

Behar Herald

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Indian politics is repeating its monotonous cycles ever since the first Simla Conference. Now the Congress has to decide; then the League; and next the British Government. Again the two parties find the resultant unsatisfactory, and discuss in their closed chambers for weeks together, each awaiting the other's announcement, and thus the cycle is repeated *ad nauseum* month after month, year after year. This time the Congress had to decide whether to accept the December 6 Statement of the British Government or not. It was a crucial moment. As usual, the A.I.C.C. was called, leaders thundered and the resolution accepting the statement was adopted. But is it also typical of Indian politics that it should be devoid of grace? For, how else can one interpret the speeches, not only of the mover of the resolution, but of every one of its supporters, in terms of the decision to accept the December 6 Statement to make it easy for the League to co-operate? Except for some parts of the Congress resolution, seeking acceptance of the Statement, the entire spirit of the A. I. C. C. session was against it, not in a concealed manner, but openly and defiantly. Instead of adopting the attitude typified by the resolution, it would have been more dignified, honest and straightforward not to have accepted the Statement, delivering exactly the same speeches in support of that attitude. The issues would then have been clarified. The resolution of the Congress would really have reflected the will of its members. Its political opponents would have known where exactly the Congress stood. The

The Democratic Alternative

By K. K. SINHA, Delhi

continuously shifting politics of all the parties concerned, each trying to prove itself cleverer than the others, would have come to an end. Or else, if the Congress had honestly come to believe that it was necessary to accept the Dec 6 statement in its entirety for a rapid and peaceful political development in India, they could do so frankly, categorically and wholeheartedly now, even if they failed to do so earlier. Either the Congress is not guided by any major policy or else it is pursuing essentially 'power politics.'

Now it is the League's turn. It may or may not accept the Congress resolution at its face value. If it does not, it will do so by pointing out the loop holes in the resolution and indicating the spirit of the speeches made not only against the resolution but also for it. The League's resolution not accepting the Congress one will thus also appear equally plausible. And the net result would be that the Constituent Assembly will again meet without the League. The political situation in the country will deteriorate. Thundering of leaders in their speeches and statements will further accentuate the widespread tension prevalent in the country.

Alternatively, the League, after taking note of the disparity between the resolution of the Congress and the contrary spirit of its members, may comply with the formality of attending the Constituent Assembly. But it may take up a very cautious attitude in the minutest details of its proceedings, which can easily be interpreted as obs-

tructionist in effect. On the other hand, the Congress, having succeeded in bringing the League within the precincts of the Constituent Assembly, may go ahead 'according to plan' with the backing of its 'brute majority'. As a consequence of these inherently divergent tendencies, the proceedings will not only be protracted but bitter, on the flimsiest of issues, providing material for communal propaganda and conflagration outside. The Constituent Assembly will be turned into an amphitheatre for the noble representatives of both the communities to fight like cats and dogs, providing lead to the country outside awaiting for a sign.

What will all this mean to the common man in either case? Already for several months, the psychological wave of communal bitterness, hatred and intolerance has swept the country. The repercussions of Ahmedabad, Bombay, Calcutta, Noakhali, Bihar, Meerut and other places have, instead of dying down, generated a terrific momentum of vengeance, hatred and aggressiveness throughout the country. Today, almost the entire country is being administered by ordinances, and police measures. Public meetings are banned. The press is gagged. Censorship of private correspondence is a regular feature. Arrests, detention and externment of ordinary citizens on a large scale, as suspects and without trial, is now considered as a normal practice. Continuous curfew for 24 hours for days together is not considered something

unbearable. Even a lady social worker has been externed as a Goonda. Economic and social issues are no longer considered urgent either by the public or by the Government. And now the immediate perspective is not merely the continuation of the present, but its aggravation. Instability of employment is already there, as business stands dislocated. Insecurity is a more urgent problem; for a worker or a clerk has the dubious advantage being employed as it also means the possibility of his being stabbed on the way. Prices are soaring, thanks to the blackmarketeer and the liberal export policy of the national Government. Decent people who love their home and hearth who have been accustomed to a peaceful life inspite of political differences, are growing alarmed at the present situation dangerously threatening towards anarchy. In their perplexity and disgust they hurry to give moral support to autocratic police rule, fearing anarchy. But anarchy refuses to be tamed. More of it is in store for the common man as well as the decent man.

The layman, who not drawn into the vortex of communal frenzy, is surprised and dazed. How has this come to pass? Is this the picture of Swaraj? If so, were we striving and anxiously awaiting for this? If not, how long will this nightmare last? where is the perspective, the basis, of the transition from this to the blissful state of Swaraj? They say independence is coming, it is on the threshold. Is it only another name for insecurity, instability, breakdown of social organisation, disappearance of all human values and moral codes of conduct? Is there no way out of this? Is it necessary that

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ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

During the first interlude of Congress rule in this province, public-spirited legislators had moved a resolution asking the Provincial Government to separate the judiciary of the province from the executive. The Congress Ministry had then accepted the principle, but had made specious pleas about administrative difficulties. During the war administrative pre-occupations induced an "unpopular and irresponsible" Advisors' regime to accomplish a great deal of what justice and public good had demanded, but what popularly elected representatives had omitted to achieve. To a greater degree than ever, the judiciary and executive are separate functions of the administration to day, and the former, even during the extenuating war conditions, showed a remarkable independence of the executive. It would not be an overstatement to say that the independence of the judiciary prevented to a considerable extent a widespread miscarriage of justice which an over-enthusiastic officialdom wanted during the war period of divided allegiance to expediency and civil liberties.

The Congress press was frequently indignant about the transgressions that expediency made over civil liberties. Its silence on the attempts of the present Congress Ministry of Bihar to keep the judiciary directly under executive influence indicates that according to that press, bureaucracy is no longer a bureaucracy because the colour of the skin of those manning it has changed. The district of Saran—an important judiciary unit—is without a District Judge. This lapse, according to information unofficially available, is due to the desire of the Congress Ministry to override the High Court of Judicature in the matter of postings and transfers. Hitherto the provincial government had been guided by the High Court

in judicial appointments, transfers and postings. That, in our opinion is a healthy tradition which should be maintained, unless control over the judiciary is sought to be obtained for dispensing favours and frowns to the personal by transfers and postings.

It is customary in some quarters to assume that justice or Civil liberties were merely a national demand. And hence it is also customary to gloss over the tamperings that a national Cabinet might attempt with regard to the partially autonomous character of the machinery for administration of justice. Individual and sectional Civil liberties are quite as important as those of the nation a whole. Justice for an individual from his own nation is as important as justice for the nation from other nations.

The law is inadequate to ensure full freedom and self-expression to individuals or even such major sections of the population as those economically exploited. If to the inadequacies of the existing legislation are added the difficulties that a subservient judiciary might contribute by its inspired interpretations of both fact and law, there would be grievous and frequent miscarriage of justice and denial of civil liberties. Let us not forget that during the 1937-39 period of Congress rule in the province there were instances of attempts made to influence the magistracy against trade unionists.

COLLECTIVE FINES

We have already in earlier issues drawn attention to the injustice of levying collective fines as a punitive measure for the communal riots of last autumn. The injustice arises out of the fact that collective punishment presupposes collective responsibility, and in our opinion the people of Patna and other districts of Bihar are not organisationally equipped to bear collective responsibility. The Bihar Government have not answered the objections their hesitation and delay in levying collective fines was quite evident. Their considerations were communal—what would the Hindu public think and how would it react? Whatever time the Ministry has

given to the examination of the propriety of such a levy has been due to fear. And it is only in the context of fear that democracy is understood in the Government circles. The Hindu electorate, reacting strongly to the fine, may not vote Congress next time.

Our contention arises out of a different appreciation of democracy. No political party is worth its eminence if it lives on the passions and ignorance of the people, and judges the propriety of an action by weighing the pros and cons in relation to whether its popularity would be impaired or not. It is true that the fear of the people arises not out of a respect for the sovereignty of the people but of considerations of expediency. These considerations of expediency prompt the "populism" evidenced in the exploitation of the superstitions, ignorance and passions of the people. Such an appreciation of democracy might be expedient but is not ethical.

The Government of Bihar have now announced the punitive levy for a number of villages. The Press Note containing the announcement is very ambiguously worded and in its ambivalent ambiguity provides for fines on "those responsible for disturbances but not paying chowkidari tax". A general levy, however unjustified is understandable. This qualified prescription is beyond common intelligence. If the Government know that certain persons were responsible for the disturbances why do not they prosecute and punish them with imprisonment, which is a more deterrent measure than a general fine. This levy transgresses against the theory of jurisprudence, which takes a person to be innocent unless guilt is proved against him.

If the guilt can be proved, let the ordinary law have its course. If the evidence is slender, it would be unjust and immoral to punish all the inhabitants of a village collectively as long as the latter are not organised in village people's committees. The collective fine is against individuals, and since even the smallest functions of local government are carried on by delegation, residents of our villages are atomised individuals, helpless to stem the tide of communal hatred fanned by rumours, propaganda for vengeance and fear of

impending attack by the other party. They must be first organised collectively and given a share in local administration before they can be fined.

CIVIL WAR IN THE PHILIPPINES

China has been in the grip of a civil war for over nine years now. India is on the threshold of one. Attention is naturally concentrated on big countries and the fact that a civil war has also been raging in the "independent" Philippines has gone almost unnoticed. The fight there is between the tillers of land on the one hand and the Military Police and Civil Guards of the State on the other. Before the Japanese occupation, the landlords in the Philippines used to get a 50% share of the produce of the land, the actual producers got the barest minimum of subsistence.

During the Japanese occupation of the islands, the landlords anxious to maintain their vested interests, collaborated with the Japanese, the peasants formed guerrilla bands. The latter worked on their lands during the day and fought against the Japanese at night. The landlords lived in the cities and helped the Japanese in every way they could.

The Philippine peasant had no land to call his own, he lived in penury and want and fear of tomorrow. But during the Japanese occupation he tasted some freedom. The landlords and bureaucrats were away and the land became his own. Now he refuses to go back to his pre-war position as a feudal serf. He knows that in the past many promises were made by the politicians but never kept. He has come to believe in deeds and has lost faith in words.

During the days of Japanese occupation, the peasants got arms and some military training. For three years, they fought and suffered while the rich people lived lives of luxury in the cities. The Filipino peasant is now conscious of his power in winning freedom. He wants a guarantee that real freedom should be his, not merely a change of masters. He is armed and is not prepared to hand over his guns to the present Philippine Government of landlords and collaborators.

When the Japanese were driven out by the Americans, President Osmena proclaimed an emergency crop-sharing

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plan by which the tenant would get 60 p. c. and the landlord 40 p. c. of the produce of the land. In the general election that followed, the land lords, helped by the armed forces of the Government, the military police and the civil guards (recruited by the government but paid by the land-lords) manoeuvred to get into power. They did not carry on the 60 40 crop sharing plan, but said that it was not equitable. They called up the civil guards and let them loose on the peasantry, demanding 10 p. c. more from the cultivator's share.

The peasants' leaders, Taruc, Amada Yuzon and others (they are no more communists than our Jaiprakash Narayan is) were branded as agents of Moscow by the landlords, kidnapped and their whereabouts are unknown to-day. The peasants are prepared to fight it out. The Government is busy collecting armoured cars and troops to crush the "rebels" who are waging a guerrilla war from the hills and forests of central Luzon.

Notes & Comments

Deeds Speak Louder Than Words

The bigger the stock-pile of their atom bombs, the more jittery do the Americans become of the spectre of communism. Mr. J. F. Dulles, one of the American representatives in the General Assembly of the U.N.O. is reported to have said in a New York speech that "In India, Russian Communism exercises a strong influence through the new Central Government". Such an aspersion on the Interim Government of India caused deep distress to Pandit Nehru and he has twice taken the trouble to repudiate the allegation, categorically and emphatically. He need only have said "Judge us by our deeds." After the recent country-wide Communist-baiting activities, ostensibly carried out

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now to punish an alleged offence, six months old, not even the greatest Russophobe American would be able to say that the Government of India is pro-Communist. Their mouths have been effectively stopped.

What led Mr. John Foster Dulles to believe that the heavy hand of Moscow lies on New Delhi? He must have arrived at his conclusion by a process of elimination. The argument of the American imperialists is as follows: No non-Big country in the world to-day can have an independent existence—every State must align itself with one or other of the three G. P.'s. India has not shown any signs of accepting the British hegemony. The Indians have also been impervious to American influence. In fact, the G. P.'s while they were in India, served to shatter any illusion that the Indians formerly had about God's Own Country. (It has been the same story everywhere,—in Britain, in France, in Italy, in Germany, in China—the G. P.'s did not improve on close acquaintance). Americans are the best salesmen in the world but the one commodity they failed to sell us (inspite of full page advertisements) was American democracy. So, if India asks Britain to quit and is not enamoured of the Americans, they must be pro-Soviet—agents of Moscow.

Limited Independence

A local contemporary used a 7-column banner head line to announce:

INDIA CELEBRATES INDEPENDENCE DAY

It seems that even under a Congress Ministry it is not safe for all and sundry to celebrate independence day. Only the privileged ones are allowed to do it. At the time of this writing (Jan. 27) no less than 26 students (7 of the Bihar Provincial Students' Congress and 19 of the Bihar Provincial Students' Federation) are in jail for daring to celebrate Independence Day. In Madras, the ban on public meetings and demonstrations were lifted on the 26th to enable the people to celebrate Independence Day. Apparently we here are more afraid of independence than South Indians. We regard it as a heady stimulant, only to be served to those hold a prescription for it.

Our Delphian Essay

It is customary with some to make predictions of events that are likely to happen in the course of the year, at its beginning. We are novices in this game, but inspite of our complete ignorance about stars and planets and their locations, we can make some prophecies about 1947.

Politicians will make many long speeches, prices of things will steadily go up, the index of wholesale prices of foodstuffs which is 268 now (1939=100; 1946 January=241) will be about 300 in December 1947. Shortages of everything necessary, particularly cloth, will increase. Milk will be sold at one and a half seers to the rupee. Industrial strikes will increase in frequency. Railway fares will be enhanced but trains will run about 10 hours late. The horses we back will bring up the rear of the procession. Civil liberty will be found only in dictionaries. Thirty super-capitalists, between themselves, will float about 500 joint stock companies with a total share capital of nearly Rs. 1000,000,000. The Security Printing Press in Nisik will engage extra staff for the printing of notes. Indian ambassadors will be accredited to Hayti, Paraguay, Liberia, Outer Mongolia and Iceland. Our legislators will be busier than ever securing "permits" and "licences" and getting orders passed for appointments and transfers of government officers. More and more "controllers" of everything will be appointed and this will lead to

bigger and more prosperous black markets. Innumerable 5-year, 10 year, 15 year...50-year, 100 year plans will be drawn up, causing great paper shortage. Efficiency of public services will be in inverse proportion to the increase in the salaries of the officials. Complaints against postal delays will not even be acknowledged, far less attended to. In the political sphere, in India, Indonesia, Palestine, Indo China the deadlocks will continue. The Big powers will revel in pointing out each other's sins of omission and commission. Chiang Kai-Shek will, from time to time, express his readiness to negotiate with the Chinese Communists, while planning attacks on Yenan-occupied China. America will be busy manufacturing atom bombs—for the sake of ensuring peace on earth.

We are confident that our predictions will prove to be more correct than the average astrological forecast at this time of the year.

Aug 16 And Jan, 21

We do not know what to say about the pro Viet Nam demonstrations in Calcutta and their sequel. Firstly, we do not see how exactly the proclamation of a VIET NAM DAY in Calcutta and taking out a procession in defiance of Sec 144 is going to help the Annamites. We can understand the formation of an Asiatic International Brigade of volunteers for the purpose of fighting against the French imperialists in Indo-China. But

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Hampton v West Brom.	9
Exeter v Cardiff	10
Leuton v Torquay	11
Watford v Reading	12
Crewe v Rotherham	13
Hartlepool v Chester	14

Matches Played—8th Feb. Closing Bombay—5th Feb.

there are several difficulties in the way of doing this: India, who is the Leader of Asia (according to some of our politicians) and China (presumably the Deputy Leader of Asia) are engaged in civil wars at home and have no men to spare for fighting battles abroad. Even assuming it were possible to raise an international brigade here, the British Government is not likely to grant passports to the volunteers to go and fight against the French, as the Anglo-French entente (the dream of Mr. Churchill) is in the air. Even under the extremely unlikely assumption that the British Indian Government issues passports to the members of this Foreign Legion, the Consul General of France in Calcutta will perhaps refuse to *visa* the passports. Even if this second hurdle is crossed, where are our volunteers going to land in Indo-China? The ports of Saigon and Hanoi are in French occupation and the local authorities are not likely to give safe conduct passes to those who are going to fight against French troops.

The Calcutta police that was suffering from St. Vitus's dance, hemiplegia, encephalitis lethargica, locomotor ataxia, G. P. I., paraplegia, poliomyelitis or amblyopia during the glorious days of last August and saw hundreds of people killed, houses set fire to, shops looted...without moving a muscle, suddenly awakened to intense activity on seeing Sec. 144 violated by an unarmed procession of students. It has vindicated its alertness beyond

the shadow of a doubt, as the Calcutta morgue and hospitals would testify.

It is difficult to resist the conclusion that when Hindus and Muslims cut each other's throat, the Police are seized with palsy, but when Hindus AND Muslims unite to do an unlawful act, the Police show an unmistakable Kruschen feeling. The Viet Nam demonstration of the students of Calcutta was non-communal in character, being composed of both Hindus and Muslims. It was not anti-Government, it carried no arms, it did not threaten any disturbance of peace. It was not necessary for the erstwhile paralytic Police of Calcutta to use all their might to stop the procession. Could not the authorities have relaxed the enforcement of Sec. 144 on Jan. 21 for a few hours to allow a peaceful procession to pass? It was done twice previously—on Bijoya day and on the tenth day of Moharram.

Popular Government And Liberty Of the Press

Mr. Morarji Desai, Home Member of the popular Government of Bombay, told a deputation of editors of newspapers that "he had come to the decision of demanding securities from the Press rather than going in for prosecution." He believed that this was the only method of effective administration of the Province and no executive could afford to abdicate their powers... In fact he was thinking of issuing an ordinance to give drastic powers to the Government."

On reading the above we have rubbed our eyes in wonder. So long we have been told that independence was waiting round the corner. We find now that it is actually knocking at our doors. We consider poor Francisco Franco is more sinned against than sinning.

Patriots Get A Profound Shock

The poverty-stricken mill-owners of Bombay have expressed pained surprise at the suggestion of some of the trodden worms, the consumers, that the high tariff wall protecting the swadeshi cotton industry of India should now go. The millowners say that they had only 20 years of protection. They merely wanted to provide the people of the country with as little cloth, at as high a price, as possible. They never cared for profits, which were often as low as 50-75 p.c. During the war, they merely built up some reserves at the cost of the Indian public, the amount is not large, only a few hundred crores. The bad plight of Indian cotton mills is evident from the fact that their shares are quoted in the stock exchange at only 16 times their face value. What grieves the millowners most is the lack of patriotism and *swadeshi* spirit betrayed by those who say that during the days of acute cloth shortage, foreign cloth should be allowed to be imported into the country. They expect that the people should prefer to buy swadeshi dhoti at Rs. 10 a pair and not look at an imported article of better quality which may sell at Rs. 4 a pair.

Operation Asylum

A curious feature of provincial autonomy has been revealed by the concerted raids on Communist party offices all over the country. Police machinery was set simultaneously in motion in a number of provinces without (we are told) the knowledge of the Home Member of the Central Government or the Home Member of the Government of Bombay (from where the switch is said to have been operated) or the Home members of Bengal, Bihar, U. P. where the raids were made. Provincial autonomy is said to prevent Central intervention but it does not prevent the police of one province from throwing the whole country into an uproar, with a reckless disregard for the international repercussion that their precipitate action may bring. The dog has no power to wag its tail, but the terminal limb can wag the dog. Sardar Patel and Mr. Morarji Desai have publicly denied their responsibility for

this Communist-baiting, but who then is responsible? The Government of India communique said that the raids were carried out by the police of several provinces at the request of the Bombay police, acting on the powers vested in them in connection with investigation in a prosecution against the Bombay Communist journal. According to the *Indian Social Reformer*, the sections of the Criminal Procedure Code, cited in the Central Government communique, do not support such all-India action on the part of the police. However that may be, it is difficult to believe that an executive official of Bombay could produce such a commotion in the country and out of it, without the knowledge of the provincial ministers.

It is also putting too severe a strain on our credulity to be asked to believe that the Police in the various provinces acted without the approval, or even knowledge, of the Central and provincial Governments in swooping over a political party of no inconsiderable importance either in this country or abroad.

We have always been under the impression that any action against an all-India political party or a newspaper of all-India importance is never taken without the consent and approval of the Government of India, as it may have country-wide repercussions. It is inconceivable that police action against the Congress, the Muslim League or even the Hindu Mahasabha can be taken by a provincial Government without previous consultation with the Government of India, as the latter has the final responsibility for maintaining peace in the country.

We are not Communists, but we can clearly see the danger to civil liberties threatened by arbitrary Police raids of the kind carried out on Jan. 14. The "objectionable" article was published in the *People's Age* six months ago and had been reproduced in the other papers also.

The whole affair will leave a bad taste in the mouth of those who value civil and individual liberty. It seems that the road to our independence is paved with individual freedom.

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As Others See Us

The following flippanant account of the Meerut Session of the Congress appeared in the *News Review*:—

From the Meerut session of India's Congress Party four things were missing: the pomp, the profit, the prima-donna, the thunder.

The Pomp—Because an anti-rioting curfew coincided with the session the usual pageantry was cut out. It was a muffled affair, without the procession of elephants, horses and camels, and without the exhibitions, side shows and merry-go-rounds which turn normal Congress sessions into something like a circus.

The Profit—Financially, it was a dead loss. Ordinarily Congress rakes in the shekels during sessions, but this time the financial bosses faced a deficit of £80,000. Newspaper correspondents were charged £18 for a tent.

The Prima Donna—There was not even a message of greetings from Mr. Gandhi, architect of India's freedom. Though he is not a member of the Party, Gandhi has not missed a Congress session for 16 years. His absence had no political significance, he is still trying to calm down Muslims and Hindus in Eastern Bengal's riot-torn swamp lands.

The Thunder—For the first time this century there was no anti-British thunder. With Congress running the Interim Government and with Britain visibly packing up to go, there was no need for the usual "Quit India" demands.

Though thunder was lacking, there was a bombshell. It was hurled late on the first evening

by the Party's iron man, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, "The Himmler of Congress" by ranting: "The sword must be met by the sword in self-defence."

x x x
Immediate result was a revolt among Muslim delegates. Against Britain, they pointed out, there was non-violence; against the Muslims, violence.

