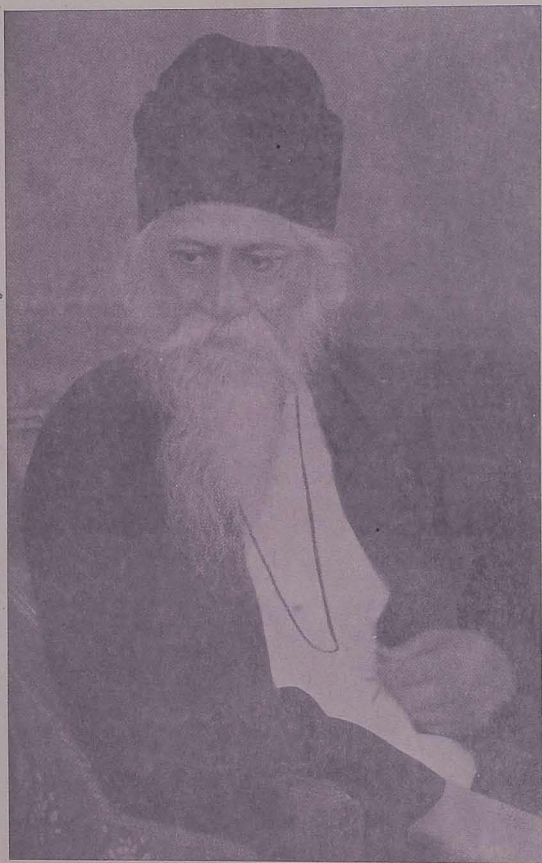


CONGRESS SOUVENIR

RAMGARH

1940

RAMGARH CONGRESS SOUVENIR



RABINDRANATH TAGORE



"UTTARAYAN"
SANTINIKETAN, BENGAL.

Let them desert thee
who are thine own,
be not dismayed.
The tree of thy hope may wither
and the fruit lost,
be not dismayed.
Even if overtaken by dark night
in the middle of thy path
walk on.
Even if thou failest in those efforts
to light the lamp
be not dismayed.
Never go baffled in despair
if gates are shut against thee;
and if they refuse to yield to thy knocks,
be not dismayed.

Feb. 10. 1940

Rabindranath Tagore

A Message

WE are passing through the most critical decisive period of the Political Struggle of India. I would appeal to each and every Congressman and woman to keep two most vital things in view, without which it would not be possible for us to come out of the ordeal of our time successfully :—

1. Whatever the developments might be, we can only face them with dignity and strength, if our organisation is well prepared, and has put an end to internal controversy and conflict. No lover of the Congress and of Indian freedom may do anything which impairs our unity and joint will for action. We have all to rise above our petty selves and become in this crisis of our destiny, true soldiers of India, speaking and acting together with dignity and forbearance, and in accordance with the ideals and principles we have cherished.
2. Full confidence in the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. This is the only leadership which has built up the magnificent past of our movement, and through it alone we can expect to achieve a victorious future.

A. K. Azad

4-3-40

A Message

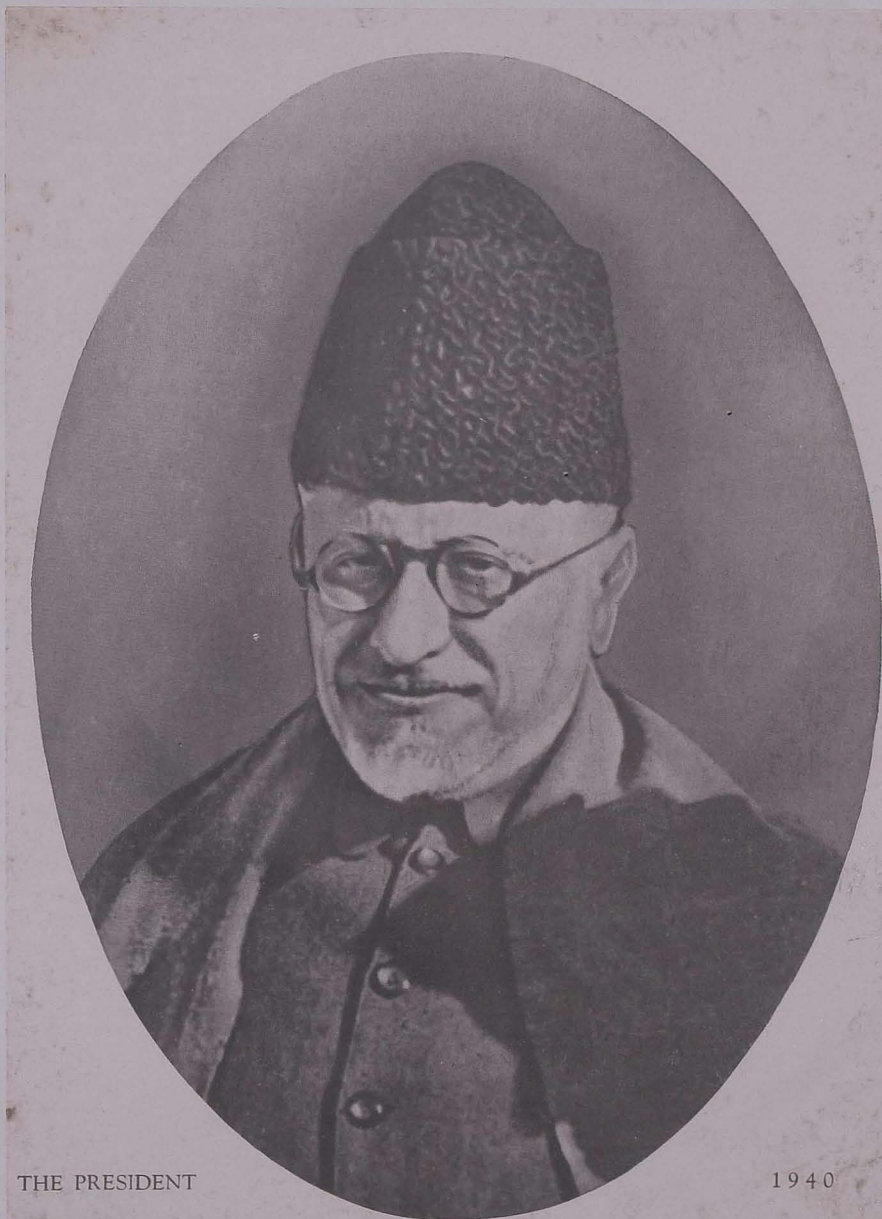
I WELCOME the publication of a Souvenir Volume on the occasion of the Ramgarh Sessions of the Congress. A souvenir inevitably means thinking of what has been. There is a great deal to think about in the past history of the Congress, a great deal to inspire us and a great deal to teach us and warn us. For after all the last 54 years of the Congress are intimately related to half a century's Indian history. And yet, though there is so much to look back, everyone's mind is thinking of the present, of today with its problems and difficulties, rather than of yesterday. And we think of today because it is the prelude of tomorrow. What that tomorrow is going to be here in India as well as in the rest of the world no one can foretell. Vast elemental forces, above and below the surface of ordinary human activity, are shaping destiny, and individuals appear to be helpless agents of these forces. Yet individuals count and often count for a great deal in moments of crisis. Ultimately they count because they put themselves in line with the great forces which are moving humanity. If they do not do so they become ineffective and the world passes on.

Here in India it has become a trite saying for us to go on repeating that we stand at a crisis of our destiny. There have been so many crises, we live in an age of crises. Nevertheless who can doubt that we do stand on the edge of a supreme crisis. That crisis may be and is likely to be a prolonged one.

It is at this stage of war and revolution and crisis that the Ramgarh Congress meets. Those who have in a measure the shaping of our future policy have a terrible burden to carry. In this age of power politics only strength tells in the end and neither the arguments of the lawyer nor the loud shouting carry us far unless behind them lies the strength of an organized nation. We see glimpses of that mighty strength in India. We see also disruption forces trying to weaken that strength. Even the conception of Indian unity is challenged and our demand for independence is made subject to all manner of reservations.

We have to hold to our anchor and stand fast by the essentials that have guided us so far—Indian unity, Indian independence, mass organization and the peaceful way of struggle. We are clear enough about Indian independence but we have to be clearer about the social and economic goal. There is going to be no peace in India or the world unless a new social fabric emerges out of the dissolving structure of modern capitalist imperialism. Let us keep that in mind and build for that so that the hundreds of millions of our people may have the gates of opportunity opened to them and the poverty and ignorance and misery that have persued them for generations past may be driven out from this fair land.

Jawaharlal Nehru



THE PRESIDENT

1940



A Bird's Eye View of Bihar

DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD

The Province of Bihar, as now constituted after the separation of Orissa comprises four divisions each under a Commissioner and sixteen districts. The area of the province is 69,348 sq. miles and the population is 3,23,71,434. It is clearly divisible into two parts by natural features—the northern portion forming part of the Gangetic Valley and the Southern portion forming the Chotanagpur plateau. The Northern portion is entirely agricultural. It has a number of rivers descending from the Himalayas which join the Ganges; chief among which are the Sarjoo or Gogra which comes down from the U. P. and joins the Ganges near Chapra. The Gandak which, after descending from the Himalayas, runs along and forms the boundary between the districts of Saran and Champaran and joins the Ganges near Patna. The Budhi Gandak which after running through Champaran, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, and Monghyr districts join

the Ganges near Khagria, the Bagmati, the Lakhandai, the Kamla, the Jiwach, and last, though not least, the Kosi and a number of other rivers running through the Purnea district. There are also several rivers rising in or passing through the Chotanagpur Plateau and joining the Ganges from the Southern side. Among these the most important are in the Sone, the Kod, the Poonpoo, the Phalgu and a number of others running through the districts of Gaya and Patna. Another set of rivers rises in the Chotanagpur Plateau and cutting across the hills passes into Bengal or Orissa and then to the sea. Of these the most important are the Barakar, the Damodar, the Subarnrekha, the Coosye. The 53rd Session of the Congress is going to be held on the banks of the Damodar.

The Northern portion of the Province is flat and alluvial and hence extraordinarily fertile. The rivers, when they do

not cause havoc by floods and by depositing sand, bring down during the rains fertilising silt. Almost any crop can be grown in these regions but the principal crop is paddy although wheat and maize and other cereals form no inconsiderable part of the agricultural produce. It is also the home of sugarcane and in many parts sugarcane is grown without any irrigation at all. Among other many crops may be mentioned chillies, oil-seeds and tobacco. It is famous for its mangoes and lichis among fruits. It is a mostly densely populated area, the density 969 per sq. mile in the district of Muzaffarpur where it is highest and on an average 852 per sq. mile within the Trihut division. There is hardly any uncultivated land. The area being agricultural has no industries on modern lines except the sugar factories which have grown up during the last few years and manufacture nearly 25 p. c. of the total manufacture of sugar in the country and a rice mill. The only other mentionable factories are the railway workshops at Samastipur (B. N. W. Ry.) and at Jamalpur (E. I. Ry). Among cottage industries weaving forms the most important item. It is prevalent practically throughout the Province and the biggest centres of spinning of the All-India Spinner's Association are also in these parts. The population being immense, large numbers go out to Bengal and Assam and even as far as Burma in search of work, during certain seasons, returning to their homes during the cultivating season. In some parts the people are strong and sturdy and the peasantry is hardworking and intelligent. It has been the backbone of the movement for Swaraj in the Province.

The Southern portion, on the other hand, is hilly and full of jungles. It is not on the whole fertile. Its rivers do not spread

any silt while they run within Bihar as they pass mostly through hilly tracts. But what is wanting on the surface is more than compensated for in the bowels of the earth. There are immense forests, which unfortunately are not developed to the extent they could be. The coal fields are responsible for supplying nearly 50 p.c. of the total output of coal of India as a whole. The iron ore mines and the copper mines supply nearly the whole of the iron ore and copper ore, that are produced in India. We have also a fair share of manganese. In mica we have practically a monopoly not only in the country but in the world. Aluminium is also available though not yet developed. Other metals are also available in more or less quantities. Among the forest products may be mentioned lac seed which also is practically a monopoly of the province, all other province put together producing not more than a small percentage of the total produce.

With metal ore and coal available within reasonable distance of each other, it is natural that factories should have grown up to treat the ore. We have the total iron and steel works, which are the largest in the world, producing something like 6 to 7 lakhs of tons of iron and steel. We have also perhaps the single factory for making copper. A number of subsidiary factories for making various marketable commodities out of steel, are also in existence, such as, a factory for manufacturing agricultural instruments, another for steel wires and nails etc. another for manufacturing tin plates, a fourth for making copper wires and cables etc. Engineering factory manufactures parts of bridges and other articles required for structural purposes. As all kinds of soil are available we have factories for making silica bricks.

The mines in Bihar employ 2,00,000 persons. The ore mines about 40,000, the mica mines about 24,000. The coal mines about a lac and a quarter. The Tata Iron and Steel Co's Factories alone employ nearly 30,000 workers. The sugar factories employ about 20,000 workers. The value of cloth produced on handlooms by weavers was estimated at more than 5 crores at the time of the census of 1921, and it is belived that it has not gone down, if it has not increased.

The Province is thus endowed by nature with all those resources which ought to make it rich. We have very fertile land, ore mines, coal mines, mica mines and factories. And yet it is a fact that the Province is one of the poorest in the country. Large number of men have to migrate temporarily every year in search of work to Bengal and Assam and Burma from North Bihar. A large number go to the tea gardens from South Bihar. The peasantry is hardworking and intelligent and employs methods in agriculture which alone are suited to the tiny holdings into which the cultivable land is divisible. The rent payable to the Zaminders is also not high compared to other provinces where zamindari exists or the revenue payable by the cultivator in the areas where the Government directly deal with the cultivator—the ryotwari area. Cattle, except in some parts and some breeds, are not up to mark, but are capable of doing duty for agriculture and as draft cattle for carts which, inspite of the motor lorry, are still largely holding their own. The communication in the southern portion is good, as metal for making roads is easily available. And the soil being hard and rocky, yields itself to road making. It is not so good in the north although the

milage of roads is great, because road metal is scarce and costly and the soil being sandy or loamy cannot bear much traffic. With all its natural wealth it is one of those paradoxes which are not easily explained that the people should be so poor.

Historically Bihar has a splendid past. It is the birth place of two of the greatest religions of the world, Buddhism and Jainism. The former is an exile from its birth-place but offers solace to hundreds of millions of men and women in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Indo-China, China, Japan, Tibet and Chinese Turkistan. In its heyday it sent its missionaries from Patna (then known as Pataliputra) to Ceylon, where the son and daughter of Asoka, the great Emperor, carried with them a twig or stripling of the sacred Mahabodhi tree, planted it at Anuradhapura and lighted a sacred-lamp. The tree is still there and the light is still burning although three hundred years have elapsed. Later on teachers from the University of Nalanda crossed the Himalayas and carried the religion to Tibet. Those pages of history have not been written which would show by what route and at what exact time the teachings of the Buddha were carried to China and Japan. The very name Bihar is derived from the Vihars of the Buddhist monks.

North Bihar was the house of republics, long before the Christian era commenced and the calumny that India had never known before and is not now fit for democratic form of Governments, has been proved to be entirely unfounded by modern researches of Dr. K. P. Jayaswal about these republics. Bihar also saw the rise of Empires covering practically the whole of India and small tract on the north-

west outside the present boundaries of India. The Empire founded by Chandragupta who successfully resisted the encroachment of Greeks and made more glorious by his successor Asoka, one of the greatest Emperors who ever ruled in this world—greatest not because of the extent of his Empire which too was not small as compared with any ancient or medieval Empire—but more on account of the great ideals he held, preached and practised, was a most remarkable thing that has been seen by human eyes. Its great achievements are enshrined in books of stone in the shape of inscriptions on pillars and slabs of stone, which can be seen even today, not only in Bihar but in distant parts like the N. W. F. P., Gujrat and the Bombay Presidency. The later Empire of the Guptas, which marked the revival of Hinduism after the eclipse it had suffered during the Buddhist period, was again one of the greatest and most glorious that the world has seen. The Emperors were famous not only for their conquests but also for their patronage of arts and knowledge.

Bihar's contribution to philosophy and to letters from mythical times onwards has been splendid. The great king-philosopher to whom Rishis came for lessons and guidance was Janak, the king of Mithila and Videha. It is difficult to fix historically and according to modern standards of research the places where many of the old Rishis lived, and did *tapas* and sang the *richas* and propounded the philosophy of the *Upanishads*. But there can be no doubt that many must have lived in Bihar. Tradition has it that Vishwamitra and Gautam, to name only two, lived at places which are identified. At a later stage Chanakya, the author of Arthsastra, perhaps the most comprehen-

sive work on politics and economics, that exists in Sanskrit, lived in Bihar and was a contemporary of Chandragupta Maurya, the founder of the Maurya Empire. Aryabhatta, who is said to have first discovered that the earth revolves round the sun many centuries before Galileo discovered the truth and suffered for it, lived and taught in Bihar. Of all the achievements of ancient Bihar as the home of republics, the birth place of great religions, the land of *tapasya* of Rishis showing the seat of Mighty Empires and the home of big Universities teaching thousands of students, and of learning and letters are considered, it is not an exaggeration to say that the history of ancient India is but the history of Bihar writ large.

Today we are fallen on evil days. We are backward in education—not more than about 5 or 6 p. c. of the population being literate. Rich in natural resources, we are not able to exploit them to the full. In modern times, till 1912, Bihar did not exist on the map of India as an independent entity and it had practically no place in the politics of India until Mahatma Gandhi's visit five years later. He it was who blew life, as it were, into our dead bodies and bones, and made us stand up like men. In the great political movement, which he has led ever since, Bihar has made her humble contribution, which has been recognised and appreciated by all. If Mahatma Gandhi has instilled life into Bihar, Bihar furnished him the soil for his first experiment in *Truth* and *Ahimsa* in India on a large scale. The obligation is mutual but the benefit is entirely Bihar's and no wonder that she is proud to be led by him and he has a soft corner for her in his memory and in his heart. Bihar's future is great as was her past. Let her sons and

daughters prepare for it with determination and at no distant date, she will not only and humility of heart, with faith in the find her place but also render her duty to the teachings of the great leader and, above the country of which she is only a small all, with faith in themselves and in God, part.



THE OPEN SESSION OF THE CONGRESS

SHRI G. C. SONDHI

Once again, after long labour, we have raised an ephemeral city of huts in the heart of a jungle. People, all over India have waited in eagerness for the annual pilgrimage. The Congress Session has become the central event in not only our public life but our social life as well. A whole province is occupied for the best part of the year in making preparations. Men and women come from far off parts putting by their daily business. Lacs come, though only a few can participate in the councils, as delegates. What draws them is not only the debates and the decisions, but the great gathering itself.

This meeting is strangely fascinating. It is the vision of a cherished dream—vision of a united India, and a common kinship of its various people, that draws these lacs.

It is also a respite that tired and sore workers seek—the respite from strange and sickening tendencies that seek to undo the endeavour of 53 years and weaken us at an hour when we most require our strength. Indiscipline and opposition in our own ranks and setting up of rival camps, across the road unseemly provincial rivalries and the new menace of provincialism. Revival of worn out creeds of caste and religion,

Stubborn and daily deteriorating communalism.

And lastly combination of even mutually antagonistic schools to fight the common enemy, the Congress—the Congress that at least claims to stand for all of them. It is a strange medley of protagonists of Hindu Raj and Muslim Raj, of special interests of Landlords and of Kisans, of Europeans, Harijans, Sikhs, Parsis, Adibasis, Liberals, direct actionists, Communists, disgruntled politicians and unemployed publicans.

A sea of disruptive forces beats against the outer walls. Within is a world of national concord, and an interval of exaltation when differences are minimised and an overwhelming common purpose governs us.

In the daily life at Congress Nagar, in the camps and dinning halls and the beehive of homely activity, men and women of all castes and creeds, provinces and stations in life, live in close comradeship. Even the outer diversity of languages and modes is as good as dissolved.

Here is India in the miniature. One senses the deep and fundamental unity of the people, one people, that is Congress.

In the mammoth meeting in the Open Session Pandal, which is the nucleus of

the whole construction this vision, finds living embodiment.

A vast sea of white clad humanity against a background of hills and the setting sun. A calm sea, conscious of its might, but with an intense under current, a quiver of life and restraint. The canopied rostrum sways it like a moon. Trusted captains speak through the loud speakers, in the stillness of evening stars. Presently there is a break and a thrilling crescendo of applause or disagreement from lacs of throats. The flood-light plays on lacs of eager faces. But it is like one face and one voice.—The face and the voice of the country. Who would miss the exhilaration of the experience in the open session, if he can help it?

This may be a make-believe world, a comradeship of the trenches and realities may presently challenge our mettle.

But in Bihar, at Ramgarh, there is a perspective in time and space, that reduces these "realities" to a transient insignificance. The province is the cradle and grave-yard of mighty Empires. Like the caves at Ajanta it is a picture-gallery and monastery, where pageant of hermit kings and princes with beggar's bowl, has left behind an heritage of mellow philosophy.

Ramgarh takes us even further back to the pristine vigour and simple beauty of an earlier society. It brings us near another part of our people and renews our bonds of kinship with them.

We are reminded of a common life and destiny down the ages and the present differences and dissolutions assume their true proportion.

We differ in the colour of our skin and the shape of our skull, we have set

up different gods and followed different prophets, we have developed various languages and modes and social and political systems, that oppress and antagonise. But in the long passage of history and legend, we have always been treated as one country and one people.

In the strangeness of our environment, we understand that nature has devised this country as a single unit, marked out by mighty barriers of seas and mountains. In the rich variety and distribution of its economic wealth and means of production, its climates and workers, forests, mines and seaports, we see the possibility of an economic unity and a modern planned development; only if the provinces are to be treated as component parts of a great machine co-related and inter-dependent. Defensively also we must be a single country. We cannot build *maginot* lines in sufficient numbers, if territorial divisions, crystalise into rival nations.

Such plans as those of separate Hindu and Muslim zones seem to us here, to be fantasies born out of despair. We no longer bother our head with such jig-saws, as of a "Bi-national tri-lingual, and quinque-partite confederation," each unit in the confederation being a federation of several units within itself. Learned schemes of dismemberment and distinction leave us cold.

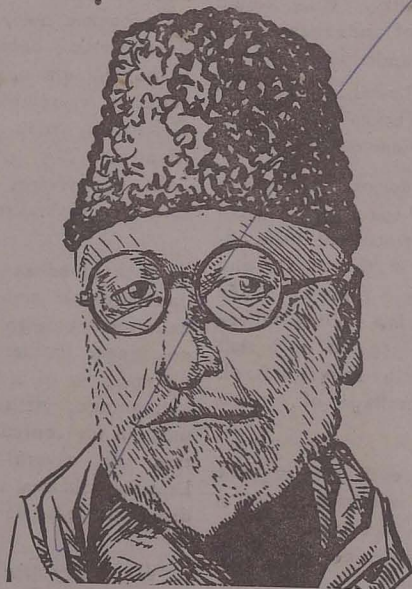
We carry the memory of the face of our people, and their voice. It is to such a purpose that we build elaborate, ephemeral cities every year and travel to them from the four corners. Men made clay gods in the image of their dreams and crossed the Shaharas and the seas in more elusive quests.

THE CONGRESS PRESIDENT

BEGUM F. SAKINA MUAYYIDZADA

For the second time Maulana Abul Kalam Azad has been placed at the helm of the Congress organisation. Irrespective of differences of political opinion, all sections of his countrymen have joined to offer their felicitations to him. The Maulana Sahib has won an eminent position in public life by his

sacrifices and services to the cause of the country. But apart from his unsurpassed political career he commands the respect of the Muslims as a spiritual guide and a leader who by his unique personality can sway millions. An erudite scholar and a speaker of persuasive eloquence, the Maulana has



followers and admirers not only among the religious-minded and the vast masses of the Muslim population but also among the intelligentsia and the younger generation that is daily growing impatient with political bargainings and has a yearning for the

higher idealism that has an irresistible appeal for all true Muslims.

A devout Muslim, true to the spirit of Islam, the Maulana is far removed from the clash and conflict of party-politics.

Politics in its speculative and spiritual aspect appeals to him. In the red-hot passion of party and personal bitterness his serene dignity and philosophic detachment keep at a forbidding distance the dust and soil of worldly politics.

Born at Holy Mecca, receiving his earlier schooling in the tenets of Islam in the University of El Azhar, the Maulana has had the supreme advantage of learning Islamic theology under the best possible auspices. This has shaped and moulded him in the freedom-loving cast of Islam. Unspoiled by religious arrogance or intellectual craftiness his personality stands distinct among those prominent on the political chess-board of India.

Today the world is at the edge of a precipice. Conflict is the order of the day

between nation and nation and ideologies are at death grips for world domination. In India the fundamental problem is that of achieving communal concord and harmony. The Maulana is the symbol of national unity. The task before him is to create an independent and united India, a country where class distinctions and the necessity for the division of spoils of capitalism does not create communal competition red in tooth and claw. The country has reached a significant stage in its political and economic history. A new and happy India is in the process of evolution, a country not only completely free of the British connection but also free from the oppression of class by class and the strife of conflicting interests. It is for the Maulana who is universally revered to lead it forward to its destined goal.



THE ADIBASIS OF CHOTA NAGPUR

PROF. J. C. HAYWARD

(The author is himself an Adibasi on his mother's side).

The Adibasis, or aboriginals of Chota Nagpur, are an ancient race who inhabited India before the Aryans came, before the Vedas were sung on Indian soil in praise of Varuna and the Devas. The Mundas, who include the Hos and the Santals, the Birhors and Bhumij, came from the North. Bolan Pass may be a Mundari term; *bolon* in Mundari means 'entrance'. Even 'Hindu' may be of Mundari origin. *Indi* is a prominent festival of the Mundas, and Aryavarta may have been known to outsiders as the land of the *Indi* people. Or *hinde*, which means 'dark', might have given rise to Hindusthan, as the land of the 'darker' people.

In Chota Nagpur there are five principal tribes known as Adibasis:—Mundas (550,000), Hos (524,000), Santals (9,713,000) Kharias (147,000) and Oraons (638,000). The Oraons are Dravidians and came from the South. They are not strictly speaking, aboriginals of Hindusthan or North India. The Kharias are a race whose origin it is difficult to tell with certainty. They are not of the Munda stock.

The Mundas, the chief tribe, (*Munda* means chief or head) were the leading tribe and in the past ruled over Chota Nagpur. They have traditions of ancient civilization, vestiges of which have come down to this day in their institutions which show how remarkably advanced they were in the art of social and political organisation. Each village was under a Munda or headman, and fifteen to

twenty villages were under one Manki, and a group of Manki *pattis* under one Chief.

The Mundas and Hos placed rectangular slabs of flat stone over the remains of their dead, and the place of burial was called *Sasan*. Only men of one *kili* (gotra) could be buried in one *sasan*. The Santals and the Oraons do not possess this custom. Thus it is easy to trace the path the Mundas followed from the north-southward to the plateaus of Chota Nagpur because they left their *sasans* behind them, as they, slowly, generation after generation, moved on from old settlements to new ones before the advancing tide of Aryan invasion.

The Birhors (2500) and the Khaiais are a dwindling race. *Birhor* means 'men of the forest'. They have neither agriculture nor horticulture. Horticulture, of course, has never been known to the Adibasis. Vegetables, even to the Mundas, mean the edible leaves of the forest or *jungly shak*. Brinjal was perhaps the only vegetable grown by the ancient Mundas, for *bengara* (i.e. baingan) is mentioned in some songs. The Birhors and the wild Kharias do not grow paddy. They procure it from others. They depend on the products of the forests and the mountains. They kill and eat, even field-rats and snakes. They shun all contact with outsiders. The Birhors do not even build houses. They live in leaf-huts, and move from forest to forest.

Worship.

They did not worship the heavenly powers, the cloud, the moon, the wind, the thunder. They were not afraid of the sky. They were afraid of the powers of the mountain, the forest and the river. They worshipped the spirits (*bongas*) of the mountain and the river. Female deities of the water were called Nages (नागे), and most probably the नाग of Hindu mythology was borrowed from Mundas and changed into serpent-deity of the river. Only the Singbonga lived above. The Singbonga may be the sun (सिंगी is sun). The Adibasis never personified the forces of nature nor attributed any powers to them. Thunder, for which there is no one word, was not the voice of a god, but रिस्विल साड़ी merely the sounding of the clouds. Men, too, were never deified nor sainted. They had no conception of God and religion. They lived on this earth and the souls of the dead remained on this earth as bongas. As they had no hereafter, there could be no actions meritorious or otherwise. Social conventions alone governed their conduct. The worship of the bongas also is not spiritual but purely material. They trace all physical illness, disease of the cattle, blight of crops to the displeasure of the spirits, and *poojahs* are made at once to appease them. There are 'Sokhas' among them who can divine and tell which particular bonga has been displeased, and he prescribes the special kind of sacrifice—whether a white goat, a black hen or a young pig.

Festivals.

Being mainly an agricultural people their festivals are associated with that pursuit. They have three chief tribal festivals—Mage, Fa-ago, Ba-a (सागे, फाअगु, बा). Mage is celebrated in the month of Magh when

their granaries are full. They feel grateful for the blessings of the harvest, and after their labours in the fields all through the rains, they are in a mood to make merry. New clothes are put on, and dainty eating and copious drinking of rice-beer form the chief part of the celebrations. Fa-ago is observed in Falgun and is associated with hunting. Then the tribal hunts are organised called the Fa-ago *Sendaras*. At night *erandi* and edel (*Salimali*) trees are set on fire, and young men rush at them attempting to cut them down at one stroke. This is a reminiscence of their old fighting days. Ba-a (Sarhul) or Flower is their greatest festival when married women return to their parents' houses to observe the festival in the home of their childhood. It celebrates the *sarajom ba* (sal flower) and the *sura sangen* (new sal shoots), and may be interpreted as rejoicing at the advent of Spring. Men and women, young and old, take part in the rejoicings. Sal flowers are brought from the jungles and libations of rice-beer (*ili*) are poured to the sacred deity of the Sal Flower (*Ba Jair*) in the *Sarna* (sacred grove).

*Ba taing me ga neang, ba taing me ho ;
Dali taing me ga napang, dali taing me.*

बा तग मे गा नेयं वा तँग मे हो ।

डली तँग मे गा नपं डली तँग मे ॥

*Sarajom ba te neang ba taing me ho ;
Sura sangen te ga napang dali taing me,*

सरजोम बा ते नेयं वा तँग मे हो ।

सूडा संगेन ते गा नपं डली तँग मे ॥

Decorate me, O mother, with flowers,
with flowers decorate me ;
Crown my head, O father, with blossoms,
crown my head.

With *Sal flowers*, O mother, decorate me ;
With new *sal* shoots, crown my head,
O father, crown my head.

(Continued to page 14)

ADIBASIS

Departed Glory



Ekasi ko piri re do rutu teko sesen tana,
rutu teko sesen tana.

Terasi ko badi re do banam teko tudang tana,
banam teko tudang tana.

Rutu teko sesen tana, rutu chuti hula : jana,
rutu chuti, hula : jana ;

Banam teko tudang tana, banam dandi dorang jana,
banam dandi dorang jana.

On the uplands of Ekasi, men walk to the music
of the flute, to the music of the flute ;

On the plains of Terasi, men journey on to the
tune of the violin, to the tune of the violin.

They walk to the music of the flute, but alas, the
top of the flute is broken, the top of the
flute is broken

They journey on to the tune of the violin, but alas,
the handle of the violin is shattered,
the handle of the violin is shattered.

This is a reminiscence of those days when the Mundas
lived in the North in plenty and prosperity. But a time
came when they had to leave their home of happiness,
and to move on in search of new shelter.



SONGS

Romance & Reality

Nata mata birko tala re nalo hom nirja baginga,
Ramekan marecha re nalo hom nojor rarainga.

Kachi hom nele ledinga sengel lekaing juletan re ?
Kachi hom china ledinga da : lekaing lingi tan re ?

Kage chowaing nele led me, note redo note dudgar,
Kage chowaing china led me, sirma redo sirma kowansi. •

In the midst of a dense forest, O youth, don't
run away and leave me behind,

In a long and wide heath, O youth, do not desert
me and flee away.

Saw you not me, O youth, when I gleamed like flame ?

Beheld you not me, O youth, when I flowed like water ?

Truly I saw you not, for on earth loomed the
rushing dust storm;

Verily I had beheld thee not, for the sky was
clouded by skyey mist.



(Continued from page 11)

The Ba-a is celebrated on the 5th moon-day of Chait, when the sal trees are in flower, and dancing takes place day and night for two days, all work being rigorously suspended. On the third day is Gira-Ba (giri is to throw away), when the sacrificial flowers are taken in a dancing procession outside the village and cast away. This is the last phase of their rejoicings. Now comes Summer and semi-starvation, then the labours of ploughing and sowing again.

Amusement

Dancing is the chief form of amusement, and is resorted to not only during festivals but all the year round after the evening supper is over. They do not dance in the time except during some festivals. Every village has a public *akhra*. Girls staring themselves in a line and circle round the *akhra*; men move in the centre, some singing, some sounding the drums. Their songs are sweet, and dancing graceful. They do not dance for public entertainment. The 'kol' dance that is shown in the towns is not the dance of the Mundas proper, but belongs to a group of tribal people inhabiting the neighbourhood of Ranchi who, though of Dravidian blood (Oraons) speak a variation of Mundari, and are known as Kols. The mode of dancing and singing differs with each tribe. But all attend the dances, young and old.

Songs

The Mundari songs are all poetical, and have for their central subject love, or friendship between man and maiden. They are almost without exception refined in sentiment. There are some songs which are historical and speak of the old days of the people, of their ancient home, of wars and battles with aliens, of huntings and trade. They are filled with a deep spirit of pathos, and speak of 'the far away', the charm that is beyond

attainment. They sing of vanished youth and beauty, the inevitable changes of fortune, separation of loved ones, death of parents, orphaned young men and girls, of flowers, of green sal shoots. Flowers, birds, springs, however, are not introduced into song except to throw light on human situations. A girl is never absent from a song. In some way or other she is mentioned. She is the one object of a young man's desire and longing, the loved and the adored one.

Kilis (totems)

The Mundas and the Oraons are divided into different kilis or gotras. In some parts each kili has its ruling system under its '*parha raja*'; and on the analogy of the Hindu system, has its dewans, Lals, and mantris. Moral offences are tried and punished by *parha panchayets*. Marriage within the kili is strictly prohibited. Some of the kilis among the Mundas are—Horo (tortoise), Dungdung (fish), Baba (paddy); among Sonnals—Murmu, Marandi, Tudu; among Hos-Soso, Halang, Sandi; among Oraons—Khalkho, Tigga, Kujur, Tirki.

Language

The Munda language belongs to the Austric group of languages and includes Mundari, Santali, Bhumij, Birhor, Ho, Turi, Asuri and Korwa dialects, all in Chota Nagpur. Like Greek and Sanskrit it has three numbers. Words are mostly group words, group of pictures or ideas combined into one. The language of the Oraons is Dravidian having no affinity with the Munda languages. The Kharias speak their own tongue.

Giti : Ora :

Bachelors' Dormitories are institutions peculiar to the Mundas and Oraons. Boys and girls, when they grow up, do not sleep in the parents' houses. Some one house in the village is used as a common dormitory

—*giti : ora* : (sleeping house)—one for boys, one for girls. The owner of the house has but a normal supervision over the young folk who are unfettered in their movements in the night. Among the Oraons the dormitory is called *Dhumkuria*, which is a sink of filth. It is a separate building, specially instituted for the young people. Here the Dhangar young men are initiated into the art of dancing and hunting.

Kinship

The *adibasis* posses only four terms, each of which indicates one and one person only : (1) father, (2) mother, (3) husband, (4) wife. Father's elder brother (in Munda) and his wife are *gungus*. Mother's elder sister and her husband are *gungus*. Father's younger brother and his wife are *kaka, kaki*, Mother's younger sister and her husband are *hatom, kuma*. Mother's brother and his wife are *kuma, hatom*. It goes on like this at all removes.

Burus-melas

As in other parts of India, the *adibasis* also have *melas* during the winter after the harvest has been gathered in. They are called *burus* (mountain gatherings). They are not fairs where things are bought and sold, but where men and women assemble to sing and dance, and meet. People come from great distances, and it is at these burns that friends separated in their youth find a chance of meeting some time again in life. There are many songs which celebrate the pathos of these chance re-unions.

Hunting

Being forest-dwellers hunting is a great pastime with all the *adibasis*; and consequently the Mundas, Santals and Hos are fearless fighters. They have stood against and charged even in the face of British gun fire. When men return from their tribal huntings their feet are washed by women

as a mark of reverential welcome. Men were so welcomed as heroes when they returned from tribal battles in the days of old. Even when a guest arrives at any house from a distance his feet are washed with cold water.

Movements

The Mundas and Santals have had *sabhas* from earley times, but not so the Oraons. About the year 1915 the Munda *Unnati Samaj* was converted into *Chota Nagpur Unnati Samaj* and Oraons became its leader. In 1937 this was again changed into the *Adibasi Sabha* including the Oraons, Mundas, Kharias, Hos and Santals. The leaders came from among the Oraons, and the Mundas followed them en bloc. The Oraon leaders toured the Munda country incessantly and preached the message of deliverence from the intruders in the *Adibasi* tracts and of resistance to *Adibasi* expropriation, exploitation and neglect. Later on Mr. Jaipal Singh joined the movement and became its President. Mr. Jaipal Singh is a Munda who received his education at Oxford, the only Munda who has received foreign education. In 1937 was started at Hazaribagh the *Munda-Santal-Ho Sabha* under the leadership of Prof J. C. Hayward, which confined its activities to social matters, and for political purposes is within the *Adibasi Sabha*. Recently a small section of non-Christian Oraons have set up a *Sanatan Adibasi Sabha* which endeavours to safeguard the interests of the non-Christians. But in fact there is no danger of any clashing of interests between the Christian *Adibasis*.

Education

The *Adibasis* are almost all illiterate, except among the Mundas and the Oraons where the Christian Missionaries have weaned

a certain proportion from ignorance. There are many graduates among Mundas and Oraons to-day, and girls are as keen as boys to receive school as well as college education.

Economic Life

The Mundas seem to have been agriculturists from the beginning. (To plough) **सीधः (सी)** Sanskrit **सि** is a Munda term not Aryan. In Annamite 'cay' is to plough. **सीता** in the Ramayana may be **सीतैः** 'ploughed up from the earth.' And Siva may be from **सीधः**. The cult of procreation is evident in these myths. Janaka is procreator, and Siva too. Primitive people are proverbially innocent, frank and simple. A natural urge to tell the truth, to trust everybody, to keep plighted troth, are some of the salient marks of their nature. On account of this they have proved the most lovable people to outsiders, and also the most easy prey to exploitation. As they live on hill sides, and as the fat lands have been appropriated by Zaminders, Ganjhus, Baraiks, Rajas, they till soil which is completely denuded of fertility. From this they extract the barest means of subsistence, and live on the verges of starvation. They cannot pay their rents in cash. Consequently every year the Khas Mahal and private landlords have them steadily selling away their lands for default of rent payment. This has caused a

huge exodus of the *Adibasis* to labour areas like Assam and Bhutan where they receive employment in plantations.

Ramgarh

Where the Indian National Congress is holding its plenary session this year, was one of the seven famous strongholds of the Munda chiefs during their period of sovereignty in Jharkhanda. The river Damodar was originally Damu-da: (da: is water). Ramgarh was Ram-gara **रामगड़ा** (गड़ा is river), like **कूदागड़ा**, **डुन्डीगड़ा**, **बारूगड़ा**, **कुदा** (जामुन) **बारू** (कुसुम). There is an ancient song where **रामगड़ा** is celebrated.

Dundigara Dukhansai kaho-e; boroya,
Ramgara Ratansai kaho-e nekelao a.

Dukhansai of Dundigara, O comrade, cannot be terrified (or knows no fear of the enemy);

Ratansai of Ramgara cannot be shaken (or does not quail).

It sings of the fearless courage and warlike intrepidity of the chiefs of Dundigara and Ramgara. There was a time when the Mundas called Jharkhanda their own, but today they are fallen. They are called backward and primitive, but with all this they are descendants of glorious ancestors. Today they live in abject poverty and are down-trodden. But the coming of Swaraj may once again restore them to happiness and prosperity.

CONGRESS HEADQUARTER OF BIHAR



SADAKAT ASRAM
PATNA

Inset

Top :—Late Moulana Mazharul Haq, whose honoured name the Congress Nagar bears

Left :—Late Deepnarayan Singh of Bhagalpur, one of the makers of modern Bihar

Right :—Late Nibaran Chandra Das Gupta of Purulia, the saintly leader of Bihar



THEY BEAUTIFIED RAMGARH

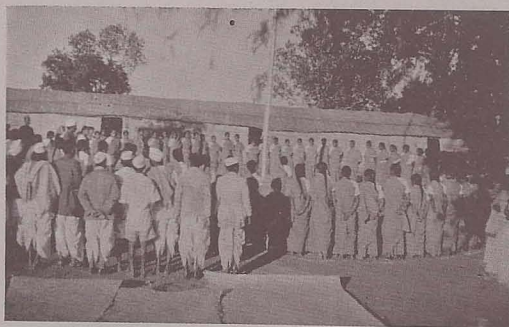
- Back Row* :—1. Shri Kapildeo Narayan
 2. Shri Dinesh Bakshi
 3. Shri Mahabir Prasad Verma
 4. Shri Brajnandev Prasad Verma
- Front Row* :—1. Shri Upendra Maharathi
 2. G. S. Kapadia
 3. Kartic Chandra Paul



SOME PROMINENT LADY WORKERS

- Left to Right* :—1. Kumari Tara Patwardhan
 2. Kumari Indumati Gunaj
 3. Kumari Premakantak
 4. Shrimati Sarala Debi
 5. Shrimati Bheoza Bhatavarekar

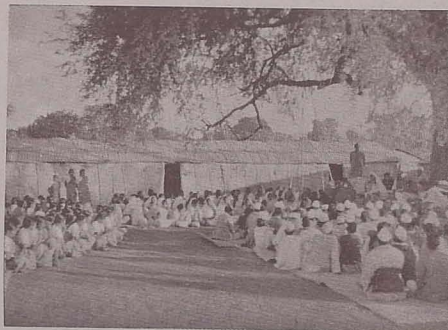
FLAG
SALUTATION



RAMGARH



Deshsevika in Drill



A Congress_Nagar_Lecture



BY
SADIK ALI
 Office Secretary, A. I. C. C.

The All India Congress Committee Office is asked to give a bare, unvarnished record of the events that have filled the Congress year of 1939. So important and eventful has been the year that even a bare record, unburdened by commentary, will run to considerable length and occupy a disproportionate space of the souvenir volume. I will however try to make the summary as concise as I can manage.

DEAD-LOCK IN THE CONGRESS

The Tripuri session was over but the controversies connected with the Presidential election continued. There seemed to be no end to these controversies, bitter and futile though these were. They were greatly undermining the Congress organisation and befogging the public mind. They took our mind off from vital and real problems and engaged it in meaningless recriminations. This was a highly unhealthy and unsatisfactory state of affairs and a way had to be found for ending

it. It was hoped that the correspondence which Subhas Babu, the Congress President started with Gandhiji in pursuance of Pandit Pant's resolution at Tripuri will yield the desired results and the unhappy chapter will be closed. Nothing of the kind however happened. The correspondence only served to reveal more clearly the wide gulf that separated the President and Mahatma Gandhi. With differences so deep, Mahatma Gandhi urged that the best course for Subhas Babu would be to form a Working Committee of his free choice, formulate his programme and submit it to the verdict of the A. I. C. C. If the A. I. C. C. approved of it, he could go ahead and work out his policies. Subhas Babu was, however, averse to taking this bold course. In his view a composite cabinet provided the best solution of the tangle—half the cabinet to consist of his nominees and the other half of the nominees of the other group. The General Secretary was to be a man of his choice. This solution

coupled with the policies he wanted to advocate viz. launching of a struggle in the country after a six months' ultimatum to the British Government and a forward drive on a comprehensive scale on the States did not commend itself to Gandhiji.

A meeting of the A. I. C. C. was called in Calcutta on May 1, and the following dates. There were prolonged conversations between the President, Subhas Chandra Basu and the old Guard before the tangle was referred to the A. I. C. C. The conversations proved abortive. The A. I. C. C. met to consider the grave situation. The President explained to the house how matters stood and asked for its guidance. To make it easier for the Committee to arrive at a proper solution he tendered resignation of his Presidentship. This necessitated the election of a new President. Pandit Jawaharlal wanted to avoid this unpleasant necessity. He moved a proposition requesting Subhas Babu to withdraw his resignation and nominate afresh the old Working Committee. He explained how provision will be made for the infusion of fresh blood into the Committee. The proposition not being acceptable to Subhas Babu, was dropped.

Subhas Babu having resigned, Shrimati Sarojini Naidu presided as being the senior-most ex-President. The A. I. C. C. proceeded with the election of a new President. Babu Rajendra Prasad was proposed and accepted by the house.

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

An important meeting of the A. I. C. C. was called at Bombay in June to consider constitutional changes recommended by the Constitution Committee consisting of the President, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. B. Patlabhi Sitarammayya, Acharya Narendra Deo and J. B. Kripalani appointed at the Calcutta meeting of the A. I. C. C. Among

the important changes recommended were (i) permanent membership, (ii) maintenance by every district Congress of a register of such permanent members, (iii) no member to be eligible for election as a delegate to the Congress or as a member of a Provincial or a District Committee unless he has been a member of the Congress for three consecutive years, (iv) the Working Committee to be authorised to declare the members of any organisation, the object or programme of which involves political activities which are in conflict with those of the Congress, ineligible for membership of any elective committee, (v) appointment of a Provincial Election Tribunal and District Election Tribunals and (vi) two-thirds of the number of the seats of the A. I. C. C. to be filled territorially by the delegates by single vote and the remaining one-third to be filled by all the delegates assembled. These recommendations received the careful consideration of the Working Committee. Most of the recommendations were such as were likely to receive the more or less unanimous assent of the A. I. C. C. But there were one or two recommendations, one relating to a change in the article IV authorising the object or programme which in the opinion of the Working Committee is in conflict with those of the Congress, ineligible for membership of Congress elective Committees, and the other to a change in the method of the election for the A. I. C. C. members—round which controversy raged. Our Socialist friends were averse to these changes as they were likely, in their opinion, to affect them adversely. It was the opinion of Gandhiji and the Working Committee that no changes should be passed which were opposed by large section of Congressmen. These recommendations were therefore dropped.

The A. I. C. C. passed these recommendations of the Constitution Committee

as also some changes suggested by the Working Committee viz. (i) fixed constituencies and (ii) not less than 500 primary members to elect one delegate.

It was obvious that these changes by themselves were not enough to ensure the necessary purity of our organisation. They could at best check and prevent technical irregularities. The real remedy lay in the strength of character of individual Congressmen and Congress women.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

The question of release of political prisoners in the non-Congress provinces of Bengal and the Punjab has been exercising our minds ever since the Congress assumed ministerial offices. The release of prisoners was among the earliest measures undertaken by the Congress Governments. But what could we do with the non-Congress Governments? It was their plain and obvious duty to do this belated justice by the patriots who rotted in jails for the sake of the country or for no offence—as was the case with the detenus—of which they were not aware. But the popular Governments were impervious. There was resentment in the provinces. Gandhiji espoused the cause with his characteristic zeal. He had prolonged consultations with the Bengal Government. Some prisoners were released but some still remained behind the bars. Driven by desperation 80 political prisoners went on hunger-strike. This created a tense situation in the country. The Congress President, and Shri Mahadeo Desai on behalf of Mahatma Gandhi, pleaded on the one hand with the prisoners to give up hunger-strike and, on the other, with the Bengal Government to respond to the fair demand of these prisoners. Nothing could move the latter from its bureaucratic ways. The prisoners responded to the appeal of Bose brothers and suspended their strike.

They were given an assurance that the Bengal P.C.C. will take necessary steps including direct action to secure their release.

DISCIPLINARY ACTION AGAINST S. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE—DEMONSTRATIONS ON

JULY 9

Shri Subhas Chandra Bose, the ex-President of the Congress and now the president of the newly-formed Forward Bloc fixed July 9 for an All-India protest against two resolutions passed by the A. I. C. C. at its meeting in Bombay in May 1939. The resolutions related one to "Satyagrah in the Provinces" and the other to "the relation between the Congress Ministries and P.C.Cs." The resolutions were passed by a large majority after an exhaustive discussion. It was expected that the decisions democratically arrived at will be obeyed by all Congressmen, at least Congress Committees and office-bearers. But the contemplated public demonstrations in July and Subhas Babu calling upon all and sundry to join them, threatened to create an extra-ordinary situation. If Congress Committees and office-bearers were allowed to organise public protests against decisions of a superior body there will be an end to all discipline and the Congress will go to pieces. If the Districts protest against the P. C. Cs., the P. C. Cs. against A. I. C. C., the A. I. C. C. against the open session, the whole fabric of the Congress organisation, built up with so much labour and sacrifice, will dissolve into chaos and anarchy will prevail all round. The Congress President saw the danger and wrote to Subhas Babu to that effect. Subhas Babu ignored the warning. Demonstrations were held on the appointed day. These demonstrations coupled with the open breach of the specific direction of the Congress President not to hold them created an exceedingly delicate situation. The Working Committee gave its careful

consideration as also the explanation given by Subhas Babu. It decided that Subhas Babu committed a breach of discipline in that he deliberately disobeyed the specific direction of the Congress President. It was open to him to appeal afterwards to the A. I. C. C. or open session if he differed from the President's ruling. As a Congressman he was bound to obey the President's instructions when received. There will be perfect anarchy in the Congress if the view was to prevail that every Congressman was free to interpret the Congress constitution as he liked. The Working Committee, therefore, came to the painful conclusion that for this grave act of indiscipline Subhas Babu be declared disqualified as President of the Bengal P. C. C. and to be a member of any elective Congress Committee for three years as from August 1939.

DIGBOI STRIKE

The strike of workers at Digboi attracted wide-spread attention in the country. Digboi is situated in Assam, where the Assam Oil Company has its oil-fields and refining plant. The Government of Assam appointed a Court Of Enquiry to investigate disputes between the Company and the Labour Union. It was expected that during the inquiry and while negotiations were in progress *status quo* would be maintained. But the company thought otherwise and it discharged some 63 workers in several batches during the pendency of the inquiry and subsequent discussions. On the discharge of each batch the company sent strongly-worded protests indicating that its hands would be forced if they did not withdraw their offensive. The protests were not heeded and batch after batch was discharged. The Union answered it by a strike. It was a remarkable strike in that every worker whether working directly under the company or under a contractor participated. The strike was declared on

April 3. It was on when the Working Committee and the A. I. C. C. were in session in Bombay. The President, Babu Rajendra Prasad and others had before them, made earnest efforts to bring about a satisfactory settlement of the strike but they were not successful. The Working Committee gave earnest consideration to the issues involved in the strike and exchanged telegrams with parties concerned to see if an amicable settlement was possible. The employers proved adamant. They neither agreed to accept the minimum demands of labour nor refer the dispute to arbitration. When these friendly approaches failed, the Working Committee passed a resolution—which the A. I. C. C. passed unanimously—regretting that the Assam Company should have rejected the modest suggestion of referring the question of the method and time of re-employment of the strikers to a Conciliation Board to be appointed by the Government of Assam. The Committee was of the opinion that no corporation, however, big and influential it may be, can be above public criticism or Government supervision and legitimate control. The Committee advised the Assam Government to undertake legislation for making the acceptance of the decision of Conciliation Boards obligatory and further to give notice to the Company that the Company may reluctantly be obliged to take steps to stop renewal of the lease to the Company on its termination.

INDIANS IN CEYLON

A crisis was brewing in Ceylon. The Ceylon Government adopted some discriminatory measures which resulted in the dismissal of about 10,000 Indian employees. The measure was undertaken with the ostensible object of relieving pressure of unemployment. But why racial discrimination? There was resentment in Ceylon as also in India. The Congress was flooded with re-

presentations to intervene and avert a crisis. The A. I. C. C. which met in Bombay and the Working Committee considered the situation. They were averse to taking any step which will put a strain on the friendly relations of the two ancient neighbours. They deputed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to go and solve the little problem in a friendly way. Ceylon has a fascination for Pandit Jawaharlal and *vice versa*. He had friendly and cordial talks with the Ministers. He addressed large public gatherings every where. He pleaded for sympathy, imagination and vision. The Ministers, however, inspite of the earnest appeals of Pandit Nehru, could not see their way to make major changes in the scheme of dismissal and repatriation. Pandit Jawaharlal submitted a report to the Working Committee of his visit to Ceylon. The Committee regretted that the Ceylon Government did not think it fit to make major changes in the measures against Indian employees. While they were averse to doing anything which put a strain on the varied bonds which united the two countries, they were regretfully compelled to be of the opinion that all future emigration of labour from India to Ceylon must be completely stopped.

SOUTH AFRICA

A grave situation was developing in South Africa also. Legislation was sought to be enacted by the Union Government prohibiting the sale of land to Indians under certain conditions. The Government of India as usual showed weakness. It protested alright but nothing beyond that. The burden of espousing the cause of our nationals here also fell on the Congress. The A. I. C. C. in Bombay issued an appeal to the Union Government to desist from the contemplated legislation and honour the solemn undertakings of its predecessors. If the appeals failed and Indians there were obliged to resort to civil resistance they will have the support and backing of the Congress.

The latest we have from South Africa confirms our fears. Drs. Mallan and Hartzog are making common cause against Indians. General Smuts, it is understood, is resisting the pressure from these two gentlemen. We have, however, to keep vigilant.

COMMUNAL PROBLEM

We know how efforts to solve the Hindu-Muslim problem in 1938 failed. Mr. Jinnah formulated impossible and irrelevant conditions for a settlement. When the negotiations failed the Muslim League had nothing to fall back upon except propaganda.

In their official resolutions, on the platform, and in the press, the Muslim League carried on a regular propaganda against the Congress, especially the Congress governments in the 8 provinces. They were accused of a set design to establish Hindu Raj and crush the culture and religion of the Mussalmans of India and annihilate their political and economic rights. The accusers were repeatedly challenged to produce instances of their communal tyranny and domination. Vague and indefinite allegations, one-sided stories, distortions and exaggerations were the only answers given to this challenge. Singing of *Vande Mataram*, flying of the national flag on public institutions, popularisation of Hindustani and such like activities were instanced as attempts to crush their culture. It is true these activities were indulged in by Congressmen but they little thought that any religious or communal objection could be urged against the Congress flag being flown on public or semi-public buildings or the *Vande Mataram* being sung in public functions. No objections had been raised hitherto, communal or otherwise, against these activities. These objections suddenly sprang into being with the assumption of administration by the Congress in the seven provinces. The song and the flag were symbols of the nation's revolt against servitude. It was,

therefore, natural that with the assumption of the responsibilities of administration in seven provinces these symbols should acquire added significance and receive special prominence in public functions. When it was found that they were objected to by a section of the Muslim community, special care was taken to limit their use and avoid all occasions calculated to give rise to misunderstanding and controversy.

There were other charges of all sorts made against the Congress administrations. The Council of the Muslim League appointed a special Committee to collect these charges and produce a report. A report was produced popularly called the Pirpur Report. The Congress governments issued *communiqués* giving detailed replies to these charges and proving their falsity and baselessness. But despite these denials there was no abatement in the Muslim League propaganda against the Congress Ministries and the Congress High Command. The incessant circulation of vague and disproved charges of a very atrocious kind tended to rouse passions and embitter relations between the two great communities of India. This was a highly unhealthy state of affairs; some way had to be found for ending it.

The war crisis served to lend increased importance to the communal problem. Mr. Jinnah saw his opportunity. The atrocities stunt was reviewed in an intenser form. It was irrelevantly introduced into the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Muslim League on the War crisis. Babu Rajendra Prasad wrote to Mr. Jinnah that the charges were wholly unfounded. The Congress Governments have published denials. If the charges were persisted in let them be inquired into by any impartial tribunal. To this Mr. Jinnah replied that the matter had been referred to the Viceroy for his

inquiry. The Viceroy, however, ordered no inquiry and the circulation of lies continued. It poisoned the relations between the two communities, while making impossible a common approach to the political crisis facing the country.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru resumed personal contacts with Mr. Jinnah to see if some way out of the intricate tangle was possible. He was disappointed. The communal problem, however, was not discussed at all. Mr. Jinnah wanted to defer it to a later date in Bombay.

The failure of these repeated attempts by the Congress Working Committee to solve the Hindu-Muslim problem made it despair of any settlement with the Muslim League. The British Government was not slow to take advantage of our failure. The difficulty with the Congress was that it did not know what exactly the demands of the Muslim League were. Irrelevant 'conditions precedent' were flung in our face whenever negotiations were started. The Congress Working Committee has, therefore, come to realize now that the only way to solve the communal problem as also the wider problem of Indian freedom is the Constituent Assembly. This way too may fail but, for the present, no other way is visible. Given reasonableness and a real desire to solve the problem on the part of all the parties that will constitute the Constituent Assembly, there is no reason why this way should fail. The Congress has pleaded amplest safeguards to the minorities. Muslims will have representation on it to the full extent of their numerical strength in the country through separate electorate if they so desired. Seats may be reserved for other accepted minorities. It will be special responsibility of the Constituent Assembly to frame safeguards to the

satisfaction of the minorities. Matters, whereon agreement is not possible, will be referred to an International Tribunal.

The Congress Ministries resigned in the first week of October. They functioned altogether for two years and some months. We give here a brief statement in figures of the benefits that have accrued to the people through the various legislative and executive measures of the Congress Governments since the Tripuri session of the Congress.

These benefits were not confined to any particular community but were for the general mass of the people. In Bombay alone the public, specially the poor, gained about seven crores annually. In addition to this the peasants gained about 40 crores owing to the Debt Redemption legislation.

The figures of U. P. show an annual advantage to the people of 17 crores. The land legislation by which the peasants got hereditary rights in their holdings and other advantages benefitted them to the neighbourhood of about 100 crores. We have not received the figures for Bihar but the advantage to the public there has been as great. In smaller provinces proportionate relief has been afforded to the poor. All this has been accomplished in the narrow field of provincial finances when the Governments worked under great handicaps—financial and political.

The figures given here are not exhaustive. They represent only a minor part of the benefits conferred by Congress Governments. Their activities in field of literacy, village uplift and social amelioration of the people have been as fruitful.

Cash-Value of some of the Benefits occurring from the measures adopted by the U. P. Congress Government

Serial No.	Item	Recurring per annum Rs.	Non-recurring Rs.	Serial No.	Item	Recurring per annum Rs.	Non-recurring Rs.
A.	Under the U. P. Tenancy Bill:					4,12,00,000	1,88,51,74,000
	(1) By stoppage of Nazrana and illegal cesses.	3,00,00,000		I.	Cash value of benefit conferred by opening seed stores.	25,00,000	
	(2) Value of trees acquired by the tenants		5,00,00,000	J.	By fixation of prices of sugarcane, 1938-39	2,00,00,000	
	(3) Appreciation of the value of tenants' holding.		1,00,00,000		1939-40	6,00,00,000	
B.	Remission of Stayed Arrears Act.: Arrears of rent for three years ending with <i>Kharif</i> 1344 fasli		9,00,00,000	K.	On account of Governmental measures for helping sugar industry in the province. Annual savings.	3,00,00,000	
C.	Under stamp and court-fees on account of the Stay of execution proceedings etc.: 1937-38 Rs. 25,00,000 1938-39 Rs. 35,00,000 1939-40 Rs. 30,00,000		9,00,000	L.	On account of measures adopted for effecting improvements in <i>Gur</i> Industry.	2,00,00,000	
D.	Land Revenue. Remission in revenue (1) to landlords. (2) to tenants.	3,57,00,000 10,71,00,000		M.	Additional scholarships to boys belonging to depressed classes. (1) Boys (2) Fees of indigent boys and girls of the schedule castes in all educational institutions.	2,10,000	
E.	Distribution of relief on account of famine and flood.:		4,84,000	N.	Expenditure on Educational Expansion.	2,20,000	
F.	Remission of Irrigation dues:		9,90,000	O.	Expenditure on Rural Development.	40,31,000	
G.	Under excise on account of the introduction of prohibition in certain areas.:	1,00,00,000			Total Rs.	17,71,61,000	
H.	Revision of the salaries and leave and pension of the inferior Govt. servants.	12,00,000					Rs. 1,88,51,74,000
	Total carried to next column	4,12,00,000	1,88,51,74,000				

BOMBAY

ITEM	Cash value of the benefit per annum accruing to the public Rs.
1. Prohibition: The Government losing Rs. 180,00,000.	5,00,00,000
2. As a result of the recommendation of the Textile Inquiry Committee adopted by the Congress Government.	95,00,000
3. Amendment of the land Revenue Code.	30,00,000
4. Debt Redemption bill.	30 to 50 crores of rupees (non-recurring).

ORISSA

ITEM	Cash value of the benefit Rs.
1. Orissa Tenancy Act.	4,00,000
2. The Madras Estates Land Act Amendment Bill (awaiting the Viceroy's assent).	10,00,000
3. Water rate in North Orissa under the Mahanadi system was reduced by 25% as a permanent measure from 1938. The canal irrigation system is extended.	
4. Grazing fee is reduced in all government forests by 50%. New conveniences are made available in South Orissa.	
5. Labour: The system of unpaid labour and <i>rasad</i> are abolished. The Orissa Money-lenders' Act was passed by which among other things no money-lender could recover more than an equal amount of the principal as interest.	
6. The Orissa Court Fees Act was passed which reduces scales of court fees in South Orissa.	
7. Prohibition of Opium was introduced in the district of Balasore.	

ASSAM

ITEM	Cash value of the benefit Rs.
1. The grant of from 21.5% to 31.25% remission in the land revenue assessment for 1938-39.	28 lakhs (non-recurring)
2. Flood relief operations.	8 lakhs.
3. Education: An additional grant of	2.80 lakhs.
4. 1939-40 Remission.	42 lakhs.
5. Prohibition: Total prohibition of opium was introduced in Dibrugarh and Sibsagarh subdivisions from April 15, 1939. The experiment was welcomed with enthusiasm. Many voluntary agencies sprang up to push forward the campaign. A large number of treatment centres and temporary hospitals were opened where the addicts were treated by trained doctors. About 10,000 registered and over 5000 unregistered addicts were cured of the opium habit. Loss of revenue from sale of opium is estimated at 4½ Lakhs and the cost of the campaign at 1 lakh.	

MADRAS

ITEM	Cash value of the benefit per annum Rs.
1. Prohibition (Loss to the Government Rs. 65 lakhs.)	2 crores and 60 lakhs
2. Land Revenue Remission 1938-39	71.4 lakhs
3. Debt relief (The Agriculturists Relief Act)	100 crores
4. Reduction of Rent	4 crores and 26 lakhs
5. Harijan uplift:	
1937-38	8,35,600
1938-39	9,83,300
1939-40	10,05,130



CONGRESS AND THE WAR CRISIS

BY

J. B. KRIPALANI

General Secretary, A.I.C.C.

(An unpublished Chapter from the Annual Report of the General Secretary)

The principles which should guide the nation in the event of war were clearly laid down by the Congress in its resolutions passed from time to time. It had repeatedly declared its entire disapproval of the ideology and practice of Fascism and Nazism with all their cruel implications. It had expressed in unmistakable terms its sympathy with all those countries which were from time to time made the victims of unprovoked aggression. It expressed its solidarity with the democratic forces in Spain. It protested against the conquest and annexation of Czechoslovakia. As a natural corollary the Congress dissociated itself entirely from the foreign policy of the British Government which was considered responsible for these tragedies.

The Congress had further laid down that the issue of war and peace for India must be decided by the Indian people and any attempt by an outside authority to impose its decision on India or exploit Indian resources for the purpose of war would be resisted. But the British Government paid no heed to these repeated declarations and warnings of the Congress. The attempt to amend the Government of India Act in order to narrow and limit still further the powers of the Provincial Governments in the event of war emergency arising, the despatch of Indian troops towards Aden, and some months later troops to Singapore and Aden without the consent of the Central Legislature, unmistakably showed Britain's desire to entangle India in a future war. To mark their dissociation from these measures and to give effect to the policy of the Congress the Working Committee at its meeting at Wardha in

August last called upon Congress members of the Central Legislative Assembly to refrain from attending the next session of the Assembly. The Provincial Governments were directed not to assist in any way the war preparation of the British Government which were on foot.

As soon as war broke out in Europe India was declared a belligerent country on the side of Allies by the British Government. This declaration was made without consulting the people of India. Ordinances strictly curtailing civil liberties were passed. The Government of India Act was amended greatly restricting the already limited powers of the Provincial Governments.

The sympathies of the country, generally, were with the Allies and against Germany and the fascist ideology guiding it. But sympathy did not necessarily mean India's entanglement in war and that too without her consent. What should be India's attitude in the crisis was a question pre-eminently for the Indian people to answer. But Imperialism thought and acted otherwise. The Indian people, however, were in no mood to acquiesce in this imposition and the Government knew it. The Viceroy, therefore, only two days after the declaration of the war, called Mahatma Gandhi for an interview to explain the situation and enlist his moral support, and through him, that of the Congress and the country. Gandhiji took the public into confidence about what happened at the interview. He said he had made it clear to Viceroy that in whatever he said, he did not represent the Congress or the national mind,

As a humanitarian he was greatly stirred by the war. Though his sympathies were with the Allies, he did not want the destruction of any people. He was not at the time thinking of India's deliverance. What would Indian freedom be worth, if Britain was destroyed or Germany humiliated? His own sympathies were with England and France from the purely humanitarian view-point.

The Working Committee, however, soon met at Wardha, and considered the situation. Having regard to the gravity of the issues involved, the President invited Shri Gandhiji, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose, Narendra Deo, Jayprakash Narain and Aney to assist the Working Committee in shaping their decision. Mr. M. A. Jinnah was also telegraphically invited to attend and give the Committee the benefit of his advice. He, however, declined the invitation owing to previous engagements. After mature deliberations the Working Committee issued a comprehensive statement defining the Congress position.

The statement reiterated the principles laid down by the Congress from time to time for guiding the nation in the event of war. It said that India was declared a belligerent country and measures taken affected the country virtually in defiance of the declared wishes of the people. The Working Committee took the gravest view of these developments. While it unhesitatingly condemned the latest aggression of the Nazi Government and sympathised with those who resisted it, its co-operation could not be had by compulsion and imposition. Co-operation must be between equals and by mutual consent for a cause which both consider to be worthy.

The Committee were aware that the Governments of Great Britain and France had declared that they were fighting for democracy and freedom and to put an end to aggression. During the war of 1914-18 also the declared war-aims were the preservation of democracy, self-determination and the freedom of small nations and yet the very governments which solemnly proclaimed these aims entered into secret pacts embodying Imperialist designs for the carving up of the Ottoman empire. If the war is to defend the *status quo*, Imperialist possessions, colonies, vested interests and privileges, then India can have nothing to do with it. If, however, the issue is democracy and a world-order based on democracy, then India is intensely interested in it. The Committee were convinced that the interests

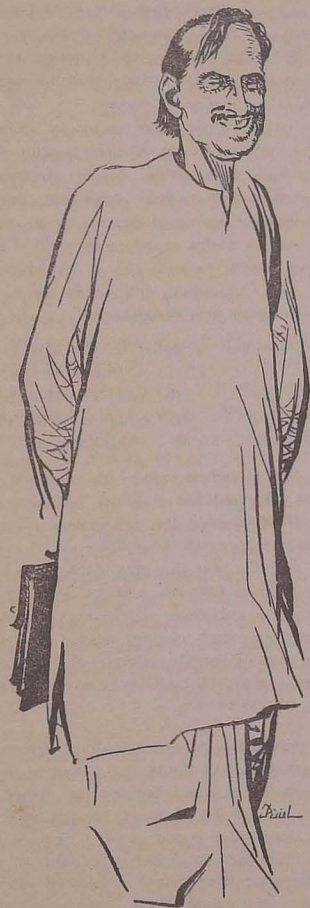
of Indian democracy did not conflict with the interests of British fights for the maintenance and extension of democracy, then she must necessarily end imperialism in her own possession, establish full democracy in India, and the Indian people must have the right of self-determination by framing their own constitution through a Constituent Assembly without external interference and must guide their own policy. A free democratic India will gladly associate herself with other free nations for mutual defence against aggression and for economic co-operation.

The Working Committee, therefore, invited the British Government to declare in unequivocal terms what their war-aims are in regard to democracy and imperialism and the new order that is envisaged and, in particular, how these aims are going to apply to India and to be given effect to in the present. Do they include the elimination of imperialism and the treatment of India as a free nation whose policy will be guided in accordance with the wishes of her people? A clear declaration about the future, pledging the Government to the ending of Imperialism and Fascism alike, will be welcomed by the people of all countries, but it is far more important to give immediate effect to it, to the largest possible extent, for only this will convince the people that the declaration is meant to be honoured. The real gist of any declaration is its application in the present, for it is the present that will govern action to-day and give shape to the future.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru was nominated to the Working Committee and a War Sub-Committee consisting of Pandit Jawaharlal (Chairman), Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was formed to deal with the situation as it may develop from time to time.

Gandhiji in a statement to the press commended the manifesto of the Working Committee to the unanimous support of the country. He hoped that all of the political parties and all communities will join the Committee's demand for a clear declaration of their policy from the British Government with such corresponding action as is possible amidst martial conditions. "All that was required was a mental revolution on the part of British Statesmen i. e., honest action to implement the declaration of faith in democracy made on the eve of the war, and still being repeated from British platform. The Congress support will mean the greatest moral asset in favour of England and France. The Congress has no soldiers to offer."

The statement was widely appreciated in the country as a statesman-like document. It received publicity in foreign countries, especially in America and Germany. The people of the oppressed nationalities adopted the manifesto as their own. The British Government in England, however, and a considerable section of the British press took care to give



it the minimum possible publicity. But the more advanced section of the British opinion welcomed the document and warmly supported the Congress demand for a declaration of war-aims and peace aims of Great Britain.

Considering the gravity and magnitude of the crisis facing the country it was felt necessary that a special meeting of the A. I. C. C. be called to consider the manifesto issued by the Working Committee. A meeting was called accordingly at Wardha on October 9 and 10. The A. I. C. C. passed a resolution endorsing the statement of the Working Committee and authorising the Working Committee to take such steps as may be necessary to give effect to it. The Committee repeated its condemnation of Fascism and Nazi aggression and expressed its conviction that peace and freedom can only be established and preserved by an extension of democracy to all colonial countries and by the application of the principle of self-determination to them so as to eliminate imperialist control. It declared that "Indian freedom must be based on democracy and unity and the full recognition and protection of all minorities to which the Congress has always pledged itself." In particular India must be declared an independent nation, and, at present, application must be given to this status to the largest possible extent. The A. I. C. C. earnestly trusted that this declaration will be made by the British Government in any statement that it may make in regard to its war and peace aims.

The British Government and its agents here could not possibly ignore this challenge of the Congress. Some answer had to be given. The Viceroy had recourse to interviews. These were not confined to the representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League but to all sorts of persons and parties. He had as many as 52 interviews to help him to frame an answer to the simple and straightforward question the Congress had asked. Fortified by so many opinions the Viceroy declared in no uncertain terms the imperial will of Britain. The Viceroy's declaration was couched in the usual bureaucratic style. It lacked understanding and imagination. It was condemned even by non-Congress circles.

The Viceroy before answering the specific questions in the Working Committee statement referred to the "so many different points of view revealed, marked differences of outlook, markedly different demands, and markedly different solutions, for the problems that lie before us." It appeared as though 52 people were called to enable the Viceroy to remind a forgetful world of the differences and divisions which are hampering the good intentions of the British Government with regard to India.

The declaration then sought to throw some light on the following matters: (i) objectives of His Majesty's Government in the war (ii) intention of the British Government with regard to the future of India, and (iii) closer association of the Indian opinion with the prosecution of the war.

1. As to the objectives of the war, the Viceroy, while ruling out of question a precise definition of war-aims and peace-aims in the changing situation of the world, referred to the general aims as declared by the Prime Minister. "We are seeking no material advantage for ourselves..... We, like all the people of Europe, long for peace; but it must be a real and settled peace, not an uneasy truce interrupted by constant alarms and threats." Where did India come in all this?

2. For the second question, the question of India's future, the Viceroy referred to the Preamble to the Government of India Act, 1919. As a generous step to this goal "His Majesty's Government recognise that when the time comes to resume consideration of the plan for the future Federal Government of India, it will be necessary to reconsider in the light of the then circumstances to what extent the details of the plan embodied in the Act of 1935 remain appropriate.....at the end of the war they will be very willing to enter into consultation with representatives of the several communities, parties and interests in India, and with the Indian Princes with a view to securing their aid and co-operation in the framing of such modifications as may seem desirable."

3. As for India's active association with the prosecution of the war, the Viceroy suggested the establishment of a consultative group, representative of all major political parties in British India and of the Indian Princes, over which the Governor General would himself preside, which would be summoned at his invitation and which would have as its object the association of public opinion in India with the conduct of the war and with questions relating to war activities.

The declaration was so complete a denial of all that the Working Committee asked for and hoped for in their statement that Gandhiji was constrained to declare "the Congress has asked for bread and was given a stone."

The Working Committee which met at Wardha on October 22, considered the Viceregal declaration. They passed resolution recording their opinion that

the Viceregal statement was wholly unsatisfactory and calculated to rouse resentment among all those who were anxious to gain and are intent upon gaining India's independence. The Committee regarded the mention of internal differences as a screen to hide the true intention of Great Britain. What the Committee had asked for was a declaration of war-aims as a test of British *bonafides* regarding India, irrespective of the attitude of opposing parties and groups. "The Congress had always stood for the amplest guarantee of the rights of minorities. The freedom the Congress claimed was not for the Congress or any particular group or community but for the nation and for all communities in India that go to build that nation. In the circumstances, the Congress cannot possibly give any support to Great Britain for it would amount to an endorsement of the imperialist policy which the Congress has always fought to end. As a first step in this direction the Committee call upon the Congress Ministries to tender their resignations."

The Committee appealed to the nation to end all internal controversies in this hour of grave crisis and act unitedly in the cause of India's freedom. It called upon all Congress Committees and Congressmen to be prepared for all eventualities.

Soon the Congress ministries resigned. Their resignation changed the political situation in the country. It proclaimed the dissociation of political India from the Imperialistic policies of Great Britain, specially with the war that was going on in Europe. It was a big step towards non-co-operation. India withdrew her conditional moral support from the struggle Britain was waging against Hitler. The provincial part of the Government of India Act—the Federal part was still-born—was now dead beyond possibility of resurrection.

The resignation of the Ministries demonstrated to all those who had doubt that Congress was not out for power and office but for the emancipation of the people of India from foreign yoke. The Ministries had done good work. Several reform measures for the amelioration of the lot of the masses were pending before provincial assemblies. With their resignation these measures had little chance of being enacted. There was also the danger of the good already done being undone. But the Congress rose to its revolutionary height. It refused to allow small ameliorative reforms to stand in the way of the march of the country to its goal of Purna Swaraj.

However, the situation created by the resolution of the Working Committee and the resignation of the Congress Ministries was not such as could be relished by the British Government. A sullen, discontented, rebel India was poor propaganda against Hitler. It reduced to mockery all the fine phrases about peace and democracy mouthed by British statesmen.

To retrieve the position, the India Secretary and Sir Samuel Hoare spoke in the Houses of Parliament. They employed sweeter language but in effect said the same things that had been badly said by the Viceroy. As a result of these statements the Viceroy called Gandhiji, the Congress President and Mr. Jinnah for interviews. He told the visitors that he was prepared to modify his previous statement to the extent that instead of an Advisory Committee for the conduct of war, his Government was prepared to expand the Executive Council of the Viceroy and find in it place for some popular leaders, on condition that the Congress would come to an agreement with Mr. Jinnah not only about the proposed changes in the Central Executive but also about the Government in the provinces. Babu Rajendra Prasad, on behalf of the Congress, made it clear to the Viceroy that it was not possible for Congress to co-operate unless the policy of the British Government was made clear on the lines suggested by the Congress. He added "It has pained us to find the communal question dragged in this connection. It has clouded the issue. It has been repeatedly said on behalf of the Congress that it is our earnest desire to settle the points of communal controversy by agreement and we propose to continue our efforts to this end. But I would point out that this question does not in any respect come in the way of a declaration of Indian freedom as suggested above."

The deadlock, therefore, continued. The Working Committee which met in Allahabad on November 19-23, 1939, approved of and endorsed the reply of the Congress President to the Viceroy.

"The Congress has looked upon the War crisis and the problem it raises essentially as a moral issue and has not sought to profit by it in any spirit of bargaining." The Committee declared again that the

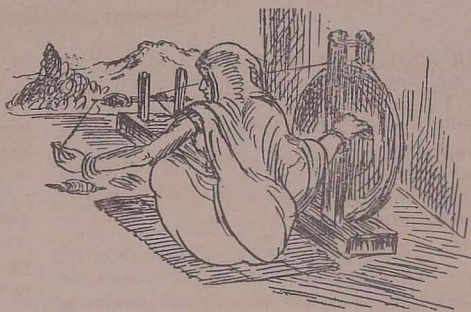
recognition of Indian independence and of the right of her people to frame their constitution through a Constituent Assembly, is essential in order to remove the taint of imperialism from Britain's policy and to enable the Congress to consider further co-operation. "The Assembly could frame a constitution in which the rights of accepted minorities would be protected to their satisfaction and in the event of some matters relating to minority rights not being mutually agreed to, they can be referred to arbitration."

The Constituent Assembly should be elected on the basis of adult suffrage, existing separate electorates being retained for such minorities as desire them. The number of members in the Assembly should reflect the numerical strength. The answer to this demand has been entirely unsatisfactory. The communal pleas advanced in justification of this refusal are only attempt to begot the moral issue. The Minorities do not oppose India's right to Freedom and Independence. As for the Indian Princes, they are the creation of the Paramount power and identical with it. It is the people of the Indian States which should have a determining voice in the shaping of a Free India.

The policy of non-co-operation was, therefore, to continue and must continue until the British Government revised its policy and accepted the Congress contention. But "it is inherent in every form of Satyagrah that no effort is spared to achieve an honourable settlement with the opponent." The Working Committee, therefore, kept the door open. With the only proviso that all attempts to coerce the people of India along paths which are not of their choice will be resisted non-violently.

The Working Committee expressed gratification "at the readiness exhibited by Congressmen for the launching of Civil Disobedience, should this become necessary." But Civil Disobedience required perfect discipline. Also a non-violent army must be possessed of the essentials of non-violence. The true test of preparedness lay in Congressmen carrying out the constructive programme, especially spinning and promoting the cause of Khadi to the exclusion of Mill cloth, promoting communal harmony by personal acts of service and the uplift of Harijans.

ALL INDIA SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION



Shri Sankarlal Banker,

Secretary, All-India Spinners' Association

The Charkha and Khadi movement have come to occupy a very important place in the national programme ever since the starting of the mass-struggle for the attainment of Swaraj. The large majority of people in the country live in villages in abject poverty and fearful distress, and no national progress worth the name can be made unless effective measures are taken to enable them to obtain the necessities that human life requires for maintenance and healthy growth. The Khadi movement aims at the revival and development of handspinning and other allied industries so as, on the one hand, to help the rural population to be self-sufficing in respect of their cloth requirements and, on the other, to provide necessary relief by way of suitable occupation to large numbers of villagers who are suffering because of enforced idleness during a considerable part of the year. It is, therefore, natural that the Congress should attach great importance to this movement and strive for its development and progress throughout the land.

The earliest reference to this activity in the Congress programme is to be found in the resolution of the Special Session held in Calcutta in 1920, which, while inaugura-

ting the movement of non-violent non-cooperation, prescribed hand-spinning and weaving of Khadi as "measures of discipline and sacrifice for every man, woman and child," and this resolution was later clarified by the Annual Session held at Nagpur. Early in the subsequent year, the All-India Congress Committee meeting at Bezwada drew up a programme of action and called upon the nation to get ready 20 lakhs of working charkhas along with the enlistment of a crore of members and the collection of a crore of rupees.

After the arrest of Gandhiji in 1922 the Working Committee of the Congress laid great stress on constructive work, and Khadi being the most important item, a special department was created for guiding and helping the Provincial Congress Committees in carrying on this activity. This department was replaced at the Cocanada Congress in 1923 by an All-India Khadi Board authorised to carry on Khadi work in the country through local Khadi Boards to be created by the Provincial Congress Committees. In 1925 the need was felt for an expert organisation to organise and conduct Khadi work unaffected by politics, and the All-India Spinners' Association was brought

into existence as an integral part of the Congress organisation but with full and autonomous powers to carry on the movement.

The Association consists of members, Associates and Life Associates. The membership of the Association is open to every one who is above 18 years of age, who wears Khadi habitually and gives a monthly subscription of 1,000 yards of self-spun yarn. Habitual wearers of Khadi can become Associates by paying Rs. 12 per year and Life Associates by making a contribution of Rs. 500 in advance.

The Association has a Board of Trustees which also forms the Executive Council together with three others who are elected annually by the members from amongst themselves. The head-quarter of the Association is located at Ahmedabad. The present Executive Council is composed of the following members :

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Mahatma Gandhiji | <i>President</i> |
| 2. Seth Jamnalal Bajaj | <i>Hon. Treasurer</i> |
| 3. Babu Rajendra Prasad | |
| 4. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel | |
| 5. Shri Gangadharrao B. Deshpande | |
| 6. Shri Konda Venkatappayya | |
| 7. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru | |
| 8. Shri Shrikrishnadas Jaju | |

9. Shri Gopabandhu Choudhury
10. Shri Lakshmidas Purushottam Asar
11. Shri Dharendra Mazumdar
12. Shri Shankerlal G. Banker

Hon. Secretary

ELECTED

13. Shri V. V. Jerajani
14. Babu Lakshmi Narayan
15. Shri S. Sankara Ram

The mission of the Association, as has been declared by the Executive Council in a recent resolution, "is to make, every home in India self-sufficing through Khadi with reference to its clothing requirements and to promote the welfare of the spinners, who are the least paid amongst Khadi artisans, and all others engaged in the different cotton processes, beginning with growing cotton and ending with the weaving of Khadi." For the attainment of the above object the Association has established branches in the various provinces with responsible Agents and Secretaries and has placed necessary funds at their disposal to enable them to carry on their activities in accordance with the scheme of work approved by the Council. The names of the branches and of those entrusted with the responsibility of conducting their work are given below :

Province	Agent	Secretary	Head-quarters
Andhra	...	Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya	Masulipatam
Behar	Babu Rajendra Prasad	Babu Lakshminarayan	Madhubani
Begal & Assam	...	Shri A. P. Choudhury	E-76 College Street Market, Calcutta
Bombay	Shri V. V. Jerajani	Shri Purushottam Kanji	396 Kalbadevi Road, Bombay
Burma	Shri Soniram Poddar	...	51/51st Street, Rangoon (Burma)
Gujrat	Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel	Shri Lakshmidas Purushottam	Sabarmati
Karnatak	Shri Gangadharrao B. Deshpande	Shri H. S. Koujalgi	Old Hubli
Kashmir	Shri V. V. Jerajani	Shri S. D. Merchant	Srinagar
Kerala	...	Shri C. K. Kartha	Payyanur
M. Maharashtra	Shri Shrikrishnadas Jaju	Shri A. W. Sahasbudhe	Mul, Dt. Chanda, C. P.
Punjab	Dr. Gopichand Bhargave	L. Kishanchand Bhatia and Prithvichand Nayar	Adampur Doaba, Dt. Jullundhur
Rajasthan	Seth Jamnalal Bajaj	Shri B. S. Deshpande	Govindgarh-Malikpur (Jaipur State)

Province	Agent	Secretary	Head-quarters
Sind	...	Prof. N. R. Malkani	Hyderabad, Sind
Tamil Nad	...	Shri C. A. Aiyamuthu	Tirupur
U. P.	Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru	Shri V. N. Sharma	Meerut City
Utkal	Shri Gopabandhu Choudhury	Shri Kripasindhu Panda	Kendupatna, Dt. Cuttack

The main function of the Association is to provide regular work in a systematic way to spinners and other village artisans in their home. The general method of work that is now being followed by the Association is the result of long and close experience of the conditions of this and allied industries in the areas of production. The main features of the methods adopted are indicated below :

1. The Association enlists spinners and other artisans and arranges for direct dealings with them through responsible workers.

2. The Association tries to supply to the artisans raw material of satisfactory quality for work. In the case of spinners, it encourages and helps them to grow their own cotton and do their own carding so that they may have the best of raw materials for their work.

3. The Association has fixed rates for different work to enable the artisans to earn adequate wages. In the case of spinners who are the least paid amongst the artisans, standard rates are fixed by the Council so as to secure to the spinners a minimum wage calculated on the basis of 8 hours' efficient work, sufficient at least to procure necessary clothing and maintenance, in accordance with a scientifically prescribed scale of minimum food requirements.

4. The Association makes a careful study of the varieties in demand in various provinces and in various conditions of life and instructs and helps the artisans to adjust the production to suit the requirements of the market.

5. The Association takes up the goods manufactured and arranges for marketing

them through a net-work of sales depots spread all over the country at suitable places, both in rural and urban areas.

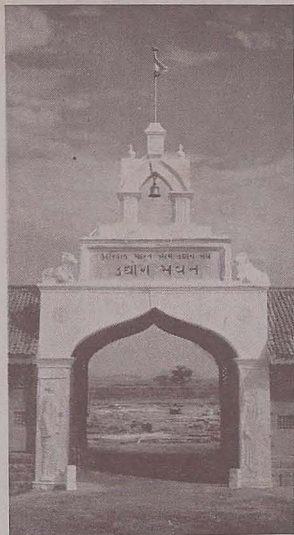
6. The Association arranges for financing as far as possible the production and sale of goods.

7. The Association attaches great importance to scientific methods and arranges for the study of existing implements and processes involved in the manufacture of Khadi with the object of introducing such improvements therein as may be found possible. Efforts are also being made to devise new implements leading to greater efficiency and better quality of work.

The work conducted by the Association extends over 11,694 villages and altogether 854 depots are conducted by the A. I. S. A. and the organisations affiliated to it, giving employment to 168,650 spinners and 12,601 weavers, besides other artisans, such as, carders, *dhobis*, dyers, painters, embroiderers, etc.

Although complete information regarding work done in the year 1939 is not available, the figures so far received show that the Association and the affiliated organisations produced during the year 1,08,95,608 sq. yards of Khadi valued at Rs. 48,29,610 and sold Khadi worth Rs. 64,13,002, distributing Rs. 19,99,230 in wages to spinners and weavers. Taking the figures from the starting of the All-India Khadi Board till the end of 1939, altogether over 13 crores and 50 lakhs sq. yards of Khadi valued at over 5 crores 57 lakhs was produced ; and over Rs. 2 crores and 30 lakhs were distributed to the spinners and weavers in wages.

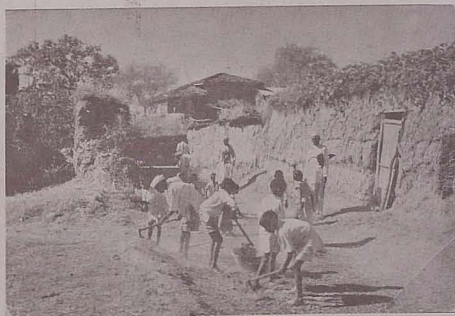
LANDMARKS OF WARDHA



All-India Village Industries Association
— MAIN GATEWAY —
WARDHA



THE CREST
A. I. V. I. A.



CLEANING THE VILLAGE
An aspect of Basic Education Centre, Wardha





STAFF OF THE A.I.C.C.

FROM LEFT TO RIGHT

Seated on Chair:—

1. Dharam Yash Dev,
Secretary, Indian Over-Seas Section
2. Dr. B. V. Keskar,
Secretary, Foreign Department
3. Sadik Ali,
Secretary, A.I.C.C. Office
4. R. S. Pande,
Accountant
5. Narendra Sarma,
Office Assistant

Middle Row:—

1. Ram Krishnniah,
Accountant
2. R. C. Pande,
Office-Assistant
3. Kanhaiyalal,
Office Assistant
4. Krishna Behari,
Steno-Typist
5. S. C. Guha,
Librarian
6. Vinayak Rao,
Steno-Typist

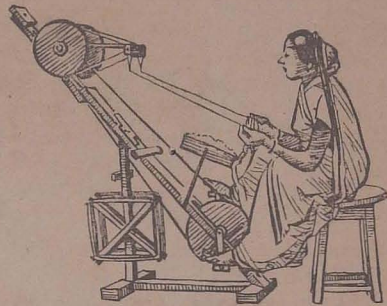
Standing:—1. Badri Prasad, 2. Deoki Nandan, 3. Ganga Saran,—Office Peon

A research Workshop has been established at the head-quarters at Ahmedabad for carrying on investigations, and during the last year efforts were made to improve the double-spindled *Magan Charkha* and make it available for further experiments in the areas of production. This *Charkha* enables an efficient spinner to spin one hank i.e. 840 yards of yarn of 16 to 20 counts within an hour, a production more than double the output of the ordinary charkha.

During the year 1939, 25,905 spinners were trained in carding and 50,085 spinners given instruction in scientific spinning. 7567 new spinning wheels were distributed among the spinners and 10764 pulleyed spindles, 21,502 hankers and 5,442 carding bows were supplied to them.

Khadi work involves much responsibility and requires considerable business and technical experience, and the progress made has become possible only because of the devoted services of over 2715 hundred sincere workers who have made this work their own.

Khadi work has received great impetus from the political changes that have taken place in the country. The country-wide propaganda conducted by the Congress organisations for the Assembly elections carried with it the message of Khadi in every corner. The success obtained by the Congress in the elections and the subsequent acceptance of office, raised the enthusiasm of the people to a high pitch and this had naturally its effect in increasing the demand for Khadi. Khadi sales have been increasing everywhere and the growing demand has brought about considerable expansion of production activities.



MAGAN CHARKHA

Apart from the advantage derived from the change in the political situation, it is gratifying to note that direct assistance was offered by the Congress Governments for the development of this industry. The Congress Ministries, true to the pledges given, evinced keen interest in the movement and after carefully considering the proposals for expansion of work, submitted by the Branches of the Association, sanctioned substantial amounts by way of subsidy for meeting the expenses of new centres and grants for research work and the introduction of improved implements. Altogether during the period of the Congress administration a total sum of Rs. 9,04,637 was made available for such work.

The present time offers a very favourable atmosphere. The Working Committee has laid particular emphasis on the constructive programme, and as Khadi occupies an important place in this programme, it is hoped that the response of services of earnest workers and the support of the patriotic public will help to carry the benefits of this great and ancient industry to the homes of the villagers all over the land.



ALL INDIA VILLAGE INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION

Its Aims and Works

SHRI J. C. KUMARAPPA

Secretary, All-India Village Industries Association

HISTORY

The industries that have long sustained millions in the villages in our country have been languishing for lack of opportunities for research to enable the artisans to adopt their processes to meet the present day needs. There has been a dearth of intelligent and venturesome persons who will give the needed momentum for progress. Whatever material there was which could have supplied these needs had migrated into towns seeking "secure" employment which will give a steady income. The artistically-inclined deserted the indigenous art and instead of supplying fresh designs for the artisans they devoted their efforts to imitating foreign masters. Those who remained in their rural homes instead of supporting the produce of their neighbours took to patronising foreign imported articles. The raw materials which were wrought upon formerly were either allowed to go waste or shipped abroad often to be imported back again as manufactured goods. This process has been going on

for decades and has brought ruin and distress to our country-side.

If our country was to progress economically and culturally it was imperative that the villages had to become centres of activity. Rural life had to be self-dependent, self-supporting and self-respecting. To foster such conditions it was long felt that a central group of persons should undertake to study the needs of the people and by intensive experiment and research supply the lack of up-to-date knowledge to the villages and help them to organise themselves into self-sufficient groups.

To this end one of the main industries of the country—the textiles—was taken up over a decade ago and the All-India Spinners' Association was formed to help that one industry. However important that one industry was, it was not all. There still remained all the other arts and crafts that make up the life of the people. Tackling these manifold activities was not possible unless an organised effort

was made to gather information from various sources and supply them to others, thus collating and co-ordinating divergent efforts and disseminating information which was already available.

To this end, and in accordance with a resolution passed by the Indian National Congress in October 1934, the All-India Village Industries Association was formed at Wardha on the 14th December 1934, as a self-acting, independent and non-political organisation, having for its object village reorganisation and reconstruction, including the revival, encouragement and improvement of village industries, and the moral and physical development of the villagers of India. The affairs of the Association are entrusted to a Board of Management which is to define the programme of village reconstruction work from time to time, to co-ordinate the policy followed in the different centres, to collect, collate and circulate information gathered from workers or agents as to the actual condition of the existing village industries, both those that may be flourishing and those that may be perishing, also as to the economic, moral and physical condition of villagers, to carry on research work with the help of specialists and experts, and to discover and create a market for surplus village manufactures. This Board works under the guidance and advice of Gandhiji. The Headquarters of the Association are located at Wardha, C. P.

PROGRAMME OF WORK

The Association started with an immediate programme which aimed at improving village sanitation, diet and village industries.

SANITATION

In this connection work is being carried on in the way of introducing

latrines, scavenging, preparing manure from human excreta, sweeping and repairing roads, building drains and filling up cess pools, cleaning wells and tanks, providing drinking water, and the economic disposal of carcasses.

DIET

Malnutrition is partly responsible for the low rate of health and productivity of the villager. To remedy this, improvements have been suggested in the diet of the villagers within the means available to them. Information has been obtained from experts in regard to the nutritive value of various foods and broadcasted, and propaganda has been carried on for the use of unpolished rice, whole wheat flour, *gur*, and *ghani* pressed oil as being more nutritious than the corresponding over-processed food products. Provincial governments have been approached with the request that only handpounded rice be used in jails, hospitals, school and college hostels in their charge, and that rice mills be banned or charged a heavy license fee.

VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

The Association has been concerning itself primarily with industries which meet the needs of the villagers, which require little capital and for which the raw material is wellnigh universal. Amongst human needs the most pressing being that for food, industries connected with it have been taken up for study and research at the Headquarters—industries such as paddy husking, flour grinding, oil pressing, palm *gur* making and bee-keeping. In regard to each of these an effort has been made with considerable success to improve the methods of production and the implements used, and to broadcast the information.

A great disservice had been done to the masses by allowing unregulated growth of rice and flour mills. Not only the productivity of the masses was lowered but their health has been undermined by taking away the nutritive element in the food. Whatever the Government can now do to encourage hand husking and grinding will only be a part reparation for the damage done in the past. Mills should be subjected to a heavy license fee as they are almost anti-social in their effort.

Oil-pressing, like paddy husking and flour grinding, had been allowed to be ousted by mills, the advent of which had also facilitated adulteration. Bullock-driven *ghanis* need to be encouraged and power mills subjected to heavy license fees in the interests of the public. We find that our improved *ghanis* can easily compete with power driven oil mills. The only difficulty felt by oilmen is one which arises from lack of facilities for storing seeds for the year. This difficulty is, however, not insurmountable and may be solved by co-operative effort. We fully believe that this industry will bring new life and hope to several.

Crores of rupees worth of palm *gur* can be produced if palm trees all over India be utilised. A man can earn about Rs. 120 in a season of less than four months by engaging himself in tapping about 15 date palm trees and preparing *gur* from the juice so obtained. In the past, however, all the resources of the Government have been concentrated on promoting sugarcane cultivation, although sugarcane requires intensive cultivation and good soil. Farmers were encouraged to shift from food crops to sugarcane. This effort would have been to the credit of the Government if no cheaper alterna-

tive method of producing *gur* and sugar were available. As it is we have millions of Date and Palmyra trees growing wild on waste lands requiring hardly any cultivation at all, and people have been accustomed from time immemorial to make *gur* out of the sweet juice extracted from them. But this industry had one great drawback in that it was primarily a cottage industry and could not be easily made into a large-scale industry as the juice had to be converted immediately after extraction into *gur*. Otherwise, it would ferment and would become useless. In this respect sugarcane lent itself to mill production, as the canes can be grown so as to be cut, transported and fed to the mills as and when required with certain time limits. Because of this palm *gur* industry had hardly a fraction of the attention that was paid to cane sugar industry, apart from its merits as a natural cottage industry, Government is bound to encourage palm *gur* industry as a corollary to their prohibition programme. Otherwise, lakhs of toddy drawers will be thrown out of employment and—what will be a greater national loss—their skill be allowed to run to waste.

A small sugar-centrifugal machine has been devised by us for the manufacture of sugar from palm juice or from sugar cane by the use of hand-power.

The sweet unfermented juice of the palm makes a delicious, nutritious drink and we are seeking to popularise its use as beverage.

Bee-keeping can add to the dietary of the farmer easily about Rs. 10/- worth of honey a year for every colony without much effort. In parts of U. S. A. bee-keeping is looked upon as a wholesome

auxiliary industry to agriculture in that it helps the better fertilisation of crops and increases the yield from land. This industry also needs to be popularised.

Paper-making is an industry which once thrived in several parts of the country, and holds great promise for the future, if directed especially to the production of high class stationery and durable paper. The raw material for it—generally any fibrous matter such as *sunni* hemp, jute, and various kinds of grass from which ropes and mats can be made—is to be found almost everywhere and experiments carried on at the Headquarters have shown that paper can also be produced out of every manner of village waste, such as rags, straw, palm leaves, cotton stalk, plantain fibre, old bamboo sticks, baskets and mats, and gunny bags.

As an adjunct to the oil pressing industry and as meeting the demand of the people, experiments have been carried on in soap-making out of entirely indigenous materials. Large quantities of caustic soda have so far been imported for the purpose of making soaps. But we have discarded the imported products and are making soaps, which can compare with the best in the market, by using in its place *sajjikhhar*, *papad-khar* or *sajji-matti* to be found as a thin white layer in river beds and formerly used by our washermen.

Some of our centres have taken to dairying and tanning, and are seeking to improve these industries in villages.

Our improved *ghanis* and *chakkis* are in demand and are in use in various parts of the country, and several paper centres have been opened and are being run by those trained in our Vidyalaya.

In the Central Provinces and Berar various Rural Uplift Centres have been opened by the Government in accordance with a scheme submitted by us and are being conducted under our supervision. The Bombay Government and the Orissa Government have given financial assistance towards expansion under our direction of village industries, such as, Oil-pressing, Paper-making, Bee-keeping, Palm-gur-making, Button-making, and Coir-making.

PROPAGANDA

Lectures have been delivered on the principles underlying the work of the Association and pamphlets, booklets, and articles published. A monthly bulletin called the *Gram Udyog Patrika* is issued in Hindi and in English free to members, and to others on payment of an annual subscription of one rupee. Exhibitions have been made use of to demonstrate the improvements we have effected in implements as well as to show the processes of manufacture. Propaganda is being carried on also through the medium of magic lantern slides and posters. In particular the National Week and Gandhi Jayanti are availed of to draw public attention to the consumption of village industry products.

MARKETING

Certificates are issued by us to shops or persons who sell genuine village products, or pure food articles, such as, hand pounded rice, hand ground flour, village *gur*, pure honey, *ghani* pressed oil, hand made paper, soap made out of indigenous materials and leather articles from the hide of non-slaughtered animals. To market articles manufactured at the Headquarters and to popularise pure food products, and some village-made goods we are running a shop in Wardha, and one in Nagpur.

TRAINING

Besides experiment and research, one of the chief items of work carried on at the Headquarters is training in village industries and rural work. The industries in which training is given are oil-pressing, paper-making, paddy-husking, flour-grinding, bee-keeping, soap-making and palm-gur-making. Classes are conducted also in Rural Economics, Principles underlying the A. I. V. I. A., Book-keeping, Health, Sanitation and Hygiene, and *Gandhi Vichar Doban* (the essence of Gandhiji's teachings). For the session June, 1939 to March, 1940 there were 37 students under training on December 31, 1939. Of these, 12 have been deputed by the Bombay Government, 9 by the C. P. Government, and 2 by the Frontier Government. In all, 28 are undergoing training in Paper-making, 9 in Oil-pressing, and all of them have been given an elementary course in other industries carried on at the Headquarters. In addition to these enrolled for the full ten month course, for village workers we have a few students who undergo training for a short period in industries only.

MUSEUM

On December 30, 1938 the *Magan Sangrahalay*, a museum for Khadi and Village Industries, in memory of the late Maganlal Gandhi, was opened in our grounds. It is sought through this museum to educate the visitor in regard to what is required for starting and running various small-scale industries, and accordingly the raw materials required and the implements used in *khadi* and some other village industries are exhibited with informative particulars. The museum is run jointly by the A. I. S. A. and the A. I. V. I. A. and has been erected out of public subscriptions contributed to the *Maganlal Gandhi Smarak Fund*.

GENERAL

On the 31st December, 1939 there were on our rolls 277 Ordinary members, 36 Agents and 27 Certified shops.

AIMS

The work of the Association is nothing short of an attempt, by revival of village industries, to revolutionise the country side. As village industries, which formerly helped to keep our people above want, are either decadent or dead, the average income of the villager to-day is not more than about a rupee a month. If we would bring about the salvation of the country we must work, then, for the economic amelioration of the villager who constitutes the bulk of our people. There is no easy way to national uplift except through hard day-to-day constructive work. It is to such work that the Association calls all, irrespective of race, creed or sex. All can help towards this end, no matter what their occupation or place of residence may be; you and I as consumer have the power immediately to transform the dire poverty, darkness and death which overshadow our villages into prosperity, light and life by resolutely turning away from factory products as far as possible and buying only articles of village manufacture.

In doing this we shall not only be resuscitating our villages but also cut at the roots of Imperialism whose only purpose in keeping us under subjection is to control our production and consumption in the interests of its own trade. Thus alone can we win Swaraj, and, what is more, keep it.

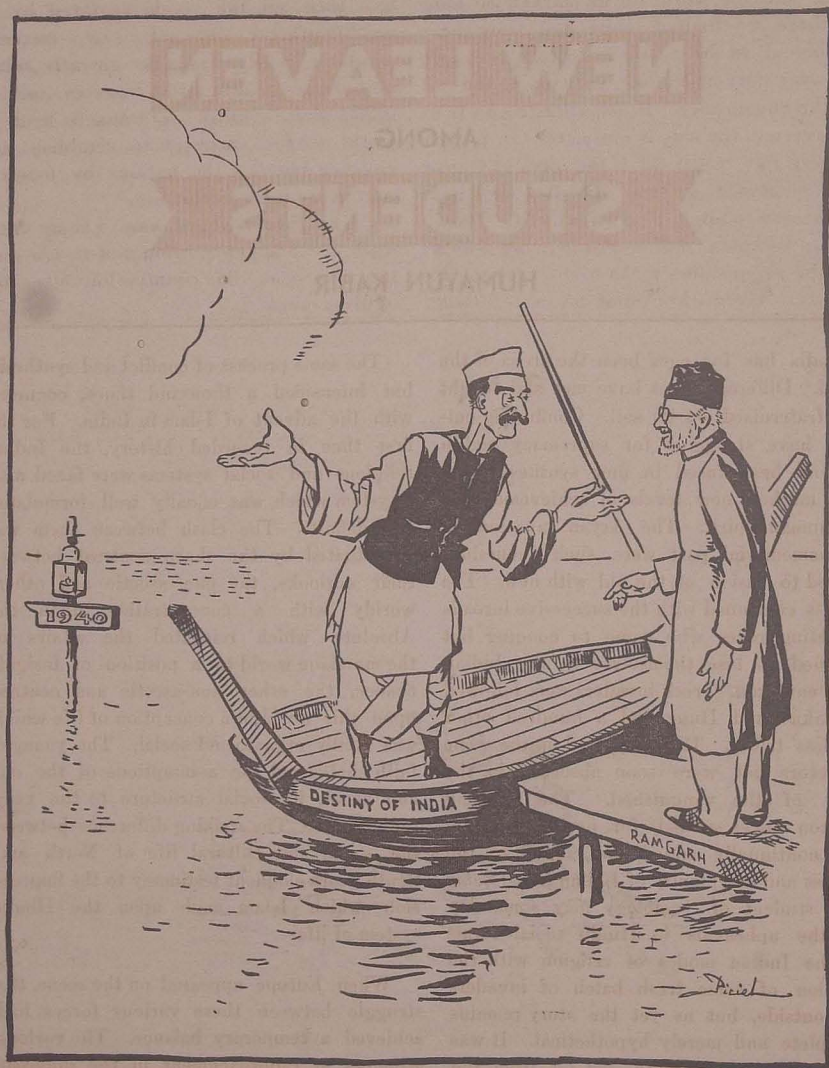
Nor is our goal merely national reconstruction and freedom, worthy as these are. If the world is to-day streaming with the blood of innocent young lives, it is because of large-scale factory production which

requires enormous quantities of raw materials and the world for its market. So long as these are limited, more and more there is bound to be a life-and-death struggle between nations leading, perhaps, to the end of the human race. If this catastrophe is to be averted, the way is not merely to preach peace, but to get rid of the roots of war in the economic system. To this end it is necessary to apply modern scientific knowledge, technical skill and organising ability, as the Association seeks to do, to see if the needs of the world cannot be met through

small cottage units of production, which will turn out the goods required by the neighbourhood out of raw materials available locally. India is eminently suited, both by her geographical features and her social and cultural traditions, to lead the world in this attempt to establish non-violence amongst the nations by fostering cottage units of production.

Who, then, will not want a share in this work which hopes to bring about not only the salvation of this country but ultimately of all mankind?





"NOW, IT'S YOUR TURN."

NEW LEAVEN

AMONG

STUDENTS

HUMAYUN KABIR

India has for ages been the arena of the world. Different races have met and fought and fraternised on its soil. Conflicting cultures have struggled for supremacy and in the end been fused in new syntheses that have marked new levels of achievement for the human spirit. The Aryan invasions in the immemorial past were such incursions and led to fusion of the old with new. The process continued with the successive inroads of fighting races who came to conquer but remained to lose themselves in the Indian racial cauldron. Greek invaders were followed by Sakas and Huns and a hundred other nameless tribes. They appeared on the scene as victors but were soon absorbed in the ranks of the vanquished. The seething cauldron never cooled, for new ingredients were continually added, and added to the richness and complexity of Indian life. Some acute student of sociology may some day link the upheavals in Hindu social forms and the Indian modes of religion with the incursion of some fresh batch of invaders from outside, but as yet the story remains incomplete and merely hypothetical. It was only in the remote south, far off from the turmoils and uncertainties of succeeding waves of conquerors that forms could ossify into a semblance of permanence and rigidity.

The same process of conflict and synthesis, but intensified a thousand times, occurred with the advent of Islam in India. For the first time in recorded history, the Indian religious and social systems were faced with a system which was equally well formulated and definite. The clash between them was accentuated by the sharp contrast between their outlooks, the one ascetic and other-worldly with a concentration upon the Absolute which relegated the affairs of the mundane world to a position of insignificance, the other non-ascetic and centred upon this world in a conception of life which was vitally organic and social. The younger faith challenged the assumptions of the old and shook its social structure to the very foundations. The striking difference between the social and cultural life of North and South bears eloquent testimony to the impression which Islam made upon the Hindu system of life.

When Europe appeared on the scene, the struggle between these various forces had achieved a temporary balance. The various attempts at rapprochement in the different religious cults that had evolved mark the attempts at establishment of equilibrium in one direction, the lessening of the rigours of caste mark it in another. The equilibrium

established remained unstable and this had to be so from the very nature of the case. The least shift in emphasis would so alter the disposition of forces that the consequent changes might well prove revolutionary. The advent of the West was one such factor, for with this advent Christianity became for the first time an appreciable force in Indian life. Its contact released the pent-up energy which centuries of attempt at synthesis and fusion had accumulated. Like the last stone which starts the avalanche, a series of changes began which are still proceeding and whose future it is difficult to visualise clearly even today.

Each fresh incursion of race or idea had found the Indian temperament more malleable than before. The decision to adopt Western modes of education in such a context was momentous. Macaulay stated it explicitly, but there were others as well who, dazzled by their first acquaintance with Western thought, believed that one shelf of English books was worth the accumulated wisdom of the entire orient. Nor were Western ideas planted on alien soil. The infiltration of Greek culture through Arabic and Persian channels had for almost eight centuries prepared the Indian mind and made it peculiarly receptive of the same ideas when they were again presented in symbols of the conquering West. Little wonder then that under the impact of Western culture, revolutionary changes began in the Indian scene till the old landmarks were swept away one by one.

II

One factor which hastened the process of revolutionary change was the increasing control over the forces of nature which marks the history of the last hundred years. The impact of Islam on India had been deep and profound, and the contact between new

and old modes of thought had compelled acute and sensitive minds to think afresh about the eternal problems of the universe. The new religions and philosophies which appeared from the fifteenth century onward are indications of the attempts at rapprochement between Hindu and Islamic modes of thought. The difference in rigidity between the Hindu social forms in the North and the South also measure the extent of Muslim influence. The attitude towards caste is only the most prominent aspect of the difference. But in spite of all this, the facts of physical distance and inaccessibility remained. The interchange of thought and culture between the capital and the country remained imperfect. The cities displayed the fusion of the two cultures in which the numerical inferiority of the Muslim was counterbalanced by his political importance. The small, compact and on the whole homogeneous Muslim aristocracy gave the tone to civic culture. In the country it was otherwise. Difficulties of communication preserved some of the independence of the local units, and without constant interchange of men and ideas, the inherent rigidity of social forms was able to assert itself. The result was that Muslims in the provinces were influenced by the pressure of Hindu forms of life. Rural culture, in spite of large scale changes in religion, remained dominantly Hindu, for men changed their creed but not their way of life.

When Christianity became an important factor in Indian civilisation, things were otherwise. Revolutionary changes had taken place in the means of social intercourse, and these increasingly knit together the different sections and areas. Both geographically and culturally, a process of compression began and the interchange between the different types became more frequent and intense. In the past, men had changed their creed without

changing their way of life but now a process began by which men changed their way of life without changing their creed. That is why the extent of Christian influence upon Indian life is out of all proportions to the number of Christians in India.

We have already sketched how the advent of Islam with its characteristic world outlook had influenced the mentality of the Hindu aristocracy and town dweller. They determined the tendency, if not the tone of the social whole, but their influence was in part counteracted by the vast distances of the country and the general immobility of the people. But the impact of Islam had disturbed their inertia and when Christianity came, they were more willing and ready to accept its influence. The conquest of space and time through improved means of communication and intercourse minimised, if it did not solve, the problems of distance and immobility. The changes which the Western modes of thought initiated did not stop in the towns. It filtered into the villages in ever-widening circles of influence. The new leaven had begun to work.

The seeds of discontent and unrest spread far and wide and fell on congenial soil. This process was disguised for a time, as in the early stages Western education brought with it the guarantee of material success. The first reaction, as we have already noticed, was one of uncritical adulation. But the phase uncritical adoration could not and did not last long. The first flush of admiration wore away and simultaneously, the pressure of economic forces became insistent. Western education could guarantee material prosperity only so long as its votaries were sufficiently few to be absorbed in the economic system of the time. With increase in their numbers, a change in the economic order became imperative and yet the obstacles to any change

were almost insuperable. The silent destruction of India's industrial life had long escaped attention but it could no longer be ignored. The increase in educated unemployed and the constant growth in the pressure on the soil were only symptoms of the growing malady.

The growing impoverishment of the country accompanied a demand for a better standard of life. It may sound paradoxical but its historical reasons are not far to seek. European capitalism had already started on its triumphant career when it came into close contact with India. How the Indian market provoked the growth of that capitalism and sustained it is a story into which we need not enter here. Nor is this the occasion to trace the interconnections between political and economic forces. The upshot was that operation of economic laws had brought England on the Indian scene and the same laws in their natural working led to the political subjugation of India.

The immature and undeveloped industries of India faced the vigorous and hungry capitalism of the West. Indian industries were destroyed and the country forced back to the rural economy from which it was seeking to emerge. The reversion to an agricultural way of life coupled with enforced peace increased existing difficulties and created new problems. The population increased but the country was denuded of its wealth. Land can never provide for the whole population adequately, except in societies that are still primitive in organisation. In India, the clock of civilisation was put back, and at the same time, contact with the West revealed to the people a panorama of undreamt of possibilities. The higher standard of material civilisation achieved by the West served as a challenge and an irritant, and the growing impoverishment of the land added

an element of bitterness to those who came into contact with it. Better means of communication and intercourse and the debilitation of the old social order made this discontent deep and widespread, and a new spirit of unrest and enquiry permeated the country and the people.

Western ideas and the growing impoverishment of the country are then the two factors which sowed the seeds of discontent in the Indian mind. The increased facilities of intercourse and communication assured that the discontent would be deep and wide. The enforced unrest in development of the Indian economic system further aggravated the situation, for the break up of Moghul feudalism would, in normal circumstances, have led to the evolution of Indian capitalism. British capitalism served as a progressive force so far as it helped to destroy the prevailing order, but it would be obviously against its own interest to allow the free development of capitalism in India. The compromise through which it effected its purpose was the creation of an extremely strong middle class, a bourgeoisie who would help in the distribution of British goods over the whole of India and still remain content with a mere fraction of the profits earned by British capital. This middle class was drawn from an ever-widening circle with the result that its mentality became the dominant factor in Indian social life. The middle class inevitably wants to move upward into the ranks of capitalists but political exigencies prevented this natural growth and added to the factors that made for unrest and discontent.

III

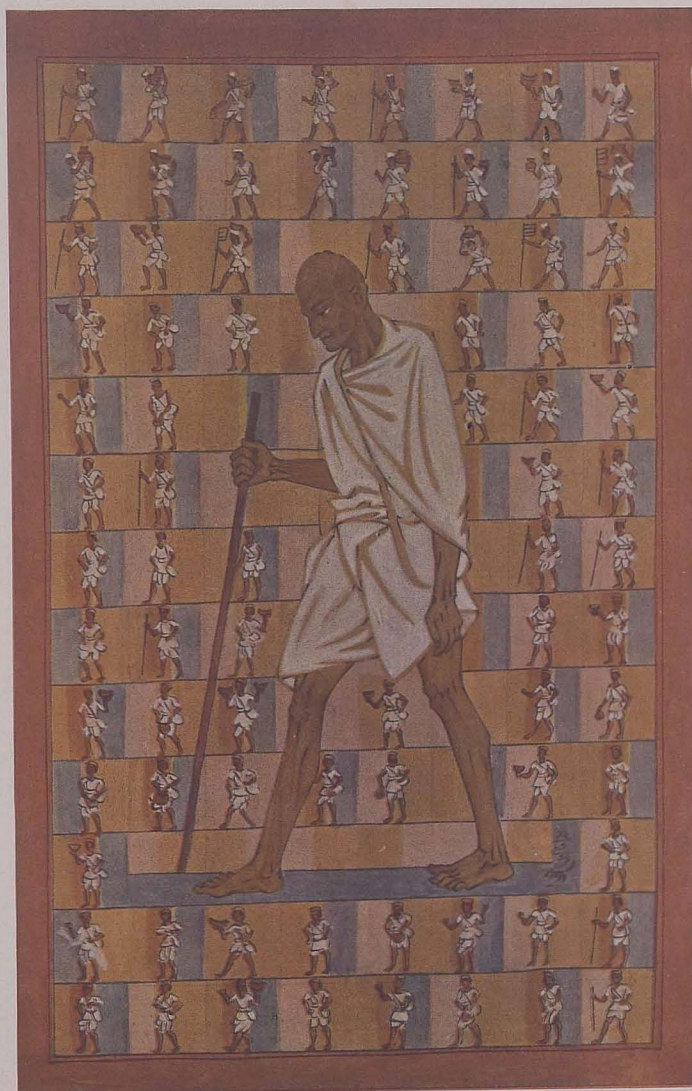
The part played by Christian educationists and missionaries in this historical process cannot be too strongly emphasised. The early missions contained men who dedicated themselves to the task of spiritual conversion

and regeneration, but even more important than their spiritual influence was their influence upon the social mind of the age. They were the educators of youth, and with the political and economic background sketched above, their message of Western culture revolutionised the mentality of those who came into contact with them. Indiscriminate imitation and adoption of Western habits led to excesses that were at times foolish and still inevitable in the circumstances of the times. Every thing Indian was discarded and young enthusiasts sought to suppress the whole of their racial and cultural past.

The period of blind and indiscriminate imitation did not continue long. Finer spirits from the West reinterpreted the culture of the East, but the reaction was implicit in the economic situation itself. Paradoxical as it may sound, capitalism with its political expression in Imperial domination exaggerated the importance of nationality. The essence of capitalism lies in the capture and exploitation of foreign markets, and the logical sequel to the process of large scale production it initiates is a world monopoly. And yet, since the profits of such world wide exploitation have to be confined to a particular class, that class has to exalt the idea of nationality to divert the attention of the dispossessed among its own people.

Emphasis upon nationality and the uniqueness of British culture necessarily provoked a consciousness of Indian nationality. Though the economic implications of political subjugation were not always clearly realised, a spirit of intense patriotism developed. From the former repudiation of every thing Indian, the reaction led to a blind adoration of the part. The renaissance was lost in mere revivalism and nationalism served as a pretext for reviving old

RAMGARH CONGRESS SOUVENIR, 1940.



DANDI MARCH
By Nandalal Bose

By courtesy of the artist and The Modern Review

superstitions. Even today, we are passing through that phase, and the curious amalgam of politics, religion and social superstitions that shock a scientific student may be attributed to this perverted sense of nationalism. Thus the idea of nationalism was borrowed from the West, and yet its development inevitably led to the repudiation of all things Western. Western ideas which had served as the foci of new lines of development were often rejected simply because they derived from the West. The attention was too often diverted from the essentials and concentrated upon trivial externals that hardly mattered in the nation's life.

Nationalism with its uncertainty between the adoption of Western modes of life and the clinging to old and superseded social forms profoundly disturbed the mentality of the age and naturally enough the disturbance was the greater in the case of the young. The process did not, however, stop here, for the growing interconnection of the world forced India to consider simultaneously the succeeding stages through which European culture had passed. It has already been suggested that the development of capitalism led to world monopoly and monopoly immediately raised questions about the distribution of its profits among the various members of society. A primitive rural economy can be centred round the family or the tribe. The father tills and the mother weaves and cooks. Children help in the field or house. Each family reproduces society in miniature. With growing specialisation and increasing skill in different types of work, the tribe or village took the place of the family, but the life of the tribe or village still remains self-contained. It is only when trade and commerce develop that social interdependence becomes sufficiently strong to colour communal psychology.

India at the advent of the West was just emerging from the stage of rural economy. The family was still the centre of life and even today, our social consciousness operates on the plane of the individual or the family. Individually, Indians are one of the cleanest people in the world and yet our ideas of social cleanliness are lamentably low. Scrupulously clean in our persons, we hardly notice the dirt and filth in our surroundings. Into this world of individual social consciousness, the West burst in with its industrial capitalism and the concomitant development of a complex social consciousness.

The impact of British capitalism brought with it the emphasis upon national consciousness. But before the lesson could be fully learnt, the process in Europe had moved a stage forward, and India, before she had evolved her capitalism or her nationality, was faced with the problem of organising her life in terms of social collectivism. In Europe, the great war profoundly shook the basis of existing culture and revealed the contradiction between nationality and capitalism in a naked form. New ideas captured the imagination of the intellectually alert and sensitive, and the profound disturbance in man's accepted beliefs and habits culminated in the socialist revolution of Russia. It is yet too early to estimate its repercussions on the various levels of social life, but the challenge to private property and the profit motive is too deep to be ignored by any type of social form. The capitalistic urge towards monopoly was brought to its logical conclusion but the purpose of the monopoly was transformed from that of private benefit to social utilisation.

The idea of nationality had profoundly disturbed the Indian national consciousness. The disturbance was naturally enough most

pronounced in the minds of the student community. They were directly receiving the impact of new ideas and on the other hand, they possessed sufficient resilience of mind to react to every influence brought to bear upon them. Also, they were relatively free from the stabilising influence of vested interests, for as students they had not yet been fitted into the social framework in any specific form. Infinite possibilities were open before them and this very fact made their minds receptive and eager for new ideas.

There was another reason why the idea of socialism appealed so strongly to Indian youth. The war had disillusioned young men all over the world, about the possibilities of capitalism and yet the system in India under which the middle class continually expanded at the cost of both the workers and the capitalists always threatened them with unemployment and starvation. Students derived mainly from the middle class and the spectre of unemployment haunted the whole of their student life. We have already seen that the middle class evolved in India to serve the interests of British capitalism. Its natural growth was towards the evolution of indigenous capitalism, a process resisted by the British through political and economic pressure. And yet the relative comforts of the middle class continually attracted recruits from less developed strata of society. In the sequel a middle class grew up which was too numerous for the purpose for which it had been intended. They refused to go back to a lower level of economic competence and yet their march forward was hampered in a thousand ways. Unemployment increased and also discontent.

The sense of frustration so often exhibited by Indian student today is the direct outcome of this state of affairs. Socialism with its ideal of social justice and equality

of opportunities challenges their endeavour and their faith, and yet the context in which they have to work and live seems far removed from the realisation of this changed social order. The conflict between their aspiration and their surroundings provokes in the majority despondence and light hearted flippancy, and it is only in a minority that it challenges determined effort and striving. In the complex and often inchoate mentality of the Indian student of today, the three elements which cause the greatest ferment are the ideas of nationality and socialism and a sense of utter frustration and purposelessness.

IV

This brief historical sketch has been attempted in order to understand the genesis of the forces which are fermenting in the minds of Indian youth today. The conflict of ideals introduced uncertainty and hesitation into their convictions. Loss of assurance and poise was accompanied by manifestations which are often disturbing in their vehemence. Few impartial person can deny the profound changes that have taken place in the last two decades, but that has generally been lost sight of is that these changes mark only the culmination of a process that began long ago. Like most other revolutionary changes in nature and in human society, a long period of silent and unobtrusive preparation went on unnoticed till suddenly people realised with a shock the difference between the order in which they had grown and to which they had become accustomed and the new stage of affairs with all its disturbing novelty.

In this new mentality among students, the characteristic which compels our attention most is the attitude of defiance of authority that has grown in recent years. To older generations and persons in power, this rejection of authority has appeared as mere

turbulence and indiscipline. It has provoked regret and at times a horrified anticipation of the gloomy prospects of India. This is historically unjustified, for given the conditions sketched above, the modern manifestations were inevitable, and yet their perturbation is not strange or unexpected. They were brought up in a society which was based upon the conception of authority. The Indian religions emphasised revelation and sanction. Status was the basis of the order of society and status was immutable as the order of nature itself. Islam's democratic onslaught had shaken that edifice of sanction and authority, but had not demolished it. And there was beside in Islam, in its emphasis upon the finality of revelation, elements which buttressed the authoritarian structure of society. The same was the case with Christianity, and in any case, till the revolution in the means of communication and intercourse through the railway, the post office and the printing press, the outpost of Christianity and Islam had to adapt themselves to the intellectual territory in which they found themselves.

Besides, Imperialism is incompatible with the rejection of authority. Whatever the inner meaning of Islam or Christianity, neither Moghul nor British Imperialism wanted to substitute authority by criticism as the intellectual outlook of society. Education was, therefore, in both the Imperial regimes based upon the idea of unquestioning acceptance. Questioning and criticism were discouraged by both alike. After the advent of the British, however, the interplay of political and economic forces sketched above made it impossible to maintain this state of affairs indefinitely. The fundamental contradiction in the British demand for an enlarged middle class first expressed itself as political discontent of an intellectually alert minority, but soon pervaded the whole of society

as a spirit of unrest and rejection of old values.

The ebullience of spirit in the student community is, therefore, a symptom of the times and conditioned by the historical forces which are shaping the destiny of India. The authoritarian basis of society and education was challenged, and in the first flush of intellectual emancipation, it was inevitable that there should be excesses everywhere. Student unrest today, therefore, marks the transition from the attitude of mind based upon acceptance to one based on appeal to reason and the intellect.

The transformation, inevitable result of a long process of transitional changes, came as a shock to those whose mental and social habits had become ossified. On the other hand, the attitude of criticism and intellectual examination is still extensive rather than intensive. The confusion of nationalism with obscurantism has already been indicated but a more novel and curious phenomenon is the amalgamation of doctrinaire socialism with sectarian communalism of an extreme type. The demand of social justice, which forms the basis of all socialistic theories, is abstracted from its own context and distorted to suit the purposes of vested interests who use communal passion for their own ends. Instead of serving as a cementing bond to knit together the various sections of exploited classes, the plea for socialism becomes, through the intrusion of extraneous religious circumstances, a guarantee of the iniquities which make the present social order so unacceptable to all thinking minds.

Revivalism and renaissance are, therefore, working at cross purposes in India today. Deprived of their traditional moorings, moving away from the attitude of acceptance which has served as the basis of Indian social life till now, it is small wonder that

the perplexity of the student community should express itself in unrest or even indiscipline. The old security of life has been shattered and with it has gone all the old and familiar ideals of life. Not only that, but the growing interlacing of world affairs is making the student of today more keenly conscious of the utter futility of his attempt at maintenance of isolation or equanimity. Decisions, which have nothing to do with his own hopes and demands, and by men with whom he neither has nor can have any personal contact, may determine the course of his life and decide between life and death for him and his generation.

It is reason alone that can, out of the crumbling ruins of the Indian past, build a heritage in which future generations might delight and pride. The attitude of criticism is growing but its objectives are yet uncertain and indefinite. Discrimination between what to preserve and what to reject of our great social heritage has not yet developed. Criticism is often directed at the external and the unimportant while fundamental weaknesses remain untouched. Nor is it always safe to point out such fundamental defects or weaknesses, for on account of the confusion of renaissance and revivalism, of communalism and extreme radicalism, the atmosphere is so charged with passions that the slightest spark may lead to a conflagration.

The blind imitation of the West was followed by its equally blind rejection, and in this blind denial, values of great importance to India stand in danger of being unnecessarily sacrificed. If this tendency holds, India may again be dissociated from the general current of the civilisation of the world, and since in the modern world of interlaced communications and connections isolation is impossible, attempted

isolation will only lead to economic and political disaster. It is easy to understand the reluctance of the average Indian patriot to accept the values of the West, for to him they must bring memories of cultural imperialism and national humiliation. Inferiority complex often expresses itself through an exaggerated assertion of superiority and much of the recent happenings in India become easy to understand when one remembers this.

The new leaven among students can help this fusion of the civilisation of the East and the West by adopting and adapting elements of permanent value in both. The ideal of social justice is today the most vital force in a distracted world. It challenges the sway of exploitation and imperialism and attacks social iniquity and inequality at their very base. Its instrument of attack is the machine which liberates human energy and makes it possible to guarantee leisure to every single individual. For the first time in human history, the enslavement of nature renders unnecessary the enslavement of man and a new order of society dominates the vision of every intellectually alert man in the world. The increasing conquest of space and time, revolutionary changes in the methods of warfare and attack, transformation of the means and scale of production and distribution and the growing integration of the social and economic life of different regions of the world compel a movement in the same direction. Conflicts grow out of a sense of wrong and if the very bases of conflict are not eradicated, the whole structure of world civilisation must come down with a crash. The present war in Europe is a sharp reminder of this truth. It has already shown how imperialism, in spite of frantic endeavours after compromise, cannot achieve a permanent equilibrium. Economic exploitation and the attendant sense of wrong are

inherent in the nature of imperialism and cannot be removed without the liquidation of imperialism itself. Ideals of justice and the necessity of practical adjustment, therefore, combine in demanding a new orientation of society and Indian independence is an essential ingredient in that process. Students in India must necessarily take an

active part in that struggle for independence and have at the same time the important function of preserving for India the elements of value from the already decaying civilisations of the past and of formulating and interpreting the new demands which the emerging world civilisation makes of individuals in every corner of the globe.



BETWEEN
THE GOLDEN
AND
THE DIAMOND
JUBILEES

DR. B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

It looks as if it were yesterday that we celebrated the fifty-year Jubilee of the Indian National Congress. And, strangely enough, in reviewing the events of the last five years we notice the fact that both then and now

quinquennium we have covered the progress of decades. Such is the time-spirit of the age. Political advancement does not follow *the rule of three* or the regulations of *Ratio and Proportion*. The days of *Arithmetical progression* are gone. We are marching with an accelerated speed determined by the principles of *Geometrical progression*.

When in December 1935 we celebrated the Golden Jubilee of the Congress, there was little jubilation in the country over the then political stalemate that had overtaken its politics. The celebrations were purely chronological, not psychological. For, in April, 1934 we had suspended Civil Disobedience; we had played our trump-card but did not win the game. We were waiting for the pack to be shuffled and the cards to be dealt. And even so we had to wait for our opponents to call. We had played the dummy for a time with our cards open. We gave full opportunity to the party opposite to lead. If we may vary the metaphor, the British were determined to force the Federation of the 1935 brand down our throats through a process of artificial feeding when we were virtually on hunger-strike. We were hungering for freedom and the rations provided were not only inadequate but were also hurtful to the National Being.

Rajendra Babu is our dearly beloved and widely respected President. One almost feels that he has been the President not merely at that end and this—but all through. And what is equally pleasant to contemplate, the next session is to be held at Ramgarh in Rajendra Babu's province. During the

The first half of the potion was injected into our stomachs, and, after a certain resistance we retained the doubtful pabulum in the hope of combating it with our digestive juices and began to *digest* the *ingested* contents instead of straightway *egesting* them. A new situation arose. The process of forced feeding had to be brought to a stop lest the body politic prosper and flourish even upon it.

The use to which Provincial Autonomy was put by these astute Indian Ministers in province after province dumb-founded our friends. A nation-wide scheme of reforms—economic, social and religious—was taken on hand. Different provinces displayed different forms of genius. *Here* was a scheme of debt conciliation which brought down the interest by 40 crores in the Madras Presidency automatically and another two crores through Courts. *There* is *prohibition* which has brought light and happiness to many a home struck with poverty, intoxication and brutality. The process of humanization has begun in right earnest. The age-long oppression of the tenantry has at last begun to realize that its own end is drawing nigh. The rich house-owners of Bombay had to bear the brunt of social reform which brought the benefits of *Prohibition* to the city. Agrarian reform of a more equitable distribution of the financial burdens between the rural and urban population, that time-old blot upon Indian civilization and sin against God has been undertaken in right earnest, and for the first time in their lives, the Harijans have caught a glimpse of the hitherto invisible deity enshrined in the great temples of the South. The village industries have been rescued from their perishing condition. Light has begun to dawn once again in the East. A new Hope and a new Faith have taken possession of the voice-less millions of India.

All this was unbearable to the demi-gods who least expected the kind of apple fruit that the thorny bush of Provincial Autonomy began to bear. And what would happen if Federation, too, should be super-imposed upon this, grafted on to this. A rich crop of freedom, social emancipation, national self-respect, yea, real independence of India would ensue. And then? It would be an end of monopolies, reservations and safeguards. So the British have begun to dally with Federation. The States came handy to these foreign exploiters. The Princes were designedly brought into existence as buffers between an awakened India and a despotic Britain. The people of the States have not shared the benefits of franchise conferred upon 3½ crores of population in the Provinces. There was a gulf—unbridgeable between British 'India' and Indian India. Yet a bridge has been constructed between the two and is about to be declared open to traffic. In the meantime, war has broken out in Europe and came handy to the British to bid goodbye to Federation and encroach upon the powers of Ministers inside the scheme of Provincial Autonomy who, therefore, resigned. Thus part III has been withdrawn or suspended by Government, while Part II has been killed by the Congress, and between the two, the Act of 1935 stands wrecked. This is the achievement of the quinquennium under review.

Our gains are not merely these negative achievements. The psychology of the people has changed from one of despair in 1935 to one of confidence in ourselves in 1940. To-day we demand a declaration from the British Government that India has a right to Complete Independence, worked out by the Indians on Indian soil for India through India's representatives, and immediately brought into force in all its essentials, so as

to transfer forthwith Defence into Indian hands. The British are anxious to settle but unwilling to yield. It is a tragedy of Indian history—ancient and modern, that at the crucial moment the nation should be divided into two warring camps of Hindus and Muslims while the Congress is functioning, to its best ability, as a synthetising factor. All possible fissiparous forces tend to assert themselves at such junctures. There are, too, inter-current divisions and schisms brought about by young patriots fascinated by all that they have seen and read of the West—socialists, communists, and so on. The pace of the elder is too slow for them. The non-violence of the latter does not make a stirring appeal to their hearts. They would fain have Gandhi's leadership, but have it on their own terms. Yet in the midst of these conflicts

and contradictions there stands out one man who is the embodied spirit of India, a man that speaks with authority, whom India reveres and Britain dreads and the rest of the world admires, who has the control of the young and the old and the middle-aged in his hands, who has the wisdom of a statesman and the power of a prophet and who holds the key to India's salvation at this moment under his care. Between Bombay (1934, October) and Ramgarh (1940, March), the Congress met at Lucknow and Faizpur, at Haripura and Tripuri; but the real contribution to India's progress owes its origin and course to the unchallenged leadership of Mahatma Gandhi who is the one force that may, by his unerring guidance, direct the nation's march to its goal of complete independence.





THE MACHINE AGE vs. CIVILISATION

DR. BHARATAN KUMARAPPA

The tendency today is to mistake civilisation for a greater and greater use of machinery. The West is thought to have made great strides in civilisation since the Industrial Revolution. Similarly Japan has obtained rank among the 'civilised' nations of the world since she, following the methods of the West, industrialised herself. Nor is this surprising. For what after all, it may be said, distinguishes us from the other animals but our capacity to invent tools to help us accomplish our purposes? The animal has to have natural protection such as a covering of fur or hair, or teeth and claws, if it is to survive in the struggle for existence. Civilised man does not require these. He can afford to shave his beard off everyday and have all his teeth removed. Why? Because he has invented devices which make it unnecessary for him to depend like the animal on natural methods of protection. To cover himself he needs no hair. He uses cloth, silks,

rugs, blankets, shawls, quilts and what not. He lives in houses which he can artificially heat to maintain an even temperature through the severest winter or cool with ice and electric fans through the hottest summer. Nor does he need teeth and claws to protect himself from his enemy. He uses submarines, bombs and poison gas whereby he can take lives of the innocent from behind their back without exposing himself to danger. With the weapon that nature gives, one animal can but attack another, but man has so improved on nature that with his weapons he can wipe out whole cities. Well, is this not civilisation? It should be, if civilisation is but the capacity to accomplish our purposes through devices born out of ingenuity. The more effective the weapon the more civilised the man using it. This sounds logical, but not quite convincing. We feel instinctively that there is a flaw in the argument somewhere, for it cannot be that

the logical outcome of civilisation is wholesale massacre of mankind.

If we are to detect the flaw, we must define our terms. We cannot speak loosely of "civilisation" as we have done. Civilisation can not consist merely in effectively accomplishing our purposes whatever they may be. Then a clever pick-pocket or a skilful robber will have to be classified as civilised which is, perhaps, what he is actually thought to be in some circles when the culprit works on a national scale, as in Europe today. But the unprejudiced opinion of mankind will be opposed to equating civilisation with such skilful plunder.

If we would gain a true idea of what civilisation is, we must ask ourselves what are the purposes which are peculiar to man, longings and aspirations which distinguish him from the rest of creation and make him superior to them; for it is in the realisation of those that civilisation must consist. The answer is obvious. The aims which are peculiar to man are those that relate to knowledge, morality, art and religion. It is in his conscious quest for the true, the good, the beautiful, and the infinite that man distinguishes himself from and rises above the level of the other creatures. These others may move towards the same end in an unconscious instinctive way, but in man these purposes attain self-consciousness, and if he pursues them he does so deliberately and by choice. Civilisation then on the subjective side will mean that quality of character and conduct which makes a man alert to matters pertaining to knowledge, morality, art and religion resulting in a greater and greater realisation of these in his own life. And on the objective side civilisation

will mean progress in science and philosophy, and application of these to make life easier and more comfortable. It will mean social and economic organisation which will promote the greatest happiness of the greatest number. It will mean development of literature, music, dance, painting, sculpture, architecture, crafts, beauty of speech, movement, manner and such like. Finally, it will mean a form of religion which seeks through knowledge, morality and art to find that—the only Real, the Imperishable, the Eternal, the Home of the True, the Good and the Beautiful.

If civilisation is all, this it is obvious that more ingenuity in devising machinery does not make a man civilised. Much will depend on the purpose for which the machine has been invented. If it is in order to satisfy the lust of the owner of the machine for power and wealth even at the cost of enslaving and exploiting the helplessness of others, then the use of such machines, far from bespeaking civilisation, proclaims the lack of it. Viewed thus, the so-called advanced nations of the world, who are at each others' throats for colonies and dependencies and ultimately recognise no law other than physical might, belong more properly to the jungle. The machine instead of aiding civilisation has, in their case, hindered it. It is easier, it would seem, for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for these machine-owners to be susceptible to human values. Contrary then to the common assumption that the use of complicated machinery spells civilisation, we appear to be driven to the conclusion, made clearer from day to day and amply vindicated by events in Europe and Japan, that the machine age is, if anything, an age of barbarism.

The machine admirer is, however, unconvinced. He replies that it is not the machine which is responsible for this sorry state of affairs but the greed of the capitalist, and even as the machine has served the greed of the capitalist it can serve the needs of the community if only the community could have possession of the machine. The machines, which science has made possible, will then bring in a new heaven and a new earth. Wealth will be obtained in abundance and distributed amongst the workers, who will have plenty of leisure and ample opportunities provided in the way of schools, colleges, libraries, institutes of music and fine art, drama, dance, and public parks for their all round mental and physical development. The scheme is alluring especially as it promises much for little. The only snag is that civilisation such as we have described being impossible, as we shall see, with the use of large machines, is sought to be acquired in moments of leisure. But this raises the crucial question whether the damage done to one's mental, moral and physical make-up by factory labour can be made good by recreational activities during leisure.

For what does factory labour involve beyond attending to the machine as it performs the same movement hour after hour, day after day? For this nothing is required on the part of the factory hand except a pair of eyes and hands, no intelligence, no initiative, no character, no artistic sense, no religion, nothing that makes a man a human being. What can a person, who spends the best part of his life thus, amount to but a walking machine devoid of soul? As there is no outlet for the human side of his nature in his occupation he is a nervous wreck and is driven to indulging himself in drink, gambling and

vice, or at the best, in frequenting cinemas, dance-halls and vandeville shows, or reading novels or walking the street. These have come with industrialisation and perhaps form an indispensable adjunct to it.

But, it may be replied, though factory labour may have a bad effect on the worker, still under communism there will be ample opportunities provided for developing oneself in leisure in accordance with one's own inborn capacity and inclination so that the evil will be more than counter-balanced by the good and lead to a great civilisation broad-based in the life of the workers who in the end constitute the people. Plausible as this may sound in theory, it is worthless unless it stands the test of practice. Fortunately the test is within the reach of all of us. We need only ask ourselves how we actually spend our leisure from day to day—we, the educated and the so-called privileged class who ought to know how to spend leisure. Do we not waste most of it, if not all of it, in idle talk, light reading or some other form of amusement? Leisure is for most of us a time for relaxation or for frivolity, where we go from one thing to another as suits our fancy. If we are to develop ourselves our activities must be controlled by a seriousness of purpose which will keep us at our task in spite of obstacles and hardships, and that is provided for the bulk of mankind in work. Work calls for thought, perseverance, patience, steadiness of purpose, initiative, industry, application to detail, exactness, precision, a sense of proportion and finish, skill, self-reliance and artistic ability—all valuable traits of character which cannot be acquired by most people except in and through their occupation. Leisure is too easy-going and frivolous to evoke these

qualities. If this be true, then to hope to achieve through leisure what work under factory conditions makes impossible is a counsel of despair.

Whether under capitalistic or under communistic methods of production, then the civilisation of mankind seems to be endangered through the use of large-scale machinery. A multitude of goods is no doubt assured to some under capitalism, and to all, as it is claimed, under socialism ; but at what cost ? At the cost of de-humanising the masses. A generation of factory hands are to be produced who, in the process of work, are to have no scope for intelligence, initiative or artistic sense. What they produce and how is to be determined not by themselves but by a few who plan production and by the nature of the machine. Theirs is not to reason why ; theirs is but to do and die. They are but cogs in the wheel. The most sacred thing a person possesses, *viz.* individuality, is to find no expression in work. The nation is thus to be reduced to a regiment of man, devoid of personality. Can anything be more terrible for the future of humanity ?

If this great evil is to be averted and civilisation saved, the only way is to see that the work of the world is not carried on by means of huge machines, but that, as far as possible, it is left in the hands of small producers who will plan and determine for themselves what they will produce and how. It is only thus that there can be a healthy development of individuality, and with individuality civilisation.

But, it may be replied, that if we revert thus to cottage production, sooner or later we shall find ourselves again in capitalism where the more efficient

producer gradually swallows up the less efficient and enlarging his machinery monopolises to himself all the production and centralises it in a factory under his ownership and direction. To this, our answer is :—An enlightened state cannot allow greed and selfishness to play havoc with its people. It exists to protect them and safeguard their interests. It will, therefore, put an end to such a development immediately. Further, under a well planned economic system, people will be educated to see how they cause injury to themselves and others by encouraging factory production, how they deprive themselves and their neighbours of employment, and upset the whole economic stability of the community by increasing production without relation to demand. They will be taught the virtue of putting into practice the ideal of *swadeshi* according to which consumption is restricted as far as possible to articles produced in the immediate neighbourhood. Consequently there will be little incentive on the part of producers elsewhere to expand their business in order to capture other markets. The economic order—or is it chaos ?—that prevails today in capitalistic countries has no philosophy or plan behind it. The only consideration that has brought it into being and controls it is greed for more and more wealth. In an economic system which can claim to be civilised, on the other hand, human values,—*i.e.* considerations as to whether the economic system promotes the development of intelligence, character, artistic and spiritual sense of the masses—will have supreme control.

In our country wealth was never given supreme place. On the other hand, poverty—a renunciation for attainment of spiritual ends, was wellnigh worshipped. The

highest caste was the priest who was expected to look after the spiritual needs of the people and was maintained by them, while the merchant who lived for amassing wealth was classified as one of the lower castes. If we are then to be true to our cultural traditions we shall have to set the lead in establishing an economic order where it is not gold that is worshipped, but spiritual values. We may not in that case be able to turn out an abundance of goods like the industrialised

nations are doing but we shall be able to preserve and develop what is of incomparably greater value, the personality of the individual that constitutes our people. Only thus should we be able to save our nation from the demoralisation and barbarism into which the countries which have taken to large-scale centralised production are plunged, and only thus can we help to lead mankind from war to peace, from darkness and misery to light and joy, from savagery to civilisation.

SWARAJ IS OUR BIRTH-RIGHT

—Lokmanya Tilak

MAZHAR-UL-HAQUE

AS I KNEW HIM

SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA

The passing away of Mazhar-ul-Haque, at the age of sixty-four, in 1930, was undoubtedly a great loss to public activities in Bihar, although for the last seven years of his life he had lived in retirement. For a long time, however, he had played a notable part in the political evolution of modern India. Haque was born in December, 1866. In 1886—at the rather advanced age of twenty—he passed Matriculation, and took his admission into the Patna College. In 1887 he went to Lucknow, and joined there the Canning College; but in May, 1888, he took a pilgrim steamer to Aden with but Rs. 70 in his pocket, and awaited there for further remittance from home. After a weary waiting for three months there, he got sufficient funds, and then started for England, arriving in London in September of that year. He was received there by Ali Imam, who had then been there for about a year. In England he devoted his time not only to the study of law, but other subjects as well. He started there the *Anjuman Islamia*, which for years was a favourite meeting place of Muslim and non-Muslim Indians, and which I used to attend, since my arrival in London in February, 1890. In due course, he was called to the Bar in July, 1891, and on his return he was enrolled as an advocate of the Calcutta High Court. While in England, he studied elocution, and used to recite wonderfully well famous scenes

from Shakespeare and Sheridan. Haque began his practice at Patna and soon made his mark in the profession; but in 1892, he accepted the post of a Munsiff in Oudh, to the great surprise of all his friends. When I joined the Patna Bar in April 1893, he had been away from Bihar for over a year. But soon he began to dislike the sedentary work of a judicial officer, which was not congenial to his temperament, also, as it was far too narrow a field for the full play of his energies. He, therefore, resigned his post in 1896, returned to Bihar, resumed practice at Chapra, and at once made a name for himself as a sound and capable criminal lawyer. Later, he was unanimously elected Vice-Chairman of the local Municipality, and during the three years of his tenure of office, he completely overhauled the municipal administration, and considerably improved its financial condition.

II

But the activities of his early years faded into insignificance before the valuable contribution that Haque made to the political activities of the country. A man of wide outlook, his sturdy independence, courage of conviction, and intense patriotism were apparent in everything that he did, or said, in matters political. In 1906 it was decided by the non-nationalist section of the Mussalmans to start a political Association with the object (as was started in the circular issued at the time) of

supporting "every measure emanating from the Government, and to oppose all demands of the Congress." A meeting was called at Dacca for the purpose of starting this organisation. Haque at once saw the great harm that was likely to result from an association with such objects as those mentioned in the militant and aggressive circular issued by its organisers. With Hasan Imam, he at once went to Dacca and the two Biharee nationalists succeeded in pushing into the background the proposed institution, and starting in its place the All-India Muslim League, with aims and objects wholly different from those originally proposed. Haque acted as its Secretary in the beginning, and organized and nursed it very carefully. Later, he presided over one of its annual sessions in Bombay, in 1915, and delivered a notable presidential address, that created a great impression in the country. In the unfortunate and regrettable controversy that raged about separate and mixed electorates in connection with the Morley-Minto Reforms, he was put on his mettle, and stood out prominently in opposing manfully and courageously the demands of the Muslim non-nationalists for separate electorates throughout. He was attacked by the vast bulk of the Muslim press in India. Contumely, ridicule and abuse were poured upon him, but they did not in the least affect his nerve or his patriotism. He fought, and fought hard, unmindful of the consequences. He was one of the greatest apostles of Hindu-Muslim unity, and always preached and practised it, both in public and private, and he successfully stood the severest tests in this connection.

Early in 1908 Haque removed himself to Patna, for he felt that at a small place, like Chapra, his public activities and great energy could not find a free

play in the service of his country. He risked, in doing so, an extensive practice there, when he returned to Patna. But his fame had already preceded him, and he soon became one of the leaders of the Patna Bar. Once at Patna, Haque co-operated with his non-Muslim friends in organizing the Bihar Provincial Conference, the first session of which was held in 1908, with Ali Imam as its President. The association of the Mussalman leaders had the most salutary effect upon the fortunes of the Conference. All the Mussalmans of light and leading joined it in a body, and Bihar then presented a unique spectacle, in the whole of India, of Muslims and non-Muslims working shoulder to shoulder in complete harmony, inspired by common ideals and aspirations. On the introduction of the Morley-Minto Reforms, Haque was twice elected to the old Imperial Legislative Council, and his work there was always inspired by a high sense of patriotism and sturdy independence. He was Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Patna session of the Congress, held in 1912, and in that capacity delivered a remarkable inaugural address, which was widely appreciated throughout the country. It was my great privilege to be his co-adjutor, as Secretary to the Reception Committee.

When in 1914, a deputation was sent to London by the Congress, Haque was elected to serve on it, along with Bhupendra Nath Basu, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, N. M. Samartha, B. N. Sarma, Lajpat Rai and myself, and we did our best to carry out the mandate of the Congress. In 1917, when Mahatma Gandhi came to work in Champaran, Haque, along with some others, readily lent him his fullest support. And in 1920, on the inauguration of non-co-operation, he readily gave

up his lucrative practice at the Bar, and threw himself heart and soul into the new movement. He started an English weekly, called *The Motherland*. It was while editing that journal that he offended the jail authorities in connection with the treatment of political prisoners, for which he was prosecuted, and had to suffer incarceration for three months. Later, he removed to his village home, where he lived a retired life till his death. But even in his retirement he was a source of considerable inspiration to many a worker in the field of politics. He acted for three years as Chairman of the Saran District Board as well. He now found great consolation in the study of philosophy and spiritualism, which was his chief hobby during his period of retirement.

III

Until he became a non-co-operator, in 1920, Haque was one of the five best-dressed Indians I have known—the other four being Mr. (now Mahatma) Gandhi, the late Pandit Motilal Nehru, the late Mr. Deep Narain Singh and Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who all affected, for many years, the foreign style of dress. Mr. Gandhi, while studying for the Bar, in London, might have been not unjustly called a dandy, when I was introduced to him, in the early nineties of the last century, as evidenced by a photographic reproduction of his, appearing in various publications relating to his early career. Pandit Motilal, Haque and Deep Narain were the leaders of fashion in their respective Provinces, till they came, in 1920, under the influence of the now world-famous “naked faqir”, while Mr. Jinnah, even to-day (in his sixty-third year) lives the life he has lived all along, arraying himself in clothes made by fashionable tailors in Saville Row and Bond Street. But once he

accepted the Mahatma's lead, Haque suddenly became a changed man. He locked up his fastidiously well-tailored suits, metamorphosed himself from a clean-shaven man into literally a “bearded padre”, forsook his foreign style of living, built for himself outside Patna a hermitage, called it *Sadaqat Asfram* (“The Abode of Truth”)—which is still the chief centre of Congress activities in Bihar—gave up the use of motor car, abjured meat and drink, and transformed himself into a veritable recluse. And so he stuck to his new life and ideals until the last. I have referred to his prosecution and conviction on a charge of criminal defamation, for what had appeared in his journal, *The Motherland*, reflecting (as was alleged) on the late Colonel Sir Hormuzji Banatwalla, a distinguished officer of the Indian Medical Service, and the then Inspector-General of Prisons in Bihar and Orissa, Haque's colleague on *The Motherland*, a well-known South Indian journalist (Mr. Manthreswar Sharma) has correctly recorded the facts relating to the trial, which I reproduce below:

“The prosecution had been based on the flimsiest of grounds, Mazharul Haque had written in *The Motherland*, criticising the treatment meted out to political prisoners in the Bihar and Orissa jails. Colonel Banatwalla was prevailed upon to seek Government's permission to prosecute Haque. They looked upon this a convenient alternative to (the then Judicial Member of Government) Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha's blunt refusal to prosecute Haque for sedition. But Mr. Sinha could not justly refuse permission to an officer who wanted to proceed against Haque, in order to defend his own reputation which, in his opinion, had been slandered. The case dragged on from month to month. Haque declined to give bail, and

the Magistrate had to release him from custody and depend on his own honour to attend the sittings. Now, if only Haque had defended himself and let in some evidence to prove his allegations, Colonel Banatwalla's case would have been sure to be dismissed. But because, it was the Congress policy not to engage oneself in defence in State or semi-State prosecutions, Haque politely declined to take part in the proceedings. The result was that the Magistrate had to depend entirely on the legally un rebutted evidence of Colonel Banatwalla." "Although I was"—continues the writer—"a non-co-operator in those days, I could not reconcile myself to Haque going to jail for no real offence. I, therefore, prevailed upon a friend to accompany me to Haque's *Ashtam*, to endorse my suggestion that Haque should let me offer evidence which had been placed into my hands by some friend. But Haque would not agree, try as we might to influence and persuade him. Finally, he threatened that if I persisted in my idea, he would non-co-operate with me ! Knowing his determined nature, I gave way. Haque's point was that he had decided to be a non-co-operator. Having made up his mind, he ought not, by any means, to look back."

IV

Communalism was absolutely abhorrent to Haque, and when at the Congress session held at Allahabad in 1910, Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah moved the resolution condemning communal representation in the legislatures, Haque seconded it in an able and forceful speech. As the Morley-Minto Reforms had just come into operation embodying, for the first time, a scheme of communal representation in the Legislative Councils, it required the utmost sincerity of purpose and courage of conviction to be able to say, as Haque did,

to the non-nationalist Muslims, that their success was really injurious to the common interest of the two great communities, and that what was wanted was that they should join hands and not remain apart in watertight compartments. He remained a staunch nationalist to the end ; while his broad-mindedness and patriotism endeared him to all who knew him, or had the privilege of working with him. Perhaps it is all the good that he passed away before the recent developments in the Muslim League he founded and presided over, for his sensitive soul and emotional temperament would have received a terrible shock ; nor the defection of Mr. Jinnah from the principles of nationalism would have been at all to his liking. Be that as it may, there can be no doubt whatsoever that Haque, throughout his public career, was a consistent and whole-hearted nationalist, and an open foe of communalism in any shape and form. He lived and died as a true apostle of Indian nationalism and a tower of strength to its cause, and it is right and proper that the newly-built city, at which the next session of the Congress is to be held, should have been named after him ; for if any one in the province of Bihar deserved that unique honour, it was Mazhar-ul-Haque, beyond a shadow of doubt. Having had the privilege of knowing him intimately for a period of over forty long years, I am glad to have got this opportunity of paying my humble tribute to the memory of this great and genuine nationalist. Of Mazhar-ul-Haque I could write "much and long", but what I have said will, I trust, satisfy the reader that he was a man of a type of distinctly above the average of what we find in India to-day. Indeed, it might truly be said of him, what Shakespeare, in his *Julius Caesar*, put into the mouth of Antony when describing the character of Brutus :

This was the noblest Roman of them all ;
His life was gentle ; and the elements
So mixed in him, that Nature might stand up,
And say to all the world : 'This was a man'!



PROGRESS OF BASIC NATIONAL EDUCATION

SHRI E. W. ARYANAYAKAM

Secretary, Hindustani Talimi Sangh

At the Haripura session of the Indian National Congress the following resolution on national education was passed :—

“The Congress has emphasised the importance of national education ever since 1906, and during the non-co-operation period many national educational institutions were started under its auspices. The Congress attaches the utmost importance to a proper organization of mass education, and holds that all national progress ultimately depends on the method and content and objective of the education that is provided for the people. The existing system of education in India is admitted to have failed. Its objectives have been antiquated and it has been confined to a small number of people and has left the vast majority of our people illiterate. It is essential, therefore, to build up national education on a new foundation and on a nation-wide scale. As the Congress is having new opportunities of service and of influencing and controlling state education, it is necessary to lay down the basic principles which should guide such education and to take other necessary steps to give effect to them. The Congress is of opinion that for the primary and secondary stages

a basic education should be imparted in accordance with the following principles :

1. Free and compulsory education should be provided for seven years on a nation-wide scale.

2. The medium of instruction must be the mother-tongue.

3. Throughout this period education should centre round some form of manual productive work, and all other activities to be developed or training to be given should, as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child.

“Accordingly the Congress is of opinion that an All-India Education Board to deal with this basic part of education be established and for this purpose requests and authorises Dr. Zakir Husain and Shri E. Aryanayakam to take immediate steps, under the advice and guidance of Gandhiji, to bring such a Board into existence, in order to work out in a consolidated manner a programme of basic national education and to recommend it for acceptance to those who are in control of state or private education.”

"The said Board shall have power to frame its own Constitution, to raise funds and perform all such acts as may be necessary for the fulfilment of its objects."

The Hindustani Talimi Sangh (All-India Education Board) came into existence in April, 1938. The programme of basic national education carried on by the Sangh has come to the close of the second year. The progress made during this short period has been satisfactory. Two provinces, C. P. and U. P. have accepted it as the official policy of primary education. In U. P. the work of re-training Local Board teachers and converting old type primary schools into basic schools has been started in real earnest. Two batches of 1,750 District Board teachers have been re-trained and over 2,000 District Board schools have been partially converted into schools of the new type. In C. P. the work of re-training normal school teachers has already begun. A training institute for re-training normal school teachers has been started at Wardha. The task of converting the District Board schools into basic schools is receiving the serious attention of the Government. Representatives from District Boards and Municipalities together with members of the Education Department and of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh met in a Conference at Wardha last October to consider the problem. In Bombay and Bihar it has been decided to extend the experiment of basic education in the selected compact areas. In Orissa, a training centre for teachers has been started at Bari and a small compact area selected in which 25 basic schools will be started. In Madras Presidency a training centre for the Tamil districts has been started by the Government at Coimbatore, while the National College at Masulipatam has been officially recognised as a training centre for the Telegu districts. In Kashmir a basic training school is functioning at Srinagar

and two basic schools—one in Jammu and the other in Srinagar have been started for experiment. In April 1940, 102 trained teachers will start work in 60 basic schools.

This means that there are working to-day 14 training centres of basic education, two of which—the Allahabad Basic Training College and Vidya Mandir Training Institute at Wardha, are training normal school teachers while the others are training teachers of basic schools. The distribution of these training centres is as follows:

Government Training Centres: Patna (Bihar), Allahabad (U. P.), Wardha (C. P.), Bari (Orissa), Loni, Katargaon, Dharwar, and Jalgaon (Bombay Presidency), Coimbatore (Madras).

Private Training Centres: Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi; Andhra Jatheeya Kalasala, Masulipatam and Vedehhi Ashram (Gujrat).

Ten out of these fourteen training centres have trained and sent out 470 teachers and have begun the training of the second batch. Four, namely Jalgaon (Urdu Training Centre), Coimbatore, Vidya Mandir Training Institute at Wardha and Vedehhi Ashram have recently started the work of the training of teachers.

The centres of basic education are scattered from Srinagar in the north to Coimbatore in the south, from Gujrat in the west to Orissa in the east.

This is as regards the training of teachers. We next come to the real work of basic education of children between the age of 7 and 14. During the first year the programme of work was mainly concentrated round the preparatory work of the training of teachers. Except for a few private experiments, such as, Thamua in Gujarat or Segao in C. P. and the practising schools attached to the different training centres, little work was done in the education of children. With the beginning of

the second year, however, more and more schools are being opened or are being converted, as batches of trained or re-trained teachers become available from the training centres.

The first beginning in this direction was made in Bihar in April last, when 35 new basic schools were opened in a selected compact area in the Bettiah Thana of the Champaran District. The Bombay Presidency soon followed with the opening of 59 schools in four selected compact areas. Nearly 100 **Vidya Mandirs** were opened in C. P. and 58 schools in the Wardha district were partially converted into basic schools.

U. P. made a brave beginning on August 15, by converting the first grade in 1,750 District Board schools to the new scheme of education. The process of conversion of old schools into new ones is in progress, and it is expected that by the end of April, 1940 about 6,000 basic schools will be working under the new scheme in that province. In February the Orissa Government opened 15 basic schools in the Bari area within a radius of 6 miles from the training school.

Besides these basic schools started or converted by the different Governments, a few private experiments started by private individuals or institutions are carrying on useful work. The oldest of these is the village school at Thamna (Gujrat) which has completed one year of work. The basic school at Tagadur (Mysore) is working under great handicaps. This little struggling school is a brave attempt at working out the scheme of basic education without Government patronage or public sympathy. In C. P. besides the village school at Segaoon, two basic schools are being conducted under the guidance of Mr. and Mrs. Chet Singh of the Rasulia Settlement of the Society

of Friends. In Maharashtra, in addition to the two compact areas conducted by the Government, the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth is conducting four basic schools in four villages near Poona.

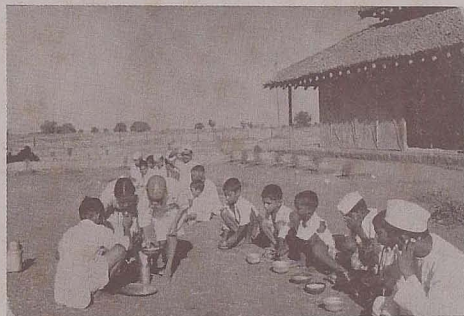
These facts illustrate that basic education is no longer an educational vision struggling to prove its case in the orthodox world of education. To-day it is more or less an established educational process trying to work out its technique, create a new literature and evolve a new type of organization. It no longer stands in need of explanation or propaganda. The day-to-day work in the training schools and basic schools is its most potent justification. The idea of basic education has been scattered over sufficiently wide areas and has struck root. Therefore, now the quality rather than the quantity of the work of basic education should be stressed. An attempt should be made to improve the quality and raise the standard of the work in the institutions already started rather than to increase the number of institutions. The work should be intensive rather than extensive, qualitative rather than quantitative.

The first task which faces the workers of basic education, therefore, is that of perfecