmas and institutions to a critical examination from a rational and scientific viewpoint and, thirdly, help to draw up blue prints for the future life of the country, i.e., indicate the lines on which it should be re-organised.

On account of these three aspects of the movement the organisers will be called upon to fight religious orthodoxy as well as the more liberal type of religiosity which pretends to treat all religions as various manifestations of truth. This will lead to a sort of iconoclastic work much similar to that carried on by the Rationalist Press Association of England and as available in their publications in the series "The Thinkers' Library."

This work, thought being largely an exposition of materialist philosophy will cover several branches of knowledge. In the first instance modern physics, biology, theory of evolution, palaeontology, history of the evolution of mankind through faiths and their social organisations, anthropology and materialism through the ages will have to be discussed in a manner that their impact on Indian thought and life should become felt soon enough. The work will include both discussions as well as publications. A few subjects suggest themselves very prominently :

(1) The Physical World—something like Eddington's treatise on the subject.

(2) Life—the ascent of man, organic evolution and its trend for progress.

(3) The theory of evolution—modern work on the evolution of Homo Sapiens

(4) The geological record—verification of evolution theory

(5) Social History of mankind—Human instinct for progress towards perfection.

## The Rationalist Movement

By H. B.

- (a) Beliefs through the ages—magic, superstition, religion, science: Progress of human mind and knowledge
- (b) Production through the ages—means of production and organisation of production; progress of technology
- 6 The Materialist Philosophy
  - (a) History of Materialist Thought in India
  - (b) Religion and Superstition vs. Science
  - (c) Rise of materialist philosophy—contributions of modern Physics, biology, geology etc
  - (7) A critique of the Gita.
  - (8) A study of Indian history from the materialist and Marxist viewpoint.
  - (9) The evolution of the modern world.
  - (10) Social Organisation behind the religions—
    - (a) Buddhism and the idea of the creation of the perfect human society.
    - (b) Early Christianity and its primitive communist tendency
    - (c) Islam and its idea of commonwealth.
    - (d) Criticism of the social organisation of the various religions and the reasons for their failure to evolve a perfect human society.
  - (11) India-as a home of man. The environment in India and its reaction on man. How far has humanity in India been able to react on and change the environment. Comparisons.
  - (12) The perfect Human Society.
    - (a) Environment and the morals of man—Man can react on environment and change it
    - (b) The perfect environment and the perfect man of the future: Can Human nature be changed?
    - (c) Modern psychology. Correlation of Marxism, Darwinism and Freudianism. Criminality and its cure.
    - (d) What is true spiritualism?
    - (e) Spiritual development and the material environment.
    - (f) Sex—the end of frustra-

tion and unsocial instincts?

- (g) Property — ...
- (h) Leisure and culture for the millions,
- (i) Morals and the Machine.
- (13) The Crisis to-day.

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**THE RATIONAL**

- (a) The question of a culture, national as well as international
- (b) the new Outlook—Re-creating the world
- (c) India's future—an analysis leading forward from ancient history
- (d) Whither Humanity, backwards or forwards?
- (e) Fight against revivalism
  - (i) Social organisation.
  - (ii) Means of production
  - (iii) Culture—literature, art philosophy.
- (f) A point of compass and modern culture.
- (g) Can culture evolve in vacuum—Folly of Purist thought.
- (h) Origins of European cul-

ture—contributions of other peoples to its development.

(iii) Is there any thing as pure Indian culture—the contributions of Greece, Persia, Central Asia and China.

(iv) Rational outlook towards culture.

(14) Prophets of modern thought—Darwin, Marx, Edison and Freud.

Creative work which will encourage people to think about life on the lines indicated by the Renaissance must also be encouraged.

In Bengal papers have been promised on the following subjects;

- 1. Chinese Renaissance—Tripurari Chakravorty.
- 2. Social Psychology—H. Maiti.
- 3. Aspects of Renaissance and Literature—A. S. Ayub and Prabodh Sanyal.
- 4. Reconstruction of Indian History or Language in India—Kalyan Ganguly (The first is more important from our viewpoint)
- 5. Economic Problems of Indian Renaissance—Sachin Sen
- 6. A drama—Manoranjan Bhattacharyya
- 7. " Shankar Bhattacharyya

Work done in other centres :

- 1. Publications of Roy's books in Bombay : (Science and Superstition Heresies of the 20th century. From Savagery to Civilization, Materialism)
- 2. Work on New Outlook at Lucknow : (New Life Union among students, magazine, both critical and descriptive creative work)
- 3. Revaluation series of articles from Patna.
- 4. Criticism of the-philosophy behind the national political movement by Ramanathan at Madras.
- 5. Preliminary organisation of branches at various centres including Delhi.

Leading Personalities in the Renaissance movement:

J. B. H. Wadia and Rajaram Pande—at Bombay; K. K. Sinha at Lucknow; S. G. Roy at Delhi; S. N. Chakravorty at Patna;

What I have not been able to express clearly is this:

The work of the Association is [both inside it and outside itself. Inside, through papers and discussions the Association must help evolution of a basically uniform outlook shared by men engaged in different intellectual pursuits. A political intellectual must not alone have a view of future society but also the writers, artists, scientists, historians and economists. Similarly the writer or the politician must not be unaware of the

knowledge available through scientific research which will help explain the world around us and enable to fix man's place properly therein.

Outside, through publications, especially moderately priced pamphlets and books, the vast body of educated middle class primarily engaged in earning its livelihood must be helped to develop a modern outlook. A book by Eddington on the physical world is sold only in a few bookshops in this country and is priced at least about Rs. 8 while some trash on life after death by Oliver Lodge or somebody else becomes popular on account of its sentimental appeal and sells at Rs. 1-8. The more useful and scientific knowledge is kept away from even those who do want to read because of its price. The situation is more acute in regard to finding on bio-chemistry, biology, geology, anthropology, psychology or scientific history. Books on these subjects are generally costly. Small books on these subjects written by members of the Association will be popular and educative because they shall be moderately priced and also because they will be by Indian authors.

The Association has to, therefore, discover its Haldane to write a "Fact and Faith" from an Indian viewpoint, a Gordon Childe to trace the evolution of means of production and their social benefits through entire Indian history, a Fraser to examine our social life, a Freud to lay bare the significance behind our taboos, an Eddington to popularly discuss higher physics, a Davison to describe the story of man's progress from an anthropoid to the intellectual of to-day, an Ingersoll or Bradlaugh to tell us home truths about our religious institutions, and a Shaw to make us dream of the future of the species, especially those living in India.

The work therefore would be (1) Exchange of opinions amongst members, involving a considerable amount of original work and (2) propagation of ideas which would also include compilation or easy paraphrases of knowledge already available, and first hand study, research and creative work. The proposal is to publish 8 pamphlets yearly.



HE CUT HIS FLESH TO KEEP IT SAFE...



*The Regent*

Particulars. Colour: Water white. Weight: 136 3/4 carats. Value: Rs. 80 lakhs. Now on display at the Louvre Museum, Paris.

THIS diamond has an interesting history. It was found in 1701 by a negro slave working in a mine on the Kistna River. He hid his precious possession within a deep cut he made in his leg and escaped to the nearest seaport. There he met the wily Captain of a ship who promised him freedom in exchange for the diamond; having got possession of it, the Captain pushed the slave overboard. Thereafter it changed hands, until Thomas

Pitt—the Governor of Madras—who could never sleep in peace as long as he had had the diamond, sold it to the Regent of France. Thus it came to be known as the "Regent".

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## Scaling The Heights

By Prof. M. Sri Rama Murti, Vizianagram

The world's supplies of great men have been, in recent years, lamentably dwindling. Something should be done urgently to increase the crop. There is scarcity and mankind languishes. After all, we cannot do without them.

As the Scotch prophet was constantly dinning into contemporary ears, everything depends on recognising our great men, as they came. In this blessed country, thank God, there is no difficulty about recognition. The trumpets are always in full blast.

How is it that just now we have a very disappointing proportion of great men? Is it not something to feel miserable over that, in a wide world several thousands of miles in diameter, there should be only three or four, the Big Three or the Big Four? Don't say that 'big' is not 'great'. It is a distinction without a difference.

The production and distribution of great men is in some foolish, incompetent hands. Otherwise every country would have its just quota. It is after all a limited concern. The product is highly specialised and, like penicillin, one in universal and urgent demand. Some wise international organisation should at once be set up to control its supplies. Our experience in controls and rationing should help us a great deal.

Who is a great man and what are the tests to be applied before any son of Adam is declared to be that rare specimen?

The first requisite is that he should have had wide newspaper publicity. Book-publicity is inadequate and publicity by pamphlets is nothing.

Secondly, he should be a politician; that is he should busy himself with looking after the welfare of everybody, intellectual, moral and spiritual, economic, commercial and industrial, social, sartorial and sexual. He should be fired with a noble zeal to set the world on its legs and to keep it going.

There is nothing that the great man does not know and cannot do. He shares in the divine attributes of omniscience and omnipotence. What he does not know is not worth knowing. From theology to

agriculture, from bee-farming to military strategy, he is a super-expert in every department of thought. He is a director of experts. He is a compendium of global knowledge, a walking library of encyclopaedias.

Thirdly, he should be endowed with a pair of inexhaustible lungs made of a harder metal than iron, so that he may successfully conduct whirlwind campaigns of eloquence, expounding to clapping audiences, the utter inevitability of their electing him to leadership. Like Chatham of old, he should thunder forth from a thousand platforms, "I know I can save the country and none else can." He must have the grit to atom-bomb those who hold a different view.

Fourthly, the great man should have some distinguishing mark about his personality, by which his advent can be easily perceived from miles away, like Chamberlain's umbrella or Churchill's cigar. Failing this, he should at least have some anatomical irregularity, some abnormality which gives him the touch of the rare and super-human, like the deafness of Caesar or the pot belly of Napoleon. These features of the landscape could easily be multiplied, but what has been said is enough for the purpose of illustration.

What are the methods by which the average man may ultimately be transferred to the ranks of the high and mighty?

Let the aspirant first of all get hold of a chain of newspapers and let him be chummy with the rank and file of journalism. Then let his movements be reported, thus:

"The Rt. Hon. So-and-so, we are informed on reliable authority, intends to proceed to Timbuctoo within a short time." The next day the story should be continued with "The Rt. Hon's purpose in the planned visit, according to an authentic source, to explore the possibilities of establishing friendly relations between the inhabitants of Timbuctoo and those of Honolulu." On the third day should appear a disclaimer from the Rt. Hon. himself: "We

are authorised by the Rt. Hon' to deny in toto the recent spate of rumours regarding his alleged plan of a visit to Timbuctoo."

This will surely have the effect of setting the world a-thinking. Then it should be sustained by occasional doctors' bulletins of the Rt. Hon's cold, head-ache, and indisposition.

The aspirant should be issuing from time to time, with the cooperation of his journalistic friends, statements of his views on passing events such as the Slinglow and Fiasco Conferences and their possible repercussions. Statements, properly managed, have a publicity value not yet fully assessed. They keep people dreaming of lofty heights.

When you, the aspirant, are called upon to address any meeting, be it a baby-show or a cattle fair you should not fail to air your views on current political trends. Your eloquence should rarely venture into the historical, for that way lies inaccuracy. You may sometimes assume the prophet's mantle, for thus can you project your imagination into boundless vistas. You should always be topical, for nothing is so electrifying as the present moment. Choose for your discourses such subjects as "The international make-up of the world" or "The structural idiosyncrasies of the inter-state" Your titles should have the allure of the mysterious.

Let your exhortations begin with a reminder of the multiplicity, the complexity, and the acuteness of the problems of the day. "Ladies and Gentlemen, we are passing through a very critical phase of world-history. We are in the midst of a stupendous, nay, a bewildering transition" Convey the information, without mincing, that we are all in such a transition, and no audience, divisible into ladies and gentlemen, can fail to be impressed.

You will be nowhere in the land of the great if you do not maintain a Private Secretary. Every great man does it. Indeed, a P. S. is as much a part of the great man as his appendix. He receives visitors

and filters out those who may not be permitted to approach the lion couchant. He draws up programs, fixes up engagements, answers telephone-calls and proves himself extremely useful in divers incommunicable ways. In brief, he creates the atmosphere and the mystery.

Cultivate the cammera pose and smile. But let your P. S. instruct photographers to click their machines at the sky. The story should go around that you have the modesty of the great.

Above all, remember never to encumber your conscience with those inconvenient and superfluous knick-knacks called convictions. Imprudent men who gather such unintellectual trifles are bound to come to grief one day. Bear in mind that inconsistency is the badge of all your tribe. The man of convictions is invariably the narrow-minded man. He is strategically always at a disadvantage. His is that absurd thing known as the one-track mind.

Now go ahead, with God above and courage within. Very soon you will arrive at the heights and inhale the rarefied ether of those grand altitudes. Be-garlanded and ki-jaied, you will be of the elect, of the sacred band who occupy the front seats. When you retire from active life, you will have a long repose, punctuated with occasional brief spells of exertion, in some seat of culture green-carpeted with the moss of age.



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Economic development in Asia shows trends towards three different forms. One of these is capitalistic: the tendency to follow the historical, as distinguished from the logical, course of industrial development in Europe. The second trend consists in the resistance of the native cultures—of the past, one might say—to industrial development and the modernization of the economic and social life. Lastly, there is the trend towards the new, anti-capitalist forms of economy

as in Europe, e.g., socialism. The prospects of different forms of economy in Asia are considered in a study, *Asia between Two World Wars*, by Prof. J. F. Normano (Iranian Institute and School of Asiatic Studies, New York.)

Capitalism developed in Asia due to the expansion of European capitalism into its territories. It was not the intention of the European capitalists to industrialise Asiatic countries, which would one day compete against them; but,

driven by the logic of their development, they set to reproduce themselves in Asia, and to create conditions which made the emergence and growth of native capitalisms possible. Penetration of Asia by western economy was accompanied by the penetration and spread of western culture. The first footholds were on coastal parts—the 'foreign enclaves in the form of concession, towns' the economic and cultural influences released there penetrated to the interior with the development of the means of communication. Foreign cities (and trade settlements) grew up in the interior; the use of foreign goods 'dug new grooves of conduct'. Natives who traded, or served, with the foreigners adapted themselves to foreign ways. The growth of trade and industry led to the growth of towns and to the replacement of traditional attitudes by the more secular and rational. Out of this western-influenced class developed the native bourgeoisies, in the beginning necessarily small, but growing as time went by. At an opposite pole gathered the proletariat, out of the poorest section of the peasantry. Somewhere in-between emerged the radical intellectuals.

With the break-down of the village economy with its parochial loyalties, and under the influence of the west, nationalism came to be the dominating sentiment. Throughout the industrial development in Asia, land and labour have been always local; only the capital was foreign. During the present century, local capital has become predominant everywhere in Asia, although many fail to realise it. As it grew, the native capital clamoured more and more for an existence independent of foreign dominance and control. This demand received support from the growing political sentiment of nationalism. Native capitalisms of Asia got a very favourable opportunity to strengthen themselves during the first world war, when the inflow of foreign capital stopped and the postwar wave of economic nationalism further secured its position. As Prof. Normano puts it: "The growing national capitalism outside the west, though still embryonic, is be-

## ASIA'S ECONOMIC

ginning to insist upon independent development. Many factors stimulate this tendency, for instance the growth of national consciousness, the desire to defend (or to achieve) political independence, profit motives, and the wish to eliminate foreign competition."

The development of Asiatic capitalism is best illustrated by the history of the textile industry. During the 18th century, India, China and Japan were large-scale manufacturers and (except Japan) exporters of cotton and silk textiles. The industrial revolution in Europe and America, bringing new and highly efficient technique of textile manufacture, killed the industries in Asia, so that the very mother countries of textiles were flooded with textiles; being reduced to export raw cotton. However, during the closing decades of the 19th century, the technologically western-minded new capitalists started setting up textile industries in their own countries. The manufacturers of machinery in Europe were, of course, ready to sell machinery to any body who would buy. The Asiatic capital had the advantage of proximity of raw material and markets, as well as of cheap labour. When exports of British textiles were cut off during the world war I, the native industries received a great stimulus. The relatively well-organised Japanese textile industry captured the Asiatic markets, including India and China, which could not then produce all their requirements. The post-war years were marked by the struggle between the Japanese and the British textile industries and by the growth to supremacy in their own markets of the Indian and the Chinese textile industries. The western textile industries have definitely declined and the eastern countries are producing the greater part of their needs. In China, for instance, textiles constituted 31.1 p. c. of her total imports during 1913; in 1933 the percentage had shrunk to 4.3; and in 1934 textiles were merely 3.4 p. c. of the total imports. There is, thus, a swing back to the original sources of textile goods.

## It's four o'clock



IN MANY millions of homes throughout the world 'four o'clock' has a special extra meaning. Rich palaces and poor hovels; large, boisterous families with scores of friends running in and out—and lonely spinsters; artist and coal miner; peer and peasant; frozen North and sweltering tropic; at four, by some magical process, all become of one mind and equal; four o'clock is the world's tea time.

What a wealth of comfort and happiness from this simple plant! Well-made tea must surely be one of the world's biggest gifts to mankind. And yet, how many people squander this kindly gift by neglecting the simple rules of good tea making!

### HOW TO MAKE GOOD TEA

- 1 Don't brew your tea in the kettle. Use a teapot for brewing.
- 2 The teapot should be warm and dry when you put in the dry tea. This assures correct infusion and flavour.
- 3 Put one teaspoonful of fresh dry tea leaves for each cup and one extra for the pot.
- 4 Use only freshly boiled water—never water that has been previously boiled, under-boiled or over-boiled. Water is boiling when it is bubbling and not before.
- 5 The time for infusion is not less than five minutes.
- 6 Don't add sugar and milk while the tea is still in the pot, but only after it is poured out in cups.





# ECONOMIC FUTURE

Leading this industrial development are conscious, energetic, confident bourgeoisies in Asia. According to Prof. Normano: "No one who is acquainted with the life and work of J. N. Tata, the founder and organiser of the famous Indian Tata Iron and Steel Company, can have any doubt as regards the dynamics of the capitalist spirit in Asia". The bourgeoisie, in the "enthusiasm of its youth, has launched itself on the road to economic nationalism." It is impelled by a sense of its mission, and "considers itself as a spokesman for the nation."

However, though the Asiatic bourgeoisies have accepted the western technology, they have not necessarily accepted the western culture in place of the traditional culture of their native lands. Moreover, They operate within the limitations of the traditional social and cultural set-up. Thus at one and the same time they represent a departure from the traditional set-up, yet seek to operate within it, and thereby strengthen it.

Similarly there is the ambivalent attitude on the part of the representatives and spokesmen of the traditional culture towards the capitalist industrialism. The traditional culture pattern: the old customs, habits, routines, social relationships expressed now in religious terms, stand in the way of industrial development. Opposition to capitalist tendencies also comes from the post-capitalist tendencies. During the early periods of its growth, capitalism encountered similar opposition from the past relationships and attitudes in Europe as well. But opposition in Asia is particularly strong, because there are no traditions of individualism or economic motivation on the part of any considerable number of people. On the other hand, there is a very strong tradition of passivity of the masses, of a servile obedience to power, and of fatalism.

In opposition to both the yet growing capitalism, and the old culture, stand the anti-capitalist trends, mostly influen-

ced from outside. None the less, it should be clear that in two countries of Asia, non-capitalist society has already been established. They are Soviet Asia and Japan. Soviet Asia, which is confirmedly socialist, covers about half the total area of Asia. Soviet ideology has a very strong appeal to the poor and down-trodden masses and to the radical intelligentsia. Its success against Germany in Europe, and against Japan in Asia, has immensely enhanced its prestige. The success of its socialistic experiments is an incentive to other peoples to follow it. The political influence of the Soviet Union is bound to affect the future development of the rest of Asia.

Despite defeat and the inevitable break-up, Japan provides the alternative ideology, alternative pattern of development. Japan's economy, though dominated by family-groups which were driven by the profit-motive, cannot be called capitalistic. The operation of economic forces was subordinated to either politics or the traditional culture. The supremacy of economic ends, which is the chief characteristic of the capitalist society, was absent. Industrial development in Japan did not take place of itself, nor was it for primarily economic ends, as in Europe and America. The development was carefully planned from above by the leaders of feudal Japan who, by controlling the development and checking it at the appropriate time, contrived to retain their positions. The persistence of the traditional culture pattern was one of the results of the control over development; indeed, the old loyalties were intensified to overcome the stress that the new method of production and the new economy produced. In the beginning the aim of industrialisation in Japan was to safeguard her freedom against the onslaught of the west; thus the defence industries were the first objects of attention. Later on, the aim was the subjugation of other peoples; the impulsion behind the imperialistic urge was the effort to maintain old social relations, and the old culture

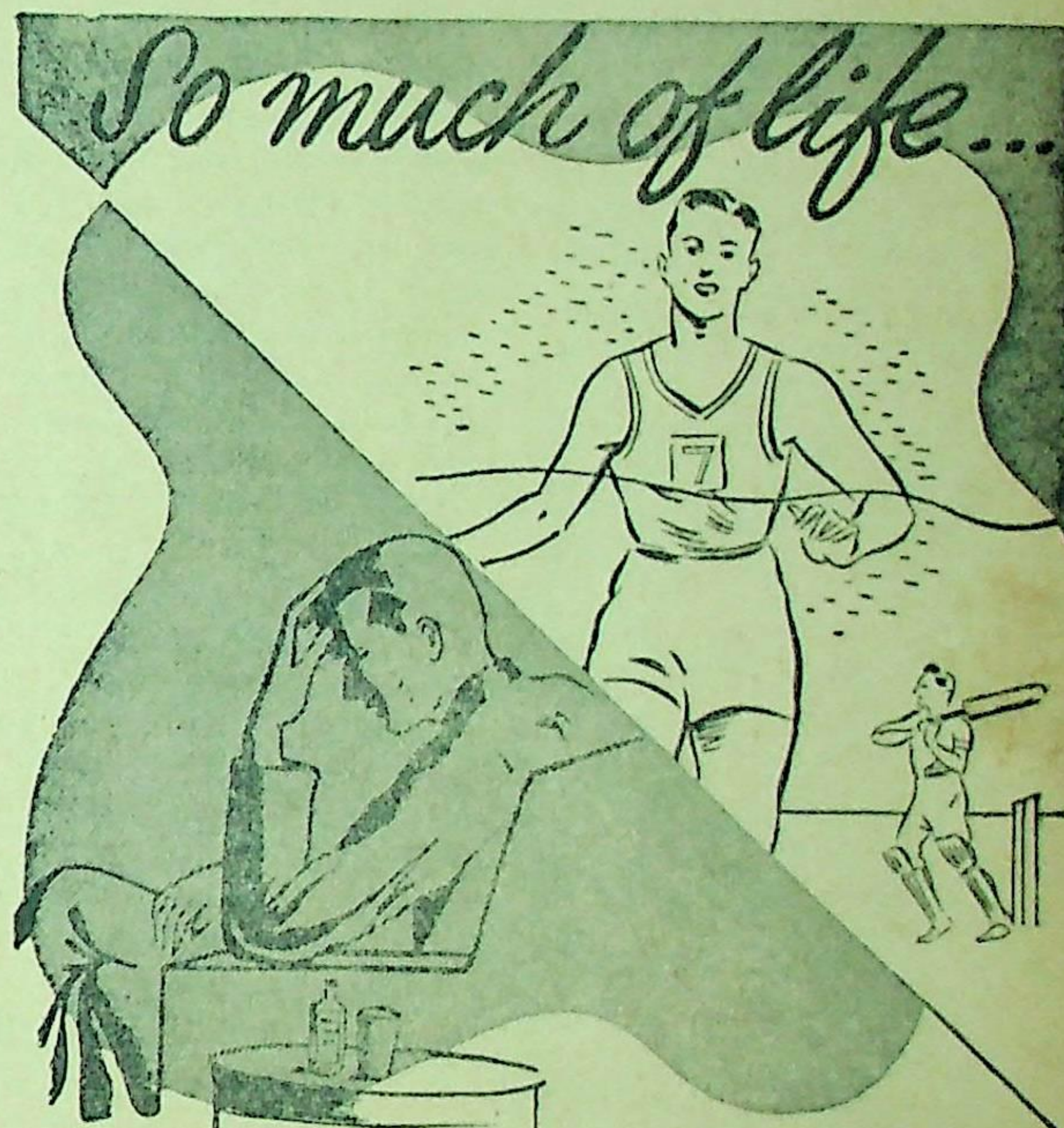
Asia is driven between three forces: the pre-capitalist,

the capitalist, and the post-capitalist. Naturally enough, they are confused at times; in opposition to capitalism, for instance, traditional culture and socialism get mixed up. The apparent or real foreign menace is utilised by those who can, use it as a stick to beat others into falling in behind them. What will emerge out of this welter as the economic future of Asia?

One fact is positive: Asia's economy will not develop on the lines of *laissez-faire* capitalism. The example of Soviet

Asia and of Japan proves it: and it is clear from the facts. All plans and schemes for the economic development of India—the 'capitalist' Bombay Plan, the Radical Democratic Party's socialist People's Plan, and the government's schemes—are at one in discarding *laissez-faire*. The alternatives are between various forms of collectivism, fascistic or socialistic.

In bringing in the analogy of Soviet Asia, it must be noted that she was controlled by European counterpart. On the



So much of life...  
So little of it.....



Out there, beaming with vim & vigour, they are enjoying the very bliss of life..

In here, curbed and cabined with wear & tear, you are feeling sick of life

Just to tone up & stimulate your whole system, you badly need a course of.....

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ASIA'S ... ..

other hand, nearly all the factors that were present in Japan at the commencement of her industrial development, are also present in other Asiatic countries: the foreign menace to national independence, the strong traditional culture, control of development from above and absence of freely available foreign markets. Since socialism is opposed equally to the old culture—and its economic reality, feudalism—and to the bourgeoisie, the two latter forces will join hands. As things are, the dice would seem to be loaded against socialism.

However, there are other influences. During the development of Japan, the democratic forces inside her did not receive encouragement from without; contrariwise, they were hinder-

ed. The international atmosphere was such as to give excuses and opportunities to the reactionary forces. International anarchy proved fatal to democratic elements in Japan. There is every reason to believe that international relations have improved for the better: fascism has been eliminated; nationalism, under which banner fascism rose and fought everywhere, is no longer sacrosanct. Prof. Normano's remark that, "all factors are strong in Asia: the native civilizations; the growth of a native bourgeoisie, the transplantation of western capitalism, and the intrusion of anti-capitalist currents from the west," is only partly true; the deadlocked status-quo which this balancing of forces would suggest cannot last. Industrial progress is inevitable; and that will bring about changes in the

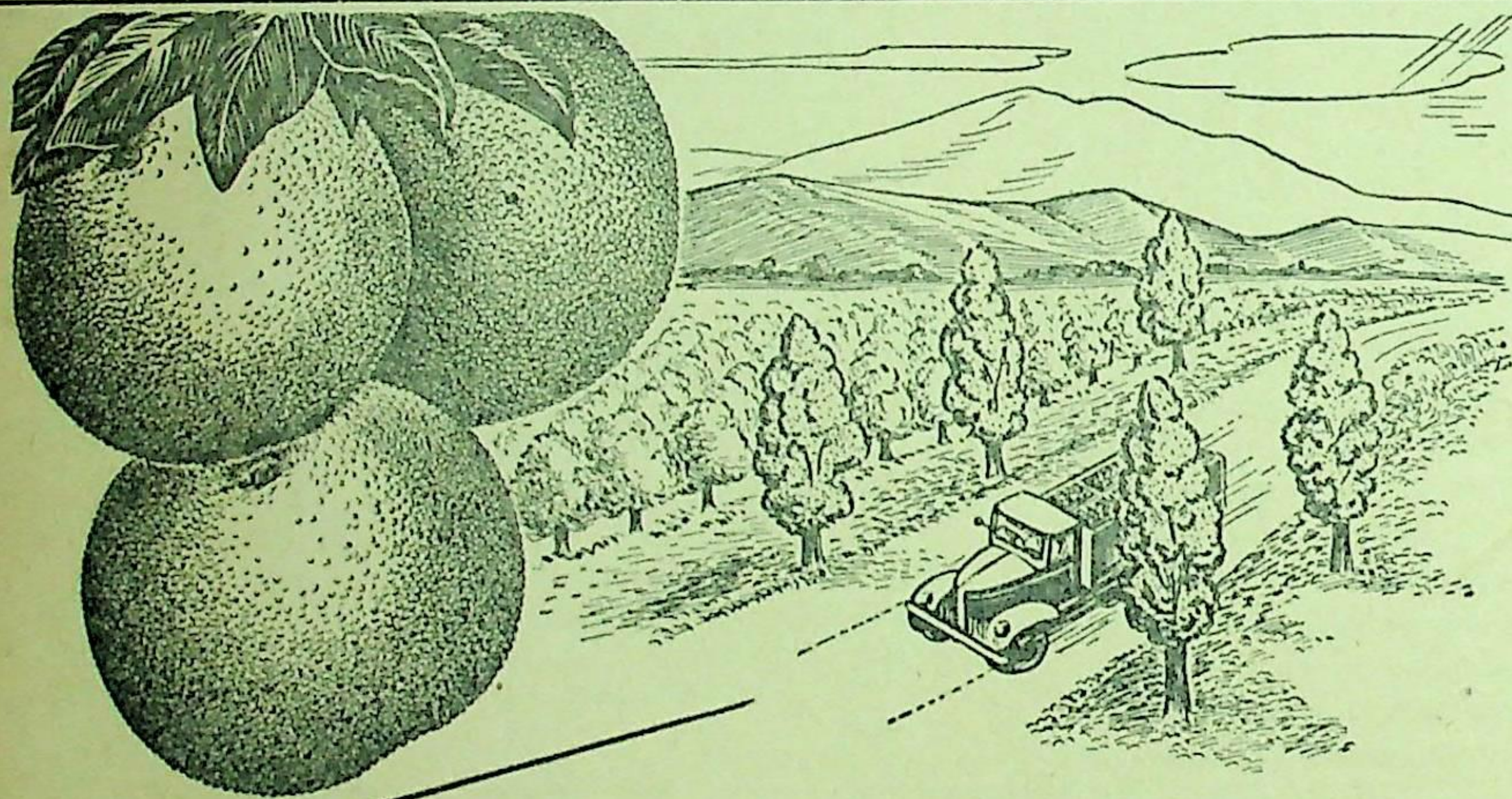
social structure. In India and China, the alignment of forces has already taken place, and the native civilizations, represented in India by Gandhism, have definitely joined hands with the native bourgeoisie, more or less as happened in Japan. In opposition to the fascist tendency, stands the socialist tendency, represented in India most clearly by the Radical Democratic Party, and in China by the Communist party.

Admittedly, the task of socialism in Asia is very difficult. It involves the combined opposition of two strongest groupings, the native civilizations and the bourgeoisie. If it is true of Japan that "the Japanese proletariat remained over a relatively long period in the ideological captivity of the dominating classes", it is equally true of other Asiatic peoples. Dominance of the

traditional culture also confuses thinking, so that many theoretical socialists find no difficulty in supporting bourgeoisie; some even supported Japan. To other socialists, the urge to draw a following by embracing the old culture is irresistible.

It is clear from the fate of Japan, and from the course of history of the rest of the world, that industrialization and modernization of economy must be followed by modern and egalitarian social relations and culture. Only the process through which this happens is uncertain. The disaster that has befallen Japan will bring about the forcibly deferred readjustment of social relations within her. But must other Asiatic countries also follow this increasingly calamitous process of violence and war to achieve internal social and cultural readjustment? If other Asiatic countries follow the same course of economic development as Japan, there is no reason why we should not draw the conclusion that they will also follow a similar course of historical development.

However, the outlook is not so dark; there are other influences and circumstances not specifically mentioned by Prof. Normano. For one thing, most Asiatic countries are still organically connected with the United Kingdom, U. S. A. or U. S. S. R. Until Asiatic countries attain equality in technology and economy, this controlling influence will continue. Within a more peaceful international atmosphere the progressive and democratic forces will receive encouragement. Social democracy, and social security, are the twentieth century's ideals; and democracy cannot take roots unless it gets a fair chance over a period of time. To say that for its growth Asiatic countries need a peaceful atmosphere, and discriminating cooperation of the west, is not to be defeatist; for this alone is the positive meaning of 'one world' and 'one civilization.'



**नारंगी ...**  
'NARANGI'

the bitter sweet orange of Hindustan, still growing wild in the foot-hills of the Himalayas, has been cultivated in India from time immemorial.

The tree flourishes in a cool, temperate climate in any moderately fertile soil, well drained and moist. The grower may expect each tree to produce many hundreds of fruit, year after year, both in his own lifetime and in that of his son.

The fruit should be picked as it ripens. Then is the danger-point; once picked, it over-ripens quickly. The grower must have good, smooth ROADS to send his fruit to market. Good oranges and good ROADS go together.



**GOOD ROADS ARE AVENUES TO PROSPERITY**



**Bihar Horticultural Show**

The Bihar Horticultural Show will be held at the Lady Stephenson Hall on Saturday the 2nd February and Sunday the 3rd February 1946.

Schedules and entry forms will be available from the first week of January and may be had from the Convener, Mrs. A. Dhar, 1, Strand Road, New Capital, Patna.



**3. Creation Of Markets :**

Planning, as I said above, does not end with production only. It must also provide and ensure sufficient market.

The small scale producer is facing competition in two ways—the question of price and the question of taste. By a peculiar method of computation, the mill-made goods are sold cheaper than hand-made things and also people prefer to buy mill-made goods because of taste.

I have already discussed the question of the economics of large scale production. It is not true to suggest that large scale production has any inherent advantages over small scale production. The advantage lies in machinery displacing manual labour, division of labour and other external economies of buying and selling. Of these, the first is the question of the law of Economy of organisation and can easily be got by the small scale producer also by scientific decentralisation based on research which will be presently described. Division of Labour is not impossible to achieve in small scale production while external economies can be got by a system of concentrated village production and cooperative buying and selling, together with a wise and helpful transport policy. For instance, a group of villages can join together in cooperative production on a large scale (mass production) with decentralised units and division of labour.

In this way it will not be difficult for us to eliminate the competition from large scale mill production; but still it is not this honest competition alone that the mills offer. Hence it should be the policy of the State to eliminate this competition completely by both the tariff wall and by sales tax. \* One might say that this will infuriate other countries and invite retaliation from the neighbours, but let us remember that there is no royal way to economic regeneration; and that if one tries to adjust his domestic policy merely to suit the tastes and conveniences of

\* Indeed, the Sales tax is a wonderful weapon that has many edges and its real significance is not yet properly understood in India.

*Chapter IV*

**State & Cottage Industries**

By K. V. Rao, M. A., M. Litt.

*Continued from previous issue*

his neighbour he must be prepared for divorce proceedings with his wife with the neighbour as co-respondent.

Markets can also be developed—in India we are quite content to exploit our own internal markets only—by cultivation and carefully studying peoples' tastes. Demand based on tastes is largely a question of habit and a constant inclination to imitate the immediate upper classes. It is interesting to note that modern fashions have not penetrated into our villages, thanks to the starvation wages inherent in our economic policy itself. So the wants of 80 p. c. of the country that live in the villages can easily be satisfied by our cottage industries. Moreover I have already pointed out that the rise in the effective demand of the people which we are attempting now is of a nature that can more easily be satisfied by small scale production only.

But we want the people to develop new tastes and new wants that can be satisfied by our industries. These can be achieved by the upper class people setting new fashions, by advertisement and publicity by various means like exhibitions and museums. All these must

be organised on a systematic basis and if possible the National Publicity Department can gradually be converted to do this useful and constructive work. Create the want, create the effective demand and create the commodity—that is the circle we want to create now

While a campaign of publicity can go a long way to help us, still we cannot depend on people always exercising discretion in the right direction and helpful way. (1) If we plan production and marketing, and leave consumption unregulated, the whole scheme of planning will fall down like a pack of cards. For what are we to do if, with all our additional production, the consumer does not utilise his additional purchasing power in the manner in which we intend? (2) Consumption

1. Even patriotism, the one emotion that is easily exploited to-day, crumbles down before the price-structure. If only all Indians bought swadeshi goods only, all these days, we would have got economic swaraj and salvation long ago.

2. Suppose all the people utilise their additional purchasing power so created for drink as they are doing it now. All our production plans will then come to a standstill.

must be controlled and regulated as much as production and marketing. One may say that it means too many controls; yes, but who ever said that planning without tears would be possible? **4. Research and Training :**

After ensuring a good market for the cottage industries, the State has still another duty of sustaining and developing these. Protection is negative while research and training would be acts of positive help to foster cottage industries to make our tears as small as possible.

The Government of India should establish Research Centres at various places for various industries. The object of that research should be to develop and invent suitable machinery for small scale production. We have already seen that an optimum amount of machinery per man unit would bring about the maximum economic return. Such a unit of machinery which can ideally combine with a few hands is not in the market now. Such a machine and such proportion can be possible only by research. In India, with so many scientists, and scientific talent, it will not be difficult for us to effect considerable improvements in the available machinery and invent new machinery suitable for cottage industries. Let us not forget that it is lack of research that is responsible for the crude

Money has wings and always loves to roam  
Make it a homing pigeon and build your home  
with  
**NATIONAL SAVINGS CERTIFICATES**



**STATFS...**

methods of production obtainable now which in turn account for their higher price.

That such a research is essential, no one will doubt or dispute. Though at present we want to encourage our cottage industries as we find them, nobody wants that we should go on with these crude methods of production involving misery, drudgery and loss of time. We want machinery to come to the aid of man and to produce more and more. But this displacement should not be by large scale concentrated production but by decentralised — machine-aided-production. We want a gradual evolution—quick and well-planned evolution—but not revolution. This new machinery to be invented specially for Indian cottage industries should gradually aim first at displacement of human labour and then of human skill so that man's productive capacity could be increased.

Unless man's capacity to produce per unit of time increased, it will not be possible for us to raise our standard of living and also to have so many services—education, medical... which we want to in the post-war era. Having agreed to this, the duty of the Government is to encourage research and new inventions whereby we can develop a new technique of production of decentralized mass production having the advantages of large scale production and avoiding its evils. Scientists can do it, provided the State adopts a definite policy.

The whole ideal of research, in short, should be to invent new improvements on existing crude implements so that in course of time the Indian worker also would receive the blessing of science and machinery. There are a few fundamental bases to start with. The new inventions should all be run on electricity. (It is supposed that the Government of India would supply cheap electricity to every part of India spending even all the capital at their disposal and not 400 crores only). Secondly, such machinery should be simple and capable of being repaired by the village smiths who would, of course, be taught to be technicians. Thirdly, the

unit must be capable of being managed by a unit of family labour. Fourthly, the machinery should be cheap and within the means of a cottage worker. Lastly, the inventions should be mere improvements and outgrowths of the existing ones in use and the replacement should be gradual so that no sudden and mad scrapping of the existing machinery is ever contemplated or necessitated.

If we proceed on the above basis, we would then evolve a new technique of production which is based on the complete utilisation of the hereditary skill already in existence in India, (1) which will result in complete decentralisation. As this new technique takes the aid of power and machine to relieve man of drudgery and labour, it would be not only conducive to human welfare and happiness, but would also be cheap even from the strict economic (money) commutation.

The Government of India should establish Polytechnic schools in various centres of districts where workers would be trained up in the new technique of production and uses of new machinery embodying latest researches.

If we calculate in terms of money the value of the existing skill of the workers in India in cottage industries and the cost of the various implements that will have to be scrapped if we start immediately large scale machine industries, it would come to several hundreds of crores, and honestly this must be added to the cost of production of mill-made commodities.

**Letters****Ganges Bridge At Mokamah Ghat**

Dear Sir,—I am astounded to read your Editorial of the 18th. Dec. for your opinion on the construction of the Ganges Bridge at Patna instead of at Mokamah Ghat. We people of North Bihar are glad to learn from you that "The railway engineers apparently favour Mokamah Ghat as a more suitable site than Patna" and rightly they have decided so.

The terra firma at Mokamah Ghat site is far suitable than at Patna, where the Gandak river on the north side is ever changing and will be a source of trouble in future for the maintenance of the Ganges Bridge in the sandy soil there. The districts of Muzaffarpore and Darbhanga are the thickest populated districts in India, barring Howrah of Bengal and labour from these districts go to Bengal, via Mokamah Ghat, and over ten thousand people daily cross here eitherway, having regard to the capacity of the steamer plying, which can be verified by attending the ferry there.

I am afraid you are incorrect in your statement when

this way lies the solution of our difficulties and salvation of our country. Let India lead the world instead of following the mad and blind industrial mania of the West which has caused so much of misery to the world.

you say that "there are stronger grounds for having the bridge somewhere near Patna apart from the question of personal convenience of *Patnais*." The position of Mokamah Ghat is more in the centre of Bihar than Patna, having Purnea and Chapra, the extreme districts on either side, and we like the E. I. Ry to come to Darbhanga, which will connect the Bhattiahi Section on the east, the Sitamarhi Section on the West, and the Jaynagar section on the north till the Nepal Government connects this section with Bhimpheedi to take it in the heart of Nepal.

Your are incorrect to say also that the passenger traffic is heavier between Sonapur and Patna than at Mokamah Ghat, and one day's watch at the ferry there will make you change your opinion at once. Furthermore there are about eighty goods' clerks at Mokamah Ghat for the transshipment of the goods. Not because there is wagon-ferry there as you say but for heavy traffic in goods, for there is also a wagon ferry at Bhagalpore, but there is no such congestion either in passengers or in goods as is always the case at Mokamah Ghat.

We wish that the bridge at Mokamah Ghat be so constructed that when we have dammed the rivers Kosi, Kamala and Bagmati and have got electric trains, trams and buses by the hydro-electric schemes in North Bihar, we may not have to repent for the wrong site of the bridge.

The bridge should be for the people of North Bihar and not for the people of Patna and Chapra which you have supported in your paper. I would request you to read my note on the Practical Reconstruction of North Bihar in your paper of 27th. June, 1945.

C. N. Bandyopadhyay,  
Laheriasarai,

**ACKNOWLEDGMENT**

*Farms for Veterans* — By Lowry Nelson: Published by the National Planning Association, 800, 21st Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C., U. S. A. 25 cents.

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Decision by consent then is the only method left open for the solution of the communal problem. Now this procedure implies an understanding between two parties on certain specific issues. Evidently the two parties involved in the communal question are the Hindus and the Muslims in the general sense. But in particular the problem has resolved down to a problem between the Congress as representing the Hindus and the Muslim League as the sole representative of the Muslims. These organisations stand in the position of spokesmen for the two communities. It is their agreement which can break the communal deadlock. It is the magic wand of Congress-League settlement which can open the gate of Hindu-Muslim harmony and bring about unity where there is discord, engender friendship where there is enmity, inspire trust where there is suspicion.

This position is taken for granted by the man-in-the-street whenever the solution of the communal problem is sought and discussed. But truly speaking there is a great anomaly in this position. This anomaly arises out of the character and composition of the two organisation. Both of them claim to be national bodies. But there is a difference in the connotation that they put on the term—Nation. The Congress holds that all the communities, whether Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis, inhabiting this country, together constitute one nation—the Indian Nation. And as its membership is open to all of them without any restriction it is entitled to call itself a national organisation. The Muslim League, on the other hand, maintains that the Muslims by themselves constitute a separate nation in India. And hence it is justified in characterising itself a national organisation though its membership is confined only to Muslims. Both are right in their own way so long as the interpretation of the term Indian Nation remains undecided. But there is no doubt about the difference in the composition of the two organisations. The Congress is heterogeneous while the Muslim League is homogeneous. There

## The Communal Problem:-- The Way Out—IV

By N. Kishore

is also the irrefutable evidence of history to prove the difference in the characters of two organisations. Congress has been forged as a mighty instrument of the Indian people to espouse their cause against the British Government while the basic purpose of the Muslim League is to champion the rights of the Muslims as against the Hindus. For the sake of convenience we can call an organisation like the Congress NATIONAL and an organisation like the Muslim League COMMUNAL without in any way intending to add to the glory of the one or detract from the credit of the other.

Now the point for consideration that arises when we come to discuss the proposal is whether such a National organisation as the Congress can be a direct party exclusively on behalf of one of the communities that it claims to represent in an issue between that community and another community which also it claims to represent. Obviously the answer is in the negative. For by placing itself in that position the organisation automatically loses its character.

Study the reasons:—

(a) In the first place the acceptance of this position will mean an implicit but nonetheless unequivocal admission of the fact that it is also a communal organisation like the Muslim League competent to speak for only that community on whose behalf it seeks to negotiate a Communal Pact. And further that, though it might have on its membership roll some of the individuals who are the co-religionists of the members of the other party to the Pact, it is not sufficiently representative of their aspirations and opinions and does not command their confidence.

(b) In the second place the organisation would be acting beyond its scope and in field not within its jurisdiction if it took up the role of the spokesman for one particular community.

It might, however, be argued that as a communal settlement between Hindus and Muslims is the *sin qua non* for attainment of Indian indepen-

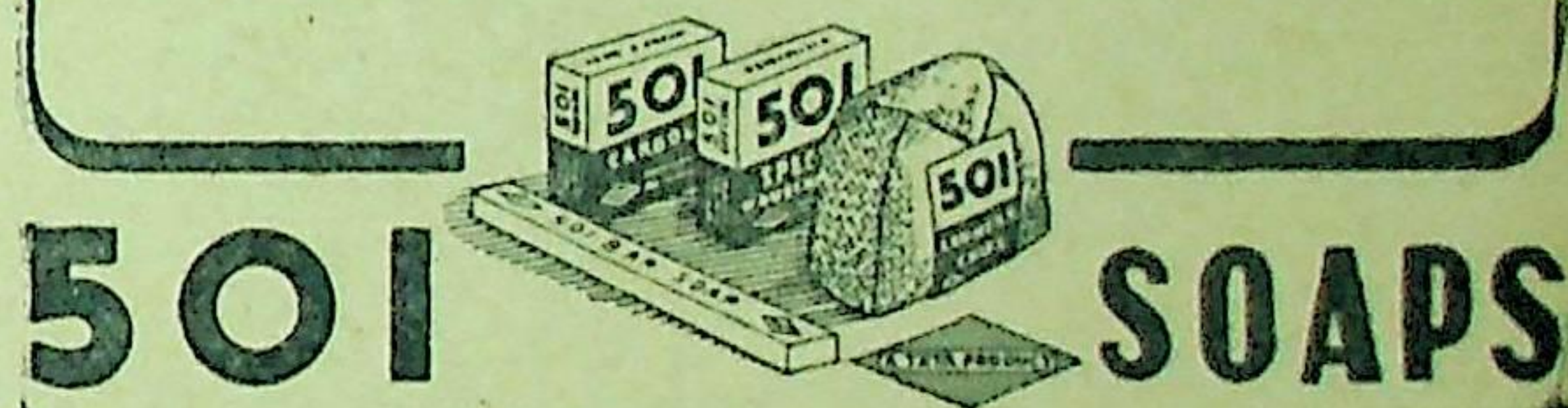
dence the congress has been justified in adopting any procedure to bring about the consummation. India must have unity first before she could have anything else—that being the case, the congress must do all it can to build up that unity without caring for its character and composition. Well, if that is so why not be a realist and face facts? India is up against the communal problem inspite of the congress. That means the congress does not adequately represent the interests of all the different communities inhabiting India. For in that eventuality the problem would not have arisen as certainly it did

not arise, in its present baffling form at least, so long as the congress commanded their confidence. Be honest and give the due place to the Muslim League which alone has been considered competent to deliver the goods on behalf of the Muslims. Give the due place to the League and let Congress content itself with the position of a Hindu organisation. Then it would be better fitted to negotiate a communal settlement as representing only the Hindus. But for that the Congress need only go into self-liquidation and leave the field clear for the Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League.

But the Congress must not go into self-liquidation nor it should be destroyed. For whatever its sins of commission and

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**COMMUNAL..**

omission there is no doubt it is still the one common organisation that can mobilise Indians as a whole in their battle for freedom against foreign masters. It has no rival here. But in its passion to bring about the maximum of unity to achieve this object the Congress must not lose sight of its non-communal position, its composition, character and purpose. By all means do everything to build up unity but do not in that way strike at your own foundations. The communal problem is a hard reality of the Indian situation and it must be solved. But it is not a national problem in the Congress meaning of the term. The Congress must never be directly involved in it as a party representing one particular community.

But unfortunately, the Congress instead of keeping itself aloof from the communal negotiations, has joined issue as the representative of the Hindus. The result is when we think of a Hindu-Muslim settlement we resolve it down to a settlement between the Congress and the League. And that is the anomaly of it: a National Party posed against a communal one. It is not commonly realised in view of the prevailing confusion but it is precisely this position which foredooms all attempts at a solution of the problem. If the Congress and the League could have seen their way to come to terms the problem would have been a thing of the past. But they cannot. It is simply impossible as the two organisations are based on mutually exclusive premises. One cannot give way to the other and exist. There cannot be a compromise either, as it is a question of fundamentals. Let us come to the brass tacks to understand the position.

**Points at Issue**

Repeated efforts have been made to effect Congress League unity. Mahatma Gandhi and Qaed-a-Azam Jinnah have met and met as cordial friends to solve the communal tangle. But every time they have only agreed to differ. Has it been because of any subjective intractability on their part? Has it been because of their moods, whims and obsessions? Definitely not. Both the leaders have showed earnestness of purpose whenever they have met to settle the matter. But they have failed in spite of their best intentions. The reason becomes apparent when we look at the points at issue.

Here are the points as emerg-

ing from all the welter of negotiations:—

1. Status of the League—the demand that the Congress should recognise the Muslim League as the only representative organisation of the Muslims.

2. Pakistan—the right of Muslims to a separate, sovereign homeland in India to be known as Pakistan on the basis of their claim that they constitute a Nation themselves, apart from the Hindus and other communities of the country.

It has been demonstrated beyond any shadow of doubt that the Muslim League is not in any way prepared to modify or scale down these demands. It demands whole hog surrender on the part of the Congress. When that is the case, where is the room for a compromise? Compromise always involves the spirit of give and take. That spirit is conspicuous by its absence. The League presents the Congress with a *fait accompli* and wants it to acquiesce. The League might be right in its own way; its arguments might have the support of facts. But how can the Congress be expected to give up its cherished ideas and principles of decades simply because there is a party to challenge them? A brave man can be killed by sheer force but he cannot certainly be induced to commit Hara-Kiri. That is also true with a fighting organisation. And there is no denying that the Congress is one, whatever its shortcomings. But that is what exactly the League hopes to accomplish by insisting upon the Congress to give way to its demands. The position would not have been difficult if the League would have simply demanded the status of the only representative communal organization of the Muslims. In that situation the Congress could have easily seen its way to meet this demand with the extension of the same status to the Hindu Mahasabha in respect of the Hindus and a communal settlement could be comfortably arranged as suggested before. But the League claims an all-inclusive character. And there in lies the whole trouble. The Congress cannot accede to the League terms and at the same time maintain its own stand.

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## Congress, Communists And Pakistan

By Ajoy K. Sen

After a lengthy investigation, the Congress recently removed all Communists holding elective offices in the Congress. This was the result of a long and insistent demand from the rank and file, and, as such, it came none too early and perhaps did not go far enough. But it was a step in the right direction as will be seen from a careful analysis of the position.

To begin with, the writer wishes to make it plain that he makes no claim to represent the Congress mind. He is not a Congressman. All that follows, therefore, is a mere common-sense appraisal of one aspect of the Communist programme as it affects the country, written from a realistic point of view.

For sometime now, the Communists and others of their way of thinking have raised a raucous and undignified cry in favour of Jinnah's Pakistan. On the face of it, their motives seem inscrutable. Love of Pakistan from a Muslim of whatever political colour, is understandable enough. But why a body of men who claim to be strictly non-communal should support such a suicidal move defies one's comprehension.

Indeed, seen through nationalist eyes, this suicidal endeavour seems both incomprehensible and ridiculous. But the Communist approach is not nationalistic. They have always prided themselves on being internationalists—whatever that might mean with them—and the answer, therefore, must be sought in the field of inter-national power-politics, rather than in strictly national policies. Once this is done the answer becomes crystal clear and all the missing pieces fit in like a jig-saw puzzle.

It does not require a genius in strategy to find out that the North-Western and Western boundaries of India are the only defensible frontiers of the country. For centuries the British have defended them with tenacity. They have fought more than one war over them—and with good reason. For they knew that with those bulwarks gone, the fertile plains to the east would be easy game for any

aggressor, from the West. And it is equally clear that only a strong and powerful central government would be able to man and equip an army strong enough to defend it successfully. Seen in this context, the Communist game is shown up in all its sinister implications. It is, in essence, the Communist policy as followed in all countries—the tried and true technique of assault from within.

All this, of course has little to do with Communism or any other -ism. It is the age-old game of imperialist expansion, but with all the added advantages of twentieth-century intellectual dope. If anyone is inclined to doubt this, let him look across our border at Iran. Unless we take warning in time, Pakistan seems destined to go the way of Azerbaijan. Iran has already been "given up for lost" by the Arab world and next to Iran is India. Let us have no illusions. If we are to commit national suicide, let us at least do so with our eyes open.

The question arises: What would be the Communists' role if a free India were to go to war with Russia? To get at the answer we have only to look at recent history. When the war broke out, they did not take long to make up their minds as to what sort of a war it was. They labelled it, unhesitatingly and without a second thought, as an Imperialist war. This was before Russia was drawn in. The moment the Germans attacked Russia, it became overnight a "People's war". In whose interest was this shameless volte-face made, India's or Russia's? I leave it to the reader to judge.

With all the zeal of new converts to patriotism, the Communists claim the credit for most of the resistance movements in Europe and are loud in their denunciation of collaborators. What they carefully refrain from mentioning is the fact that the first collaborators in the first major country to be overrun by the Germans were no other than the Communists themselves. It is a fact on record that the leading French Communists broadcast propaganda over the German radio network and materially helped to undermine the morale of the French army. After this there should no question as to where the loyalties of the Communists really lie. They seem to suffer from a curious perversion of the mentality exemplified by the slogan: "My country—right or wrong;" only with them it is: Russia—right or wrong.

It is perhaps not too late to realise that a shadow hangs over all Asia and that all Asia must unite in self defence. Most of all, Indians—Hindus or Muslims—must come together now, not for sentimental reasons, nor even from patriotism, but for mere survival.



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*Three Great Divisions.* Published by the Inter-Service Public Relations Directorate, G. H. Q. Delhi. Price -/8/.

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A souvenir of the War that should be valued by all who take pride in the martial achievements of their own men. The price of the book is only nominal.—Reader

*British Propaganda in America:*—By Chaman Lal. Published by Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. Price Rs. 3/12/.

We Indians are not at all saints. We have, more or less, the same limitations as any other morefortunate so-called civilized nation in the world. But that does not and cannot mean that we should not have the right to live as a free people. And as this question has been exercising the minds of thinking people of other nationalities,

## Book Reviews

especially, the Americans, on whom our present rulers are dependent for more reasons than one, for support, the British Government have been, with the connivance of a naturally subservient Government of India, very busy in publicising our worthlessness to the American people as so many apologies for denying us the right of freedom for which the Allied nations fought the second world war.

It is no use giving a gist of the book under review to show how India is being maligned abroad by British or British subsidized agencies. Mr. Chaman Lal's book is revealing and should have the widest publicity.

But the book has certain drawbacks about which we would like to put in a few words of caution. The facts incorporated in the book have not been properly marshalled—there are passages which would seem childish to any American reader. The language should also be more precise and virile. If the book is seriously intended for American consumption—not merely meant for the Indians—we would like to suggest without meaning any offence to the author that—it should be properly rehashed by people of Kanhaialal Gauba's (author of "Uncle Sham") calibre, to make it more effective.

*A Student's History of Education in India* by Syed Nurullah B.A., M. Ed. and J. P. Naik. B.A. Macmillans. Price Rs. 3/8

The writers have added an instructive volume to the existing literature dealing with education in India from the beginning of the 19th Century down to the present decade. The book is a revised and abridged edition of the authors' earlier work called History of Education in India during the British Period (published in 1942). The edition under review is intended to make available to the public in general and the students of Indian Training Colleges in particular all the relevant and striking events of the last one century and a half which have led to the evolution of the modern

system of education in India. It claims to be less voluminous and costly and more systematised and upto-date than its original.

The authors appear to have spared no pains in tapping all available sources and gleaning accurate and useful material relating to the various stages in the progress of education in India for the period under discussion, the most striking of these being the series of Reports of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, the reviews and discussions of the Royal Commissions appointed from time to time to report upon the progress of education in India, the entire set of the Government Resolution upon the subject, besides the annual, quinquennial and special reports of the Government of India. The conclusion about each topic in the book appear, therefore, to be as trustworthy as the set of statistical and factual data from which they are deduced. Of the 13 chapters (including those in 'Introduction' and 'Conclusion') in the book, chapters I, IV, IX, XI, called respectively 'Introduction', 'the birth of modern education' 'on the eve of dyarchy' and 'on provincial autonomy' appear to be particularly impressive and illuminating.

Among the other commendable features of the book, one may mention its scientific marshallings of fact, the clarity and accuracy of expression, and the patriotic outlook of the authors which, while emphasising the educational evils incidental to foreign rule, falls a great deal short of propagandist indoctrination. Good printing and get up add not a little to the qualities of the book.

The book has its shortcomings. While endorsing in a general way the authors' criticism of the British educational policy, the reader cannot help feeling that their strictures on the Sargent Report are a trifle too severe and sweeping. Their strong condemnation of Mr. Sargent's assertion that India could reach the educational standard of England of 1939 in a period of not less than 40 years, is thoroughly unwarranted. This kind of attitude reflects the intense zeal of the impatient

idealist striving to hurry the millennium out of its slow walk into a gallop. They evidently ignore the numerous difficulties, physical, economic, social, and political which impede the quick establishment of a system of free, compulsory, mass education in India—facts to which Sir Philip Hartog and other distinguished educationists have called sufficient attention. Again the omission of the education of Muslims, the untouchables, and women, as subjects demanding special treatment is also unfortunate.

Evaluating the book as a whole, the conclusion is irresistible—that its minor defects are definitely outnumbered by its intrinsic merits. The book should receive the recognition it so fully deserves.

—S. M. AHMED

*Picture of a Plan*—Minoo Masani; illustrated by C. H. G. Moorhouse; M/s Oxford University Press, Calcutta, Rs. 2/-.

Mr. Masani's earlier book, *Our India*, tried to "illustrate" the findings of the National Planning Committee. The present booklet seeks to "illustrate" the Bombay Plan, prepared by a band of Indian industrialists and multi-millionaires, who are worried over the poverty of the teeming millions of India. As Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, chairman of the National Planning Committee has blessed the Bombay plan (p. 2 of the introduction of the booklet under review), we can take it that the National Planning Committee and its sponsor, the Indian National Congress, will finally accept the Bombay Plan as their model.

In the basis of the Plan, Mr. Masani dreams of the modernisation of the bullock cart (p. 30). As we are not practical dreamers like Mr. Masani, we like to dream of the benefits of modern Science and not of the antiquities which are still holding us back from the path of progress.

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## Something On Indian Economics

By Amicus Curiae

A Muslim friend asked me to write a few lines on economic planning and its possible relation to religion, with reference to India. The idea by itself is obviously vicious as the scope of economic planning can not be limited by religious considerations but has to follow economic principles. Economic laws and principles lose their truth if they are tortured to accommodate denominational inclinations. Religious emphasis in differentiating one religion from another can only mean religious violence. It also implies the cultivation of inferiority or superiority complexes. The exploration of such complexes is no part of economics. Here I have a happy reference to Surah 257, Chapter II, of the Koran which lays down: "No violence in religious matters; truth is sufficiently distinct from error". S. N. Agarwal in his book: "The Gandhian Plan" describes British industrialism as an almost perfect example of a planless economy. As British trends have so far been followed in India, it has been possible for our rulers to make an attempt for their political methods to do the duty of economics. How this is so I shall try to explain by touching upon one point: the idea of separate electorates as opposed to joint electorate. If there is any business initiative in India, it is patently in spite of the idea of separate electorates. The chief attraction of the latter is obviously that of service with the government. But we have learnt from bitter experience and specially from the Nazi example that upholding the government is not the principal task of a people. The nation should explain the Government and not the Government the nation. I was told many years ago by Mr. Ramsay Muir, member of the Sadler Commission which came to India to investigate the affairs of the Calcutta University, that even if the British Parliament stopped functioning the affairs of the British people would be conducted just as smoothly. The idea of separate

representation has definitely sapped the enterprise that under all circumstances must condition commercial success. So long as separateness remains a desideratum the idea of risk that enters into any progressive human calculation will tend to be ruled out in favour of government appointments. I have also public testimony, given a couple of years ago by the president of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and also the Chairman of the Bengal Coal Company, both purely European organisations, that the policy of communal preference was standing in the way of efficiency in the making of munitions for war.

Recently I wrote a letter to Malik Khizr Hyat Khan Tiwana, the Punjab premier, that as a guarantee of bonafides the principle of joint electorates might be introduced in the Muslim majority provinces. I understand that already in the Punjab in landholders' constituencies the principle of joint representation is in force. There was no reply to my letter. But I hope the constituent assembly will tackle this matter.

I am also inclined to think that the actual incidence of poverty in India will never be properly assessed until we change over to joint electorates. Poverty as well as freedom is indivisible and communal consolation or unhappiness over a lesser or greater degree of poverty can only result in confusion of thinking.

A Muslim manufacturer does not produce for Muslim or Sikh voters only. Government enactment lays down that what is good for Hindus is not good enough for Muslims while economic laws presuppose common results to follow from common causes. Thus there is a palpable divorce of higher ideals from day-to-day reality. This result obviously follows the profit motive of British capitalism, which is made out to be, according to Mr. Winston Churchill, the test of freedom. Just as British sanity has been put in blinkers by conservative and so-called socialist policy, the

*See bottom of next column*

### THE PALESTINE...

*From page 121*

supporting the Jewish claim for the immediate immigration of one lakh of Jews from Europe to Palestine. Mr. Attlee's reply has not been published but quidnuncs say that Mr. Attlee invited the American Government to share with Britain the responsibility for any such action—which would mean the sending of American troops for policing Palestine. It is believed that the invitation was not accepted.

The illegal entry of Jews into Palestine has been going on for some time, but latterly it has been speeded up. Jewish immigrants, escorted by armed Jewish guards, have been disembarking in increasing numbers on the shores of Palestine. The length and the desert character of the coast-line make it impossible to prevent all illegal landings. The Arabs are protesting and British cruisers are patrolling off the coast, but unauthorized landings have not been completely stopped. Quite recently the British garrison in Palestine has been strongly reinforced. According to Russian estimates, Britain has now 5 lakhs of troops in the Middle East—Egypt, Palestine, Iran, Iraq and Greece.

Both Jews and Arabs are getting ready for a clash in the very near future. The Jews are better armed, trained and organized. The extremist Jewish military terrorist organization, IRGUN ZVAI LEUMI, was formed in 1937 to counter Arab guerilla warfare, with an eye-for-an-eye and a tooth-for-a-tooth policy. It is a well-armed, underground body, about 1500 strong, led by Menaghem M. Begin, a Polish Jew, formerly a law student in Warsaw. Then there is the notorious STERN GANG, a band of

various Indian communities are urged to run on lines of parallel politics as a guarantee of sterilized freedom. We are at present having a surfeit of economic planning but it is really planning against plans. Economics in our country have no real basis to work upon until there is political freedom. As long as human instincts are tortured out of normal alignments, plans aiming at the rehabilitation of Indian economics cannot operate.

terrorists who have murdered many British policemen. It was founded by Abraham Stern, a "fighter for the freedom of Israel". He was shot in 1941 and the present leader is Friedman Yellin, a Polish teacher of mathematics. Two members of the Stern gang killed Lord Moyne who succeeded Mr. Casey as Resident Minister in the Middle East.

The strong Jewish defence organisation, the HAGANA, has a strength of 75,000. It originally started as the Palestine Jewish Labour Movement, later turned itself into a protective defence corps. It possesses first rate equipment, including automatic fire-arms, mortars, and a motorized field force. Its military strength is greatly superior to that of the Arabs. Many of its members received expert training during the fighting in North Africa, for they were trained by the British for guerilla warfare in Palestine in case Germany decided to move into the Middle East. Many of them were parachuted behind the German lines in the Balkans. Of the 18 lakhs of people in Palestine, 2 lakhs or one in every three male adults, is fully armed and ready to shoot. It is no exaggeration to call Palestine the powder-keg of the Middle East.

The Jews played their part by the side of the Allies in the last war. 60,000 Jews of Britain, 10,000 from South Africa, 14,000 from Canada and 6,000 from Australia served in the armed forces of the British Empire. The Jews claim that they are entitled to British consideration in view of the part they have played in the War.

Many members of the Labour Party as well as of the Labour Government are committed by their former pledges to support the Jewish cause. But at the same time it is true that the present British official policy is not to offend the Arabs in the vital Middle East. That is the dilemma facing the present government of Britain.

In India, each of the two main political parties think that Britain favours the other. In Palestine also the same allegation is made by both the Jews and the Arabs.