There was a first class row in the Congress camp that evening but mid-night lobbying saved the situation:

The new Congress President, languid Acharya Kripalani is a pygmy compared with the giants of the past. But he was the only choice; Maulana Abul Kalam Azad would not accept the post again, and the best Congress brains are in the Interim Government at New Delhi.

x x x
Unloved by Congress rank-and-file members, and not noted for tact, charm or easy manners, Kripalani is an out-and-out Gandhi fan.

Because of his weak Urdu, Kripalani spent two hours on the morning of the opening day rehearsing his 20,000 word speech in front of his young wife, whom he met in Gandhi's *ashram* (colony) and married in spite of the Old Man's opposition.

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From the Socialist wing there came the usual sharp-shooting. Pointing a lean forefinger at the Old Guard, lolling against huge bolsters on the padded snow-white twill which covered the concrete platform, fiery Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali shouted: "You old fogies are leading the country to the brink of ruin."

She was backed up by her friend Jai Prakash Narain, young Socialist leader, whom many see as India's coming man who outlined the Nirvana (salvation) which would come about if vested interests quit India along with the British.

Stolid and calm, Party leader Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel replied with a smile: "The horse which has pulled the cart for 60 years now finds a dog wagging its tail running alongside. But it's not pulling the cart."

Tea Propaganda In India

By W. H. MILES

THE HISTORY of tea propaganda in India goes back to 1903, when a memorial was presented by leading planters to Lord Curzon praying that a compulsory cess should be imposed on all exports of tea for the purpose of establishing a fund with which to develop new markets. An Act called the "Tea Cess Act" was passed by the Legislature imposing a cess of two annas per 100 pounds, on all tea exported from India. The cess, collected by the Customs Department, was to be handed over to a body representing all the principal tea interests, the Indian Tea Cess Committee, for "promoting the sale and increasing the consumption in India and elsewhere, of teas produced in India." The name of this body was changed in 1937 to the Indian Tea Market Expansion Board and the maximum cess rate has now been increased from May 1946.

The Two Phases

Tea propaganda in India has passed through two phases—the first towards making tea—both dry and liquid—readily available to the general public in such quantity and at

such times as it was most likely to be required.

The Railway Tea Stall

Attention was turned to the lower class travelling public, establishing tea stalls at stations throughout the railway systems of the country. The setting up of these tea stalls was carried out exclusively by the Board's staff. A system of train side vendors was introduced. Arrangements were made to establish tea shops in regimental lines and at recreation rooms throughout the country.

The Pice Packet

Packed tins of tea were available for the wealthier classes, but no corresponding facility existed for the poor people. A small paper envelope was introduced, clearly marked with the price both in words and by means of a facsimile of the pice coin and giving full instructions in the vernacular as to the correct method of preparing tea. Five cups of good tea could be had from a packet costing only one pice.

Tea Regulation

The second phase of tea propaganda operations opened during the trade slump of the early 1930's; every

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TEA PROPAGANDA ...

industry was hit, and tea was no exception. Production had far exceeded demand and prices were disastrously low. The tea industry of the three great producing countries of India, Ceylon and the Netherlands East Indies decided upon restricting the exports of their product. The real answer to the problem was to expand markets so as to absorb present and potential production. The Indian Board decided that expenditure in India was to be rapidly stepped up so as to develop the home market.

Rural Campaigns

The first experiment was directed towards the rural population amongst whom an intensive propaganda campaign was commenced. To introduce a new beverage to village folk was to let them taste it for themselves, and so the idea of distributing free

cups of liquid tea and selling dry tea in pice packets, remained the basis of these operations.

The first experiment was with propaganda vans in which parties travelled from place to place, but this was very expensive. So the method decided upon was a static organisation comprising small demonstration parties at a large number of main centres. From these, subsidiary parties were detached at surrounding villages, and both distributed free tea and sold pice packets daily in villages. The propaganda vans were used to take propaganda parties to melas and other large religious gatherings.

It was found that it helped if the table was made attractive by decorating it with colourful posters, and gram-phones were also very useful in attracting people

The tea propaganda table became almost an integral part

of the village life, so much so, that frequently when a table was transferred from one village to another, the first village concerned presented a petition for its retention on the plea that to take it away would inflict hardship on the people.

The Travelling Cinema

Travelling Cinemas were used with much success. They displayed propaganda films, specially designed to appeal to the village imagination; simple and containing lots of rather crude humour of the rough-and-tumble variety, and propaganda for tea in just sufficient quantities not to spoil their amusement value. On arrival, every visitor was presented free with a cup of hot tea, and as the price of admission, was asked to buy a pice packet of dry tea to take home. There was a special enclosure for women, they came with their babies and thoroughly enjoyed both the entertainment and the tea. Each town was divided into a number of sections, and each section into areas, each containing between 600 and 700 houses; these areas were allocated to demonstration units to visit each house daily and give a cup of tea to every member of the household.

Suspicious Cleared

Initially, a large number of houses refused point-blank to take the free tea, but largely due to the example of other houses who did take it and to the persuasive powers of the distributing staff, these refusals were gradually eliminated until they were confined almost entirely to a few households which had a definite prejudice against tea and which would never be won over.

Access to Urban Homes

The demonstrator endeavoured to engage the householder in friendly conversation and tell him during the few moments that it took to give the tea, something about the good qualities of the beverage, and asked him to buy a pice packet.

The War And The Tea Car

The Board organised a fleet of mobile canteens for use amongst troops and A. R. P. workers. The hundreds of thousands of young Indians, serving with the Forces and hailing largely from the villages

were at an impressionable age and it was thought, would readily take to new habits such as tea-drinking, and, moreover, take it back with them to their villages when they returned to civil life. The popularity of these Tea Cars was almost universal among troops. The cars were fitted with radios, gramophones and loud speakers and were supplied with ample stocks of British and Indian records.

The Factory Canteen

Another Development was the establishment of canteens in industrial establishments. New factories were springing up everywhere and existing factories had to step up the level of production. This placed heavy strain on the physical resources of the workers with the result that many employers found it necessary to provide them with cheap food and tea as a means of restoring flagging energy. Canteens organized by the Board provided the workers with better and cheaper food and tea than what the traditional contractor previously made available to them, for, of course, the elimination of the contractor meant the elimination of the profit motive. The aim of the canteen management was to provide refreshment for the workers at the lowest possible price; indeed, in many cases, by means of subsidies from the management, food was sold at below cost

The Press and other Media

Since 1934, the Indian Press, both vernacular and English, has carried a series of large-scale advertising campaigns featuring the virtues of Indian Tea.

This has been supported by other connected forms of advertising, such as posters and hoarding displays.

Results

In 1915, the consumption of tea in India was estimated at 30½ million pounds. By 1930 it had risen to 53 million pounds. In 1945 the estimated consumption of tea in India was 120 million pounds and annual expenditure by the I. I. M. Board stood at Rs 28½ lakhs. Thus in 30 years, the Indian Tea Industry has spent approximately Rs. 320 lakhs on propaganda, and during the same period the annual consumption of tea in India has increased by about 90 million pounds, which is now four times as great as it was in 1925.

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Labour Notes

Origin Of The Labour Class

By BENOY KRISHNA DEV

Since the Middle Ages we find the development and succession of the following three types of industries.

- (1) Handicraft type
- (2) Domestic type
- (3) Factory type

Handicraft System

In the beginning every article was hand made and the process was simple. Implements used were crude. Raw materials were obtainable near at hand or from the farm of the manufacturer himself. Family was the unit of organisation. The head of the family, with the help of the family members, carried on manufactures. Different crafts were carried on by different people, e. g., shoes were manufactured from the hide to the finished product by one person with the help of his family members.

Gradually apprentices began to be taken in the different crafts or trades. These apprentices formed the nucleus of the labour class. Devoid of landed property and family help they began to specialise in a particular craft and became hired workmen. After a good deal of experience in the craft he might be working as a Master Artisan. The handicraft system was ultimately replaced by the domestic system.

Domestic System

Entrepreneurs came into being by the 17th and 18th century and became the industrial leaders. Industrial capitalism was introduced for the first time. In this system the entrepreneur distributed work among his workers who took the material to their homes and finished it in co-operation and with help of their family members. The most distinguishing feature was the intermediate position of the entrepreneur, between the producers and the consumers. Simple hand-driven machinery came into existence. This domestic system was later replaced by the Factory system.

By the first quarter of the 18th century there was already a sharp differentiation between the producers, manufacturers and consumers. With the advent of the Industrial Revolution, steam power came and man power began to lose much of its importance. There had been far-reaching changes in the technique of industry and exploitation of raw materials. People became more and more dependent upon factory employment for their earning. Artisans of the handicraft system and workers of the

domestic system were the first to become labourers of the factory system. Machine age began in all seriousness. From the beginning of the Industrial Revolution entrepreneurs (or they may be called capitalists) began to forget all about the human element in labour and emphasis was placed only on machinery and its produce.

II MAINSPRING OF LABOUR LEGISLATION

Slowly and steadily a section of people, deprived of any means of production, subsistence from agriculture or any other means of earning livelihood began to drift into centres of industries. Industrial revolution first began in England and then moved eastward to France and then to Germany and to other countries of the continent. In India it may be said to begin in the early latter half of the 19th century when several cotton and jute mills were started.

In England people began to move from South to North and also from rural to urban areas. Thus Industrial revolution brought about growth of cities. Slums developed in and around industrial centres. Industrial towns were built without foresight, regardless of site, convenience and overcrowding. Uncleanliness, risk of infection and incidence of diseases were challenging health problems.

Divorce of capital and labour made a great change in the mode of living. Employment of children and women began on a large scale. This naturally resulted in high mortality and sickness among the lower income groups.

These drew attention, first of all, of the missionaries and philanthropists. They began to work among the factory workers with their slender resources and at the same time brought to the notice of the public the distressing conditions of the labouring classes. The public slowly began to realise that labour classes was working for the former's comfort and supplied every need of society but society did nothing to ameliorate the hard conditions of their life. Responsibility of so-

ciety to take care of these people began to be felt and public feeling was roused.

The above description is true of every country which has passed through an industrial revolution.

With the advent of Industrial Revolution new problems developed. But in a sense they all revolve round the central fact of the health of the working classes. This consideration was forced upon the employers through purely selfish motive.

The Problems Were :-

Firstly—Long working hours

Secondly—Healthy housing

Thirdly—Employment of women and children in factories.

Fourthly—Working condition in factories.

Fifthly—Conditions of service in industries.

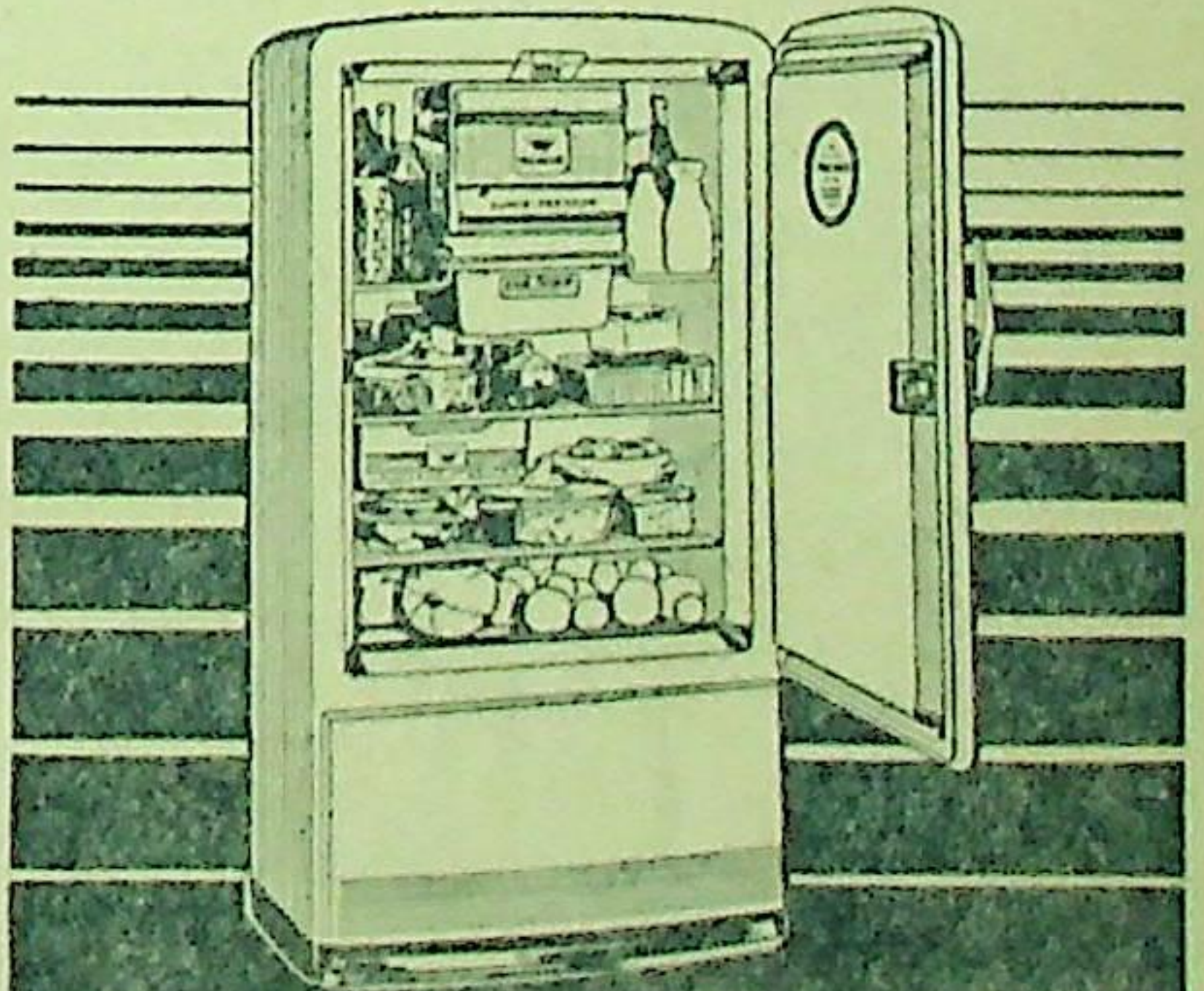
Different countries tackled these problems in their own way and ultimately were forced to make laws for the protection of the labour class. Gradually the idea of benevolence and philanthropy disappeared and people began to think that if some of these problems are the direct result of the industrialisation, why should not the industries themselves solve them, and if society is benefited by industrialisation, then why should not society be also responsible? So the State began to take a growing interest in the above matters and gradually factory legislation came into existence.

Another factor which contributed to the enactment of this legislations is the consciousness of the labour class regarding their place in society and voicing forth their grievances in a vocal and organised way.

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NEW DAK BUNGLOW ROAD PATNA

AFTER a lapse of six and a half years—of great stress and storm—the Meerut session of the Congress met and dispersed. The years intervening between the Ramgarh (1940) and Meerut sessions were years of unparalleled turmoil and agony for the whole of mankind, and our country suffered very severely.

On the eve of the 2nd Imperialist war, India had nourished the hope of seizing the opportunity of realising her freedom and liberty. The will of the Indian people was

reflected in the dynamic and militant leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose and his revolutionary party, the All-India Forward Block. But the wavering and vacillating Right-wing leadership frustrated this hope of the people and hounded Netaji out of the Congress.

However, history is relentless and in place of a compromise with Imperialism came the August Revolution of 1942. Only if had come a bit earlier or a little later!

And on the crest of the August frustration came the glorious

I. N. A. which made history for us all.

But India could not become free during the war which the Allies won. However, thanks to the I. N. A. and the August Revolution, post-war India was nearer freedom than ever. A last formidable push was needed and it is needed still.

The period immediately after the war witnessed unprecedented post-war revolutionary upsurge. The country-wide demonstrations for the release of I. N. A. heroes, the revolt of the R. I. N. boys comparable to the Potemkin mutiny, the threatened All India Railway strike, and the successful all-India strike of Postal employees, were the high-lights of this new upsurge.

What had been the main support of Imperialism so far, went patriotic after the war—thanks to the I. N. A., Britain was robbed of her principal prop in India—the Indian army.

When 1946 began, British Imperialism was on the crater of a disruptive volcano in India. And none other than the British ruling classes realised it most.

To sabotage this new strength came the Cabinet Mission proposals. What bullets and tanks had failed to achieve, was achieved by this imperialist device.

Congress re-entered Provincial Governments and a fake Interim National Government was formed at the Centre with top ranking leaders of the Congress in it.

A revolutionary situation was exchanged for a place in a fake administration and a promise of independence through the present imperialist-sponsored constitution-making body. And the result was that in place of our battle for freedom entering its final phase, a bloody communal war raged in the country. The upper hand that Indian nationalism had won was lost. A fratricidal butchery and a race for power-politics and scramble for office and posts, were the unedifying spectacle.

Such was the back-ground against which the Meerut Congress session met! It was in a panic on account of the Garh Mukhteshwar massacre. It was conspicuous by the absence of the "sea of human heads" as usually witnessed on such occasions: And the Reception Committee was called a Committee of black marketeers in whispers.

Where Do We Go From

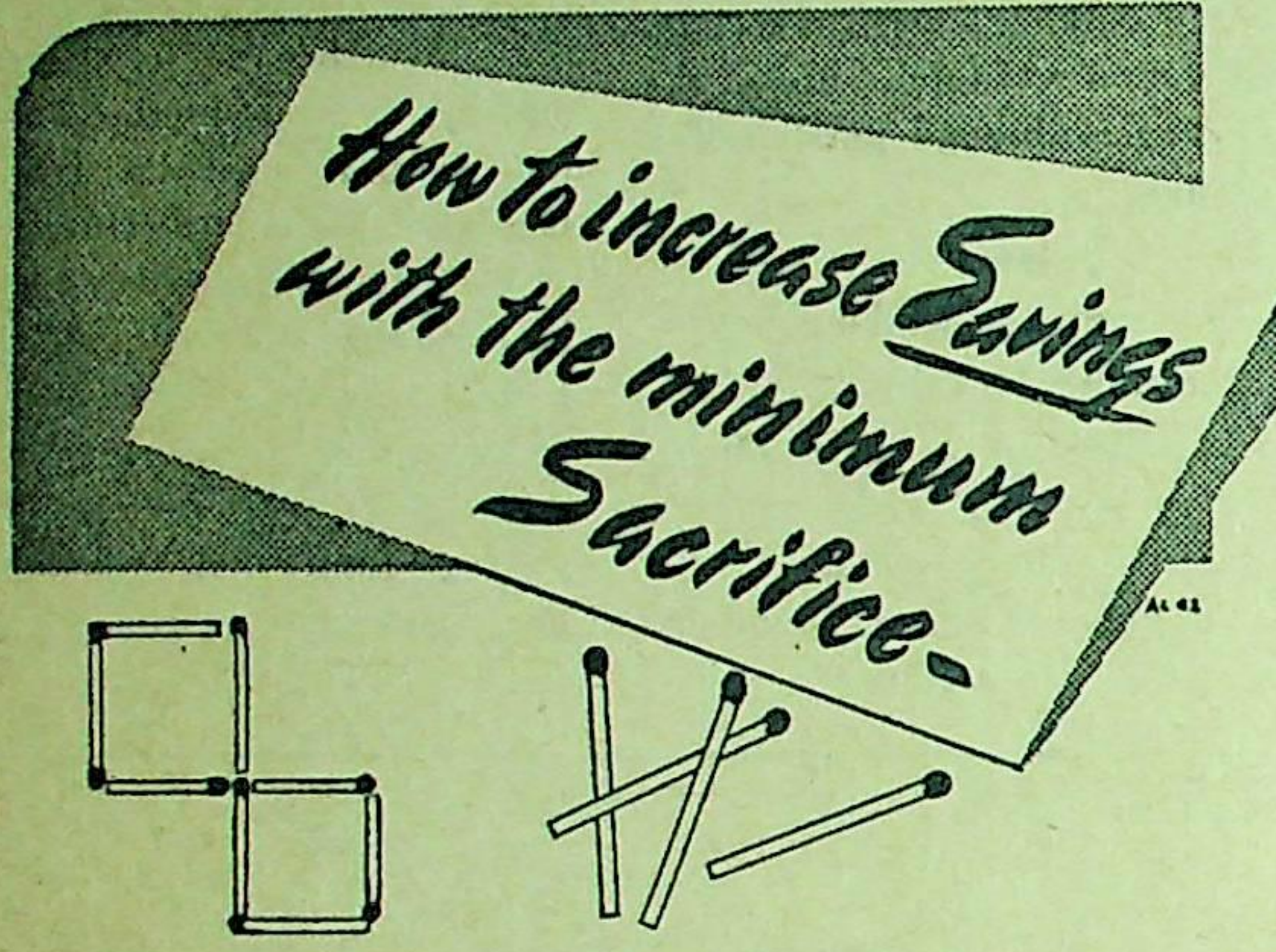
By RAMS SINGH

Another thing which robbed the Meerut session of its grandeur was the fact that the Congress President came this time, not from the first, nor even the second, but from the third rank of our national leaders. The chair that was occupied in the past by Gandhijee and C. R. Das, Motilal and Sardar Patel, Netaji Bose and Jawaharlal, Maulana Azad and Rajendra Prasad had gone this time to a man who was acting almost as the permanent Chief Secretary of the A. I. C. C. Secretariat till June 1945. J. B. Kripalani could hardly ever be impressive as the Chief of the mighty organisation of the nation.

Absence of Gandhijee and Netaji from Meerut also accounted for its listlessness. However, the new Rastrapati seized this opportunity to proclaim through his presidential address the soundness of Gandhian Nationalism and Gandhian philosophy as the panacea of all evils, national and international. Compared with the masterly addresses of former presidents, the Meerut one made a very poor show indeed. It failed to present even a modern national approach to the vital and grave political and social problems facing the country and the people. It was a speech worthy of being delivered in a Gandhian study circle.

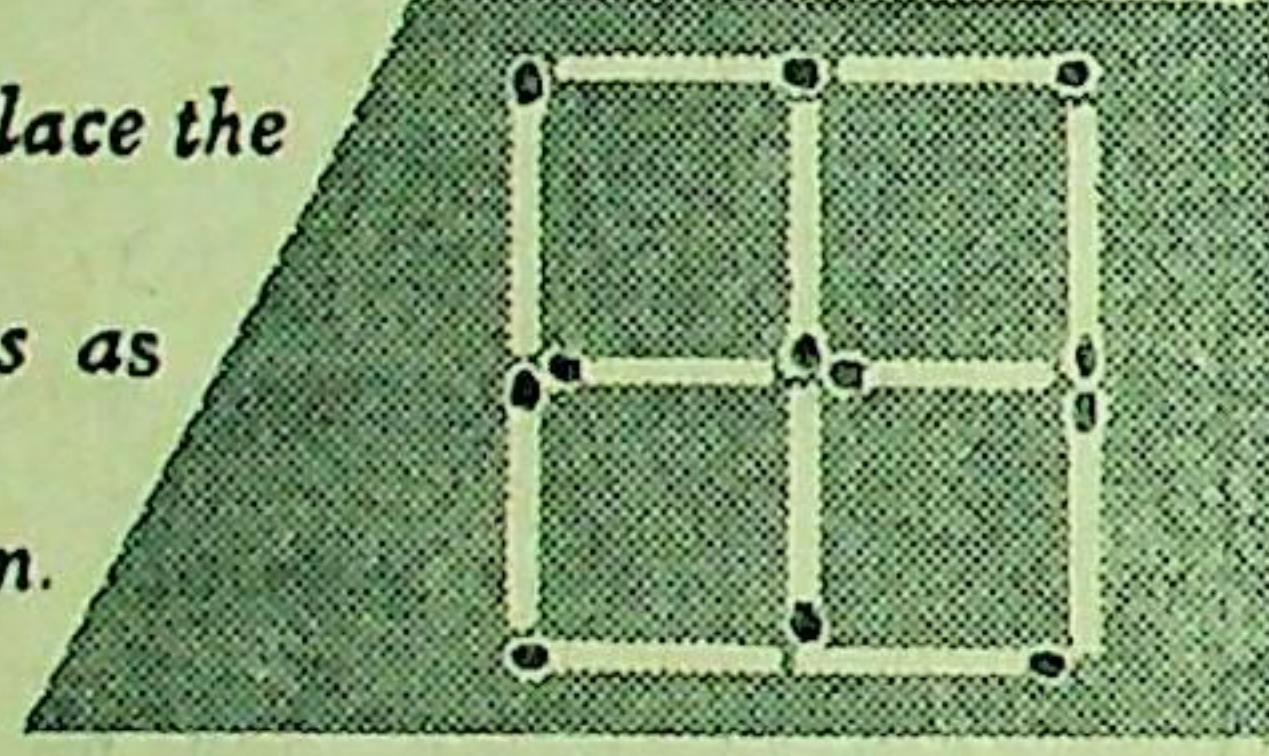
Further, Kripalani treated his responsible position very lightly. He seemed little concerned about its great dignity. He ruled out of order an amendment to an official resolution after the delegate was allowed to move it and he had actually finished his speech on it.

The unsophisticated but suffering millions of India, thirsting for liberty, must have expected some lead from the Meerut session meeting. But the leadership at Meerut appeared to be completely confused, bewildered and lost, if leadership meant bold and decisive initiative in an hour of crisis. Not that they were not alive to the critical situation in the country. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru blamed Lord Wavell and the British ruling classes. He said that Lord Wavell was removing the wheels of the Interim Government one by one. He referred to his offer of resignation and talked of a fight with the British becoming inevitable.



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Where We Go From Meerut ?

By RAMS S SINHA

But he also said in the same breath that they must stay in the Interim Government. Here was the collapse of leadership. He characterised the Muslim League leadership as fascistic and forgot that he and his colleagues in the Interim Government were collaborating with five members of the same organisation in Delhi.

In the Subject Committee, Maulana Azad moved the resolution in ratification, confirming what the Congress Working Committee had done in regard to the long and short term proposals of the British Cabinet Mission. But he was without any enthusiasm about it and made a very brief speech. Pandit Nehru who seconded bewailed and fumbled. There was no official resolution on the National Struggle, for in the opinion of the Congress Working Committee, it was out of question at the present time. Pandit Sheelbhadra Yajee, the Forward Bloc leader, had given notice of a lengthy resolution urging a post-war revolutionary programme for India's fight for freedom. But this resolution was arbitrarily and unceremoniously suppressed. The next important resolution was on the communal situation. But it was a narration of events, condemnation of the butchery involved, incomplete and incorrect analysis of its causes and a sermon on the need of preservation of peace and amity. It had no operative clause and it failed to give a lead which the people needed most at present.

The leadership refused to go deeper into the genesis of the present political and social maladies of India. There were two brief resolutions, one on the form of the future free Indian State and the other on the content of Swaraj. But these were perhaps not taken seriously by the Congress leadership. Both the resolutions were moved by Congress Socialist leaders who paraded them as a compromise between Gandhism and Socialism. The former resolution came as a Congress declaration on the eve of the Constituent Assembly and its being moved by Acharya Narendra Deo was acknowledgment of the fact that Congress Socialism acquiesced in the acceptance of the Constituent Assembly. The Congress Socialist party

had opposed it. But as it offered to acquiesce in the Interim Government it had to swallow the Constituent Assembly as well. This is the result of compromise between Gandhism and Socialism.

The resolution on the content of Swaraj was moved by the leader of Congress Socialism in India, Mr. Jai Prakash Narain himself. The resolution was a declaration on behalf of the Congress that political democracy would be sought to be extended to social and economic fields. This was a vague enough postulation. Further, it was watering down the demand of the Congress made on the eve of the August Revolution. In the August Revolution, Congress went so far as to declare that "power would vest in the workers in fields and factories and elsewhere". No socialist party could have gone further.

The Congress High Command treated the house as a packed one. And it was largely so. The Congress Socialist party, widely advertised as His Majesty's Opposition, simply played the second fiddle. They moved and supported a number of official resolutions. Whatever the opposition they put up was tame enough.

The main opposition came from the Forward Bloc. But its opposition was unceremoniously stifled by the President. Forward Bloc speakers like Com. Ansar Harvani, Prof. Mota Singh, Com. Suresh Chandra Misra were allowed hardly three to five minutes and frequently interrupted by the Chair. Most of the Forward Bloc sponsored amendments were "ruled out of order because he (Kripalani) failed to understand it."

Strangely enough, Com. Mathura Prasad Mishra of the Forward Bloc was allowed to move two amendments; one of his amendments was accepted by the official mover, Mr. J. P. Narain. Com. Mishra moved that in regard to the content of Swaraj, the August declaration to the effect that "power will vest in the workers in the fields and factories" be inserted. And J. P. after consulting Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and others had to swallow it.

Com. Mishra moved another amendment to the resolution on communal situation to the effect as an operative part, that the policy of appeasing the Muslim League be abandoned and instead a vigorous

policy of Muslim Mass Contact on political, social and economic basis be taken up and the example of Netaji and his I N A. followed in the matter. But the amendment was put aside. It was tragic that the big session took no notice of the historic I. N. A. or any of its staff. However, the political listlessness of the Meerut Congress was compensated by the unique play of the I N A. band and orchestra and the I. N. A. drama "Sipahi ka Khwao". They attracted more attention than the Congress session itself. Apart from this, the military parade of the I. N. A. and Sevadal soldiers guided by Maj. Gen. Shah Nawaz was indeed a sight.

Among the tit-bits of the Meerut session was a current rumour about Netaji. It was widely whispered that an emissary had arrived at Meerut from Netaji who was standing on the Russo Indian border with an army 50 thousand strong. They pointed out that the Congress president's written presidential address had not a word about Netaji.

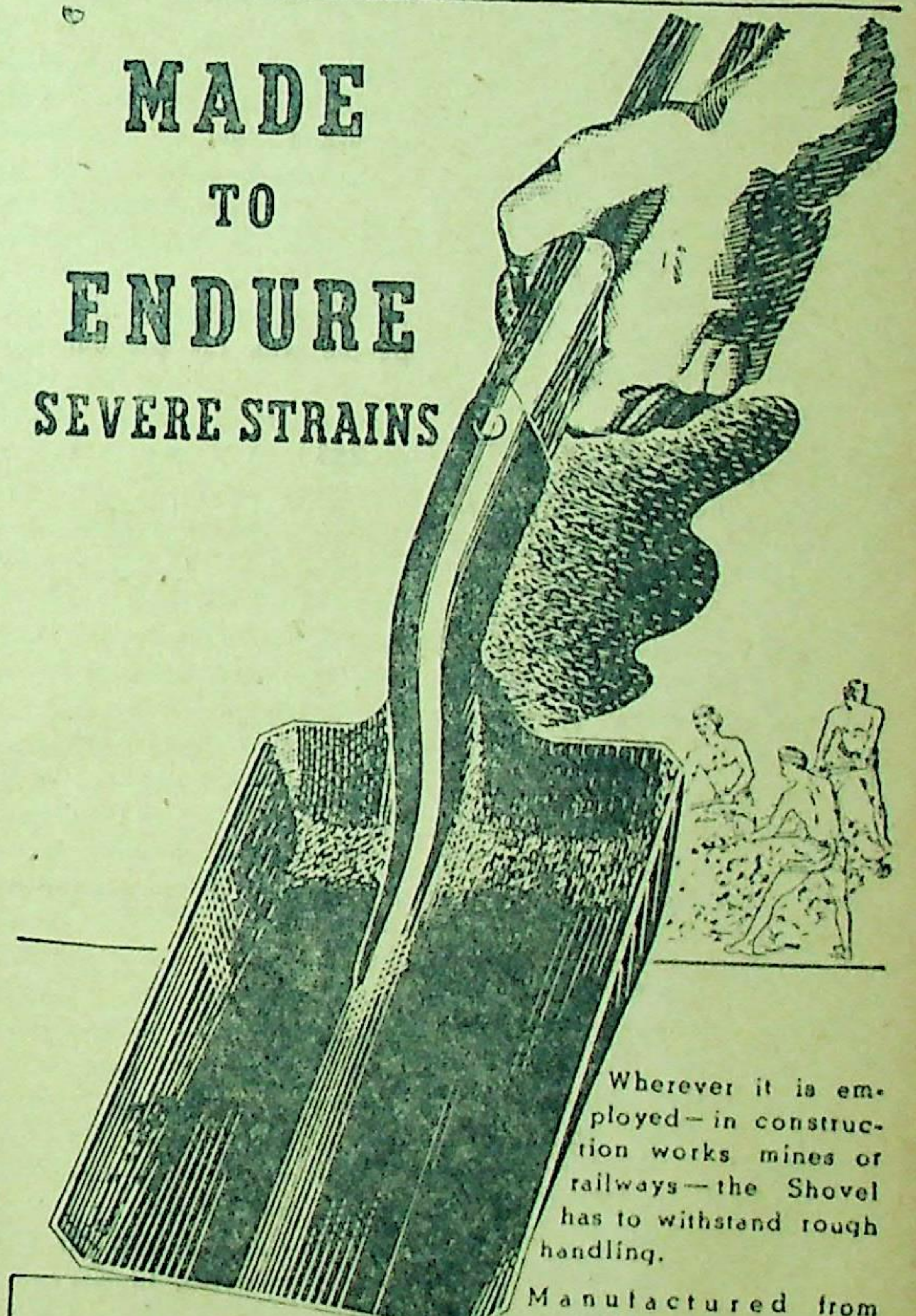
The question persists:— Where do we go from Meerut? To further surrender to Imperialism or to a final battle for freedom? Meerut has failed to answer either.

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Addressing a Conservative Party mass meeting at Blackpool, on October 5, 1946, Mr. Winston Churchill, the ex-Premier "now in the Opposition wilderness,"—referring to India, observed, "I fear that a calamity impends upon this sub-continent, which is almost as big as Europe, more populous and even more sharply divided... Indian unity, created by British rule, will swiftly perish and no one can measure the misery and bloodshed which will overtake these enormous masses of humble helpless millions or under what new power their future and destiny will lie." This spate of oratory reveals a lamentable attitude towards the Indian settlement. But what interests us here is the reference to Indian unity. According to the speaker, Indian unity, which is a British-creation, "will swiftly perish", and will be followed by immeasurable "misery and bloodshed" at the hands of "men who have good reason to be bitterly hostile to the British connexion, but who, in no way represent the enormous mass of nearly 400,000,000 of all races, estates and peoples of India who have dwelt so long in peace with one another." That Indian unity was created by British rule is a statement that sounds ridiculous to one familiar with India's past. In truth, the fact is otherwise. Unity, which always was the ideal of the Indian people throughout the centuries, has gradually "trailed out", like many other "clouds of glory", with the increasing domination of Mr. Churchill's countrymen, who inaugurated a systematic policy of "divide and rule" in the interests of their empire. And the consequences followed. "These enormous masses of humble helpless millions" were plunged in misery and blood-

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Combating Communalism Through Education

By SHYAMNANDAN SAHAYA, M. A., M. Ed.

shed" with every eruption of the communal volcano. Blood-baths, which were, till recently looked upon as a form of religious purification, are now intended for securing political advantage, at the cost of peace and freedom.

In the past, however, things were different. Before the British came, the two great communities of India lived in peace and loving reciprocity. They evolved a common culture, which is neither Hindu nor Muslim, but Indian. Unhypnotised by the political wand of any interested or callous, politicians, they were oblivious of their differences. They constituted a psychological unity. An essential oneness, political as well as cultural, has always run through the innumerable diversities of blood, colour, language, dress, manners, and sect. When describing the Sikh fears of British aggression in 1845, Joseph Cunningham, an author of unusually independent spirit, remarked that "Hindustan, moreover, from Cabul to the valley of Assam, and the island of Ceylon, is regarded as one country, and dominion in it is associated in the minds of the people with the predominance of one monarch or one race." (History of the Sikhs (1853) p. 283.) And we are not surprised, for India always has held the ideal of political unity. Sanskrit literature and scores of inscriptions abound in references to the conception of the universal sovereign as the Chakravartin Raja. Even in the days of the Mahabharata, which tells the story of the assembling of nations on the battle-field of Kurukshetra, all the Indian peoples, including those of the Far South, were held together by real bonds and concerned in interests common to all. Even socially, the Hindus and the Muslims were at one in their respect for parental authority, the joint family system, arranged marriages, and caste as trade guilds. On the last, Mr. H. H. Risley observes, in his admirable article "Caste, Tribe and Race" "In India caste is in the air; its contagion has spread even to the Muhammadans; and we find its evolution proceeding on characteristically Hindu lines." (Imperial Gazetteer of India, Volume I). And this homogeneity has also found expression in religion

and philosophy, art and architecture, music and literature. Here, as elsewhere, the interaction of the two communities is manifest. Saints like Nanak and Chaitanya, Namdev and Tukaram, were not indifferent to the teaching of Islam. They preached the brotherhood of man and the futility of caste in matters spiritual. Nor did the Muslims ignore the appeal of Hindu culture. Muhammad Jayasi wove a beautiful romance to illustrate the teachings of Hindu philosophy; and Kabir and Sheikh Farid refused to recognise the barriers of caste and creed on the highroad to God's Kingdom. What the saints preached, Akbar practised. His broadminded sympathy, which inspired catholicity, shaped a policy which unified Indians into a nation.

But these bonds, that knit together the two sister communities, have been gradually loosed by an anti-national system of education which was ushered in by the British. It has either ignored or despised our social heritage, and destroyed all appreciation for Indian culture. It has emphasised utilitarian considerations, and magnified our differences. And, by the use, in schools and colleges, of text-books of history, which have given undue prominence to wars and conquests, intrigues and changes of dynasties, demolition of temples and enforced conversions, an impression has been produced that India has always been a land of warring creeds and tribes and of irreconcilable factions. This impression has been worked up into a conviction in the minds of an unthinking populace, by leaders harping incessantly on communal separatism, which has naturally led to the recent tragic happenings.

From these painful events to a state of things at once happy and peaceful, will be difficult to attain unless we reshape our educational system, and follow the prescription of Aristotle: "vigilance, good conduct, thoughtfulness for those excluded from power, moderation, a suitable training for citizens, and, above all, equal justice to all men." But these are not enough. Our class-room lessons and lectures in history must aim at a cultural interpretation of our past, and cease to dwell at length on discords and differences. We must instil into the minds of our young a common love for, and pride in, the wonderful

artistic of the caves of Ellora and Ajanta, the engineering skill displayed in the temples of Bhuvanewar and Konarak, the magnificence of the Moti-Masjid, the lofty grandeur of the Qutub Minar, and that marvellous expression of imperial love—the Taj.

Even outside the class room, every educational institution must try to create an environment conducive to the development of genuine national idealism. In the hall and the common room, as well as in the library and the verandah, portraits of our country's heroes, not those who fought battles, but those who made civilisation, should be hung. But care should be taken not to arrange them in communal groups, if we are to emphasise joint national effort. The best way is to set them on the walls in a chronological order. Thus we shall be able to suggest that our cultural heritage was built up by the gifted men and women of all communities inspired by a noble ideal according to the needs and opportunities of their times. A similar purpose will be served by setting up statues of our great personages at suitable places, after the fashion of the ancient Romans. Birth-day anniversaries of distinguished leaders of the past and present are equally effective. On such occasions, speeches may be delivered and papers read, in each of which stress must be laid on spiritual greatness and national unity and solidarity. School and college magazines can also make wholesome contributions in this direction.

If we can successfully create such an educational environment, with a healthy atmosphere, we shall create a national consciousness all round. Out of these meeting-places will emerge men and women who will feel themselves to be Indians first, and Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, and Parsis afterwards. And, while strengthening and developing their respective cultures, our communities will, like mighty rivers, flow in their separate channels apart from, and without interfering with, each other. They will join and roll on together, indistinguishable from each other taking on their way more small and large tributaries. And, as these mighty rivers pour their united waters into the sea, they will offer their united strength at the feet of a common Mother.

THE GERMAN TREATY

By K. C. De, Allahabad

It is difficult to foresee future Allied policy with regard to Germany. But as long as Germany is kept crippled, the British position vis-a-vis Soviet Russia remains undefined. This may mean the avoidance of conflicts in Europe in the immediate future. But the forcible keeping down of Germany does not prevent new alignments elsewhere, as for example this new war, between France and Viet Nam. The proposed Anglo-British alliance is proof of France having the moral support of Britain in this war. The *raison d'etre* behind any policy of balance of power is the preservation of vested interests. The deliberately fluid situation in Egypt, Palestine, India, Burma, Indonesia and Indo-China shows that there is no lack of imperialistic opportunism, that whatever success has been achieved in the last session of the United Nations General Assembly, has been largely due to Soviet-American understanding. And it is because of this understanding that European imperialism is seeking to find its venue outside Europe. There may be a more or less easy measure of support from Great Britain, France and Holland with what is proposed by U. S. A. or U. S. S. R. over the decisions about Germany and Austria, if exploitation is permitted to proceed unchecked in Asia.

Britain, France and Holland to save their vested interests may want the alliance of a rehabilitated Germany.

The keeping up of an uneasy situation in India as between Nationalists and the Muslim League, in Egypt between Egyptians and the Soudanese and in Palestine between the Jews and Arabs, underlines the same unsettled conditions in Germany and Austria as between the so-called democracies and Soviet Russia. Soviet Russia has no designs in Europe except for capitalistic imperialism prosecuted in countries in Africa and Asia. This might offer ground for rivalry in Germany and Austria. The essential controversy would appear to be not between Marxism and Capitalism but between Democracy and Imperialism whose necessary weapon up till now has been the capitalistic system.

Letters

Keshari Of Bihar

The Prime Minister of Bihar's car is now bearing a monogram analogous to that of the Government House cars. The monogram bears a tiger (inset) with "Prime Minister Govt. of Bihar" embossed in a circle. There is nothing wrong in having a monogram. But I am afraid the selection of the emblem has not been in keeping with Bihar. Instead of the Tiger it would have been better to put in Bihar's own coat of Arms, which is the Bodhi Tree and the Swastika. Will the Prime Minister consider this and give long neglected Bihar's own coat of Arms a right place?

P. K. Sanyal.

Tyranny Of The Majority

Sir,—Despotism is the same whether crowned with a red cap or an Imperial diadem, and whether applied by a monarch or a multitude. In the West, in past days, men held that the King can do no wrong, while at the present day, they hold that majorities can do no wrong. Both are fallacies. As regards majorities, whatever may be said of the Western model, here in India the organization of parties on that model in the existing environment cannot but leave out vast masses beyond the educated and half educated people and those who come in direct contact with these two classes, so that it cannot be honestly claimed that even a body like the Congress really represents the interests of the majority of the country's population. The masses constitute the real majority but they are unrepresented and left in the lurch. They understand nothing about the coming "Ramrajya" which is said to be in the offing under the name of the Republic of India. They have no idea whatever as to the change of system which this will involve, even if they have any conception of a Republican form of Government. They have only known of Raja and his prajas. In actual practice the new form of Government will mean nothing but the transfer of the arbitrary power of the British Government to an Indian clique which will study its own selfish interests far more effectively than the foreigners ever did. This clique will differ from the foreign rulers by discriminating between their own henchmen and other Indians while the foreigners

have been careful about their own privileges and have made no distinction between one native and another. Experience of Congress Governments has already proved this to the hilt.

The present organized parties have won their spurs through exercise of the lung, through vociferation. The leaders of the biggest party have been flashing swashbucklers without having experienced the blood bath of the less vocal frontiersmen and tribesmen, people who have earned a far better title to independence than the politicians. In the year 1900 the brave Kola, armed with nothing better than bows and arrows (*aa-sar*) together with their women and children, boldly faced the modern arms of the British troops so that their blood flowed in torrents down the bleak heights of Dumari Hill in Khunti, in the district of Ranchi. Have the Congressmen anything to show to match that achievement? To give the foreigners their due it must be said that they have shown some respect for the Kols for their manly behaviour. In 1934 the Ranchi branch of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals asked Government to stop cock fighting with spurs (*sim tal*), the national sport of the Kols, by extending the prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act of 1890 to the whole of Ranchi Thana. The Bihar Government rejected that proposal by an order passed in March 1934 on the ground that, if accepted, the measure would make Government unpopular among the aboriginal and semi-aboriginal people of the district. What a contrast to the unsympathetic attitude consistently followed by the Congress Government towards the Adibasis. I have no hesitation in subscribing myself as

ERENGA KOL

Desiring Before Deserving

Sudden revolutions are useless, except for destruction, and we can only build on living foundation. In a time of revolution, physical force is necessarily in the ascendant and moral force in abeyance. These are the ideas of an authority on Anthropology. They cannot but make an appeal to all sensible men. Our Mahatma has, from time to time, in his cobbler moments expressed ideas in conformity with these. On November 6, 1939, when passing through Nagpur on his way to Wardha he told some newspaper reporters in no uncertain terms: "I will resist Civil Disobedience unless I find the country prepared for that." Civil Disobedience is the Mahatma's own substitute for Revolution. What he then required was that the country should be fit before it aspired to independence. In other words he wanted that the country should deserve before it desired independence. Speaking on February 25, 1940, at Malkanda in East Bengal he laid stress on the programme of Hindu Muslim unity, Charkha cum Khadi, removal of untouchability and Prohibition as the four pillars of Swaraj for winning India's Independence. He stated at the same time: "I have the same opinion about the way to Swaraj as I had in 1921." This shows that fitness was considered by him as a condition precedent to the attainment of independence. Speaking during an evening prayer in Bombay on September 29, 1944, he told his followers that he had said times without number that unless untouchability was eradicated root and branch, Hinduism would perish. It would follow that the Hindus had no chance of attaining independence unless and until they removed the curse

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LETTERS ...

of untouchability. More recently he has expressed the opinion that for the purpose of welding all the people of India as one nation for attaining nationhood, a common script was needed for the whole country. It would follow from all these that he at one time demanded certain conditions as antecedent to the acquisition of independence. But sneaking the other day, i. e., January 14, the Mahatma gave out to some Muslim inquirers at Bhatnagar in Noakhali: "Azadi (freedom), and Pakistan require the exclusion of all foreign powers. Until and unless India is free there cannot be any other question." This would make it clear that in the course of his experiments with Truth he has at last arrived at the conclusion that India must have her prize first before deserving it, or in other words, Indians should desire before deserving. This is just the line of action insisted upon by the Forward Bloc. We must pause to reflect whether it will be best for us at this stage of the country's development to adopt the path of revolution when violence will necessarily be in the ascendant.

Nestor

Preaching And Practice

Sir,—in the light of what Bihar Ministry has been saying and is doing the real welfare of the Adibasis rests with the separation of Jharkhand.

The recent advertisements and selections regarding the Publicity, Police and Welfare departments, should be an eye-opener to the Adibasis. As usual, the advertisements are always full of sincere words like "preference will be given to the native of Chotanagpur, Candidate must know the tribal languages" etc. But the fact is otherwise.

The selections for District Publicity Organisers is over, the best tools have been picked up. The case of Sub-Inspectors of Police is pending. For the Thana Welfare Officers the question is puzzling. The Indian Nation advertised it but ultimately referred to the Bihar Gazette which came on in the

hands of Adibasis on 16th December 1946, which was also the last date for receiving applications at Patna. No doubt among more than Seven hundred candidates, there were none from Chotanagpur and Santal Pargannas. The advertisement also ran that "candidates must know the tribal languages." One wonders what happened to the only application from an Adibasi entrusted in good faith to the Parliamentary Secretary. It is to be seen how many of the candidates selected are acquainted with languages, Mundari, Uraon, Ho, Santali, Kharria and Gawnari etc.

The Ministry solemnly preaches that every effort is being made for the welfare of the Adibasis, but the policy adopted by the Ministry debars the sons of Chotanagpur. We do not crave for the sympathy of the Bihar Ministry. We do not need its help. Neither do we hanker for preferences. We demand our rights—birth rights

Mascal Lakra.

District Ranchi.

Dear Sir,—You are aware that the Bengal Government is seriously considering about the nationalisation of Zemindary and that the Zemindars in this province are anxious to study the situation in Bihar in relation to this problem. I shall be grateful, if you could, therefore, please let us know (i) the attitude of the present Government of Bihar towards Zemindars and the plan of nationalisation as envisaged by the Government.

(ii) the place of the Zemindars in the interim period pending full nationalisation.

(iii) how are the Zemindars going to be compensated?

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Equality Of All Religions

By NESTOR

Mahatma Gandhi stated on Christmas day at Srirampur in East Bengal at his prayer meeting that he had begun to believe in a toleration which he would call equality of all religions. It is a rather belated discovery for Mahatmaji. The lesson of religious equality had been taught long before the Christian era by Sree Krishna who said, in effect "By whatever name men may invoke the Supreme being I will be with them." Mahatmaji gave out on the same occasion that Jesus belonged to the whole world and not to any particular community. That is an important point which needs examination. The general belief, no doubt, is that Jesus came to the world for the purpose of saving mankind from the dire punishment of burning in hell fire as a result of Adam's shameful fall in the Garden of Eden. But we find from the New Testament that Jesus himself had declared that salvation was for the Jews who were his own countrymen. (John iv 22), He made this quite clear to the woman of Canaan in Matthew xv and to the Greek woman in Mark vii. Jesus made a sharp distinction between Jews and non-Jews, on various occasions. He told his own followers, who were Jews, that if a Jew neglected to follow the church they should regard him as a heathen and a publican, the former being outside the Jewish community and the latter representing a despised class of public servants. When giving directions to his apostles to go out and preach the Gospel, Jesus said "Go not into the way of the Gentiles and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." The communities thus excluded were deprived of the benefit of having a chance of being saved from the tortures of hell fire. Jesus is reported to

have said "It is not meet to take the children's bread and to cast it to dogs." (Matt. xv). Here "children" means from the context, the Jews and "dogs" means non-Jews. And in the Old Testament, he is shown as having adopted the Jews as his chosen people. Christ's Apostle Paul has, in addressing Christians, told them in his Epistle to the Galatians "Ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus." That means that those who do not possess faith in Christ Jesus as the Saviour are not children of God. It is stated in Matt. xxv that Christ shall say to the unredeemed (i. e. non-Christians) who will sit on his left. "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire." It may be doubted if even a saint like Gandhiji will escape this terrible fate. Paul the Apostle was surely a man who understood his own religion well. He has stated in the 6th chapter of his 2nd Epistle to the Corinthians: "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers; for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness?" This makes for communal distinction, if it means anything.

The fact remains that, in practice, Christian dogmas have proved detrimental to religious tolerance. The doctrine of exclusive salvation produces in the minds of its believers a superiority complex which has led even a great Christian like the Rev. Dr. Thomas Arnold to hold that in a world made up of Christian and non-Christian, the latter should have no rights. The same result is displayed by good Christians like the Dutch in South Africa in their treatment of the native Africans and the Asiatic settlers; and by equally good British Christians in East Africa in their treatment of the Negroes and Asiatics. Another ghastly aspect of the superiority complex is to be seen in the Southern States of the U. S. A. (where the Whites are ardent in their faith) in their treatment of the Christian Negroes. Mahatmaji may not be cognisant of the fact that Christians scout the idea that religions are equal and that, in their view, Hinduism as a religion is not in the same street with Christianity.

THIS INDIA by mallinatha

Cautious Attitude

"U. S. A., Britain and Russia should consult freely about the Chinese situation to avert the possibility of a Civil War in China"

—Lord Lindsay in the House of Lords, Jan. 23

"And Noah he cocked an eye and said 'it looks like rain, I think'"

No Room For Grievance.

"At a meeting of students of Delhi held this morning, resolutions were passed condemning the firing on students in Calcutta and defiring on students in Calcutta"

—The Statesman, Jan. 25
"Firing" and "de firing" should cancel out

This Explains Our Medievalism

"Mr. K. P. S. Menon, the first Indian Ambassador to China, undertook the arduous journey to China by a route which the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Tsang took when he came to India three centuries ago"

—The Indian Social Reformer, Jan. 18

It is not surprising to learn that we are living in the 9th century A. D.

Book Reviews

Sadhu Bilwamangal, by Wanderer. Published by Rai Bahadur N. Dey, 2-A Convent Road, Dehra Dun. Pp. 29. Price 1-4.

The name of the Saint Billwamangal is familiar to Bengalees through the well-known drama by Girish Chandra Ghosh. Little is really known about the details of the life of this devoted worshipper of God and our author has based his narration mainly on Girish Babu's work.

The author, although he prefers to be anonymous, has "made a name" as the writer of *IN QUEST OF BLISS*, *THE QUEST AND THE FIND* and *IN TUNE WITH MIRA BAI*, which were reviewed in these columns some time ago. We are sure that the book will have a great appeal to all lovers of devotional literature. The drama is written in blank verse.

Reader-

Indian Problem

By RANAJIT KUMAR BAKSI

People of almost all communities have by now been exhausted in their attempt to bring about a rapprochement between Congress and Muslim League. They think that an amicable settlement between these two will break the political deadlock that has been created in India. But as religion has now become the basis for political difference and since there are people who are neither Hindus nor Muslims, it is quite probable that even if Congress and League ever come to terms, which is in itself a remote possibility, other communities like Sikhs will claim some political advantage due to their difference in religion from either Hindus or Muslims. If things go on in this way, Congress will have to negotiate in future with these communities also for solving the deadlock which is likely to be created by them. All such enterprises will only mean interminable negotiations reaching no finality at any conceivable length of time; on the contrary the procedure will keep alive communal cleavage and give a wide berth to the main goal of Indian independence.

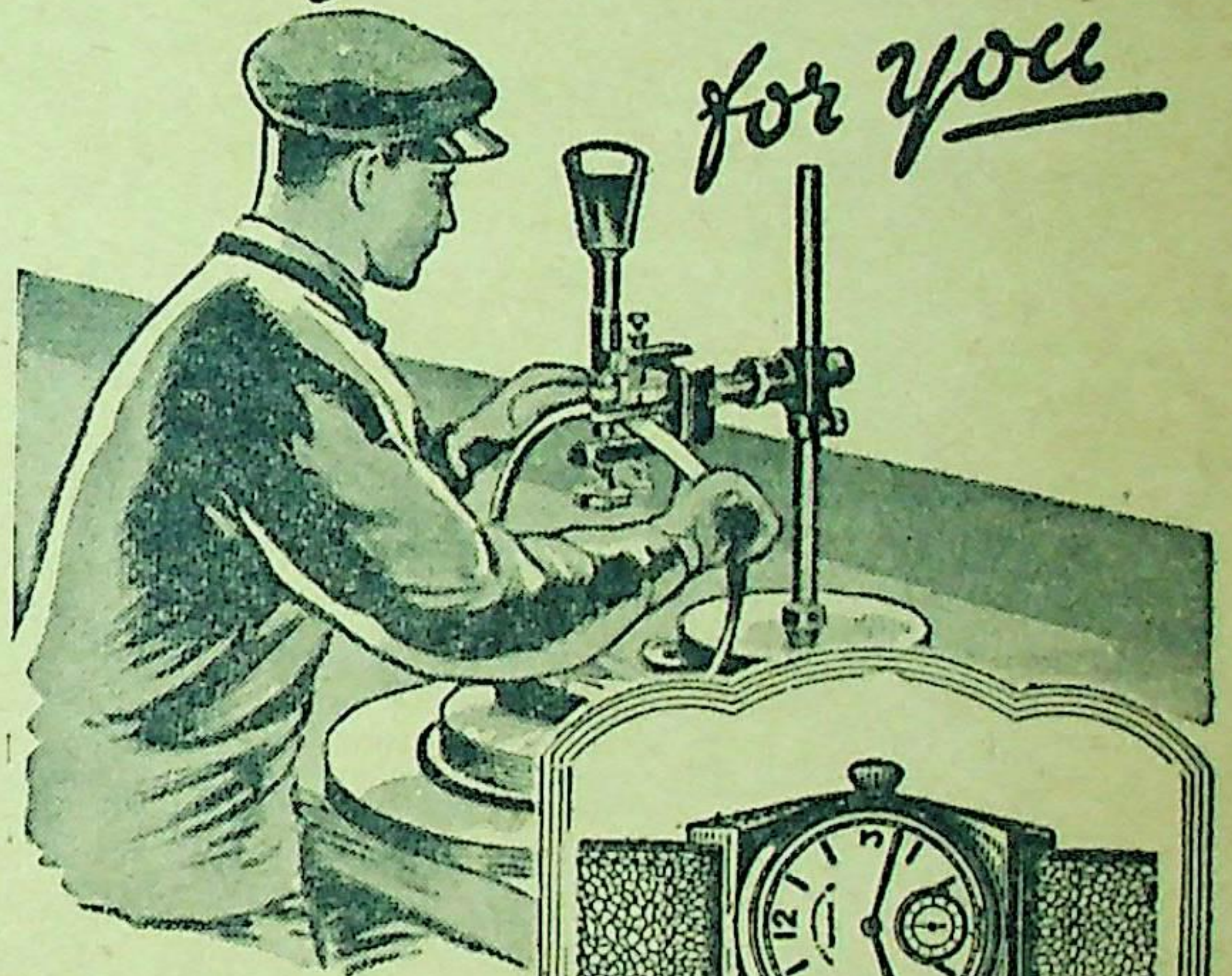
Congress at present claims many Sikh leaders in its fold; it also claimed in the past many Muslim leaders who have since gone to the opposite camp and turned themselves into veteran Leaguers. The Qade Azam was trained in politics by Dadabhai Naoroji and was once a prominent member of the Indian National Congress. The Sikhs claim at present to have a wide national outlook but at the same time it is not at all clear why they should have taken the precaution of sending a representative of their own to England recently with Pandit Nehru to safeguard their own interests. Apparently, for their communal mindedness, they could not trust that Pandit Nehru, the accredited leader of India could have represented their case also equally well. The Sikhs or other minorities professing different religions are Congressmen now because it pays them to be so.

Under such colourful background of India's political scene it is not possible to solve any deadlock by representatives of different religions. We can arrive at its solution only if we go back to trace out the root cause for all these troubles. Why this political difference has been based on religious difference and not on anything else? Religion is after all a personal matter. Take the instance of China, where different

members of the same family adopt different religions according to personal taste but maintain family and national integrity. We must now recall the incidents responsible for religion establishing its roots deeply in the sphere of Indian politics. We will find its answer from the history of Communal Representation which finally took shape in the form of Communal Award thrust on us—thanks to the generosity of Hoare, Macdonald and Co. This is only a machination on the part of our rulers to perpetuate their hold on the Indian Empire as it best suits their policy of divide-and-rule. Communal Award teaches us to be self-centred and that Hindus should not trust Muslims and vice versa. All political deadlock based on religion can be solved if religion is turned completely out of the sphere of politics and, therefore, joint electorate is the only logical solution. In a separate electorate system

people of one religion can have no common political meeting ground with representatives of other religions because they are in watertight compartments. Joint electorate provides them the scope to put an end to the mutual distrust that leads to communal bickerings and communal trouble. Every patriotic Indian should make it his life's mission to unsettle the Communal Award and strive for joint electorate in the new constitution of Free India. Indians have lived together in amity for centuries on the same Indian soil, and be they Hindu, Muslims, Christians or any other, are Indians first and anything else next. India's salvation lies in joint electorate only and not in any separatist policy. The latter is bound to cause disruption even where there is none and eventually lead to communal civil war with all its hideous atrocity.

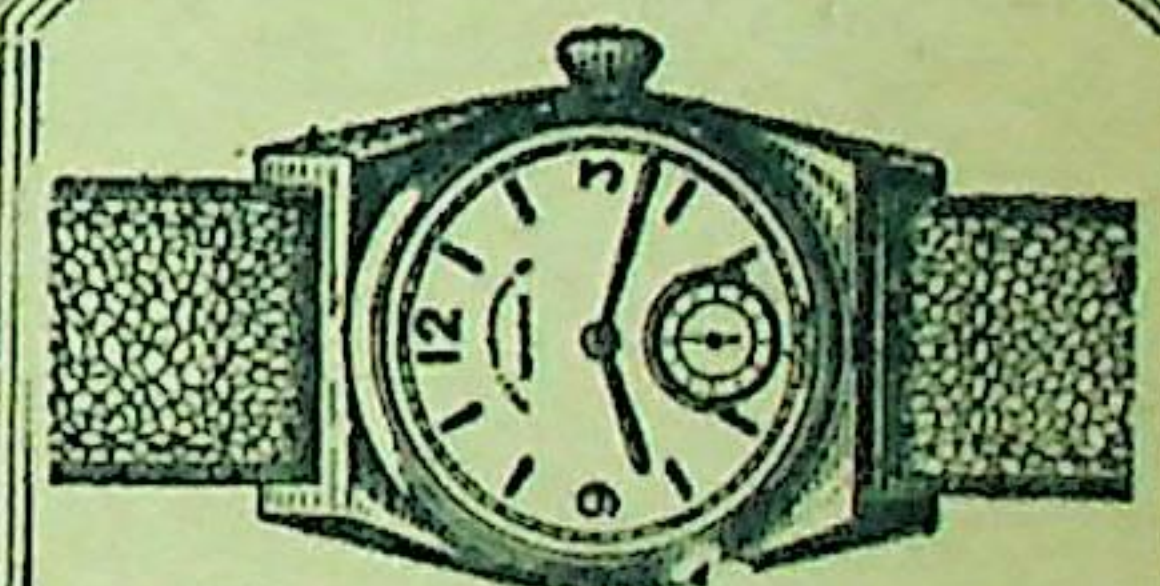
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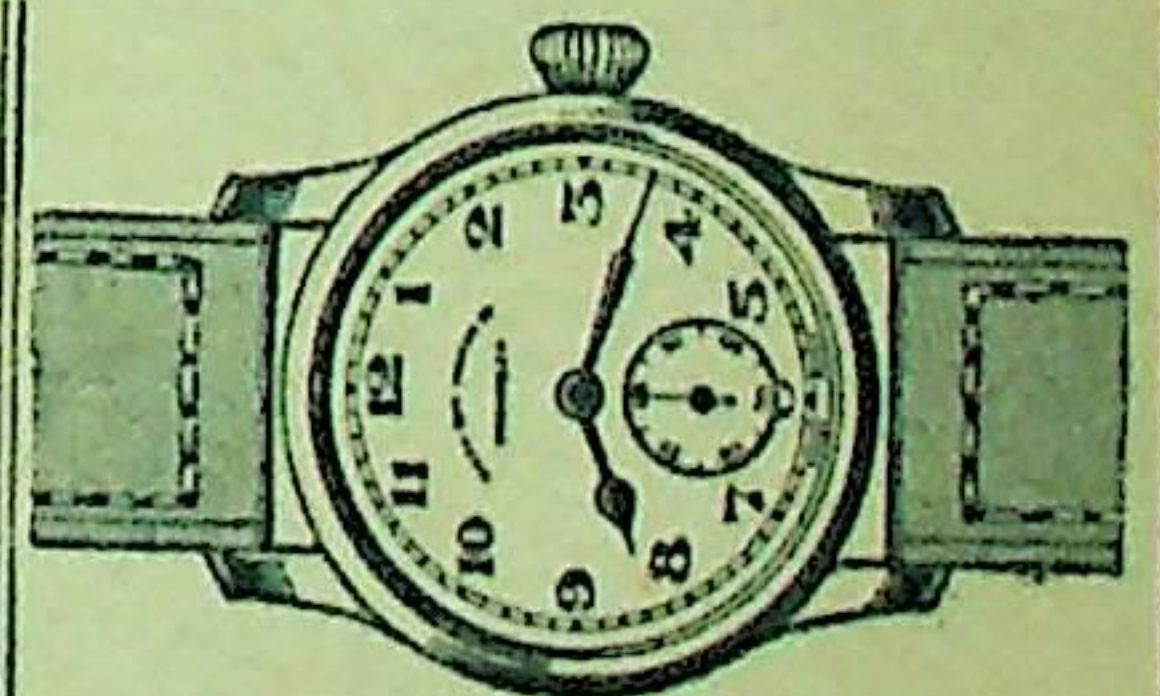
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THE DEMOCRATIC ... further suspicions obtain an added momentum. Operating within these inherent limitations, the efforts of the present Constituent Assembly is bound to be sterile; but more dangerous is the possibility of its proving to be the source of inspiration for another, more widespread civil war and consequent anarchy.

If, however, the democratic principle is truly applied, two points clearly follow. Firstly, that this august body now meeting in Delhi is not a genuine Constituent Assembly, except in so far as it represents the abdication of the foreign power. It is not so, firstly because it represents only an upper class minority and secondly, the present members were indirectly elected on issues other than that of the future Constitution of India and, therefore, do not represent the 'constituent' will even of this propertied minority. The second point is that none of the major parties having ever placed their view of the future constitution before the people as a whole, not only is the so-called Constituent Assembly not 'Constituent' of the peoples will, it does not reflect the will of the people even indirectly through the parties of the fundamental question of the Constitution.

The only democratic method obviously suggested by the logic

of the situation is that the body meeting at Delhi should only function as a provisional authority entitled to do no more than call upon the people to assume their sovereignty by electing a genuine Constituent Assembly, and ask all parties in the country to submit for the consideration of the people their respective drafts of the Constitution of Free India. The people will then have concrete alternatives to choose from instead of being helplessly utilised in the game of power politics of the parties. It appears to us to be the only democratic alternative to the present deplorable situation because the present efforts to resolve the problem within the limitations of the given Constituent Assembly helps to deteriorate the conditions more and more. The tragedy of the situation is that while a growing number of people are feeling that the continuation of the present basis of efforts, however well-intentioned, cannot but lead to civil war and instability, they are apparently convinced that there is no better alternative. Therefore, instead of mobilising their moral strength against the present situation, they give in to the vortex of the present political whirlpool and begin to take sides in the communal war. But once they are intellectually and rationally convinced that the de-

mocratic situation is not entirely hopeless, that it is not necessary to drift in the current unwillingly, that the democratic alternative appeals better to their conscience, they will at least begin withdrawing their moral support to their respective "popular" parties and help in creating the political opinion necessary to force the existing Constituent Assembly to adopt the alternative. The major parties appear to be sure of the continuance of their game, not so much because they have the 'masses' behind them, but essentially because the educated sections are backing them morally. Once they find that the so-long hypnotised intelligentsia are reacting to the situation independently and are exerting their influence to initiate a more rational, moral and democratic solution to the political problem, it will be easy to see through the inflated stature of these political parties and their colossal weakness.

The main issue before the Constituent Assembly is not Pakistan and Akhand Hindustan. The main issue is the basis of the political organisation of the new State. The foreign element having been removed as the governing power, the State structure created by it has to be replaced by another structure. The old State is based on unequal property relations in the means of production and on a limited type of parlia-

mentary democracy, administered primarily by a highly authoritarian administrative apparatus. The District Magistrate obtains the pivotal position in the existing State apparatus in relation to the people. For all practical purposes, to the common man he symbolises the State. Control over him is through the provincial ministry responsible to the assembly. It is well-known that seldom do these Ministries reflect the true interests or will of the people after the elections are over. Thus the common man has practically no control or voice in the governance of the country, whereas he has to obey this autocratic machinery now governing all aspects of his life, without question or murmur. The elimination of the old State, which was a coercive and exploiting apparatus developed for over a century by foreigners, is the negative task inherent in the constitution making of the country. What will take its place? The answer is simple; Sovereignty of the people over their own destiny; government of the people and by the people; a new State structure in which the pivotal position of the District Magistrate is to be taken up by the standing 'panchayat', the local people's Committee. In other words the ideal of Democracy must transcend the limitations and inadequacies of the parliamentary type in order to ensure not only real political democracy but also social democracy. That is the central task of the constitution makers and the Constituent Assembly. Other questions and issues are important but not as important. In this vital and central issue facing the country, the people as a whole must have a say. Their fate is being decided for generations to come by others, but in their name. Is it not fair and just that the people be consulted and their verdict taken on this question? That is the basis of the democratic alternative suggested here. Thus the present deplorable situation and a still more deplorable perspective can still be avoided by taking to this path of sanity and democracy and thus save the country from anarchy and civil war.

Books

By

M. C. SAMADDAR

(1) *Prabasi Bangalir Katha* in Bengali (Renaissance Publishers, Calcutta).

(2) *On History* (Renaissance Club, Patna) As. 8.

(3) *The Glory That Was Bihar* (Himalaya Press, Patna) As. 8.

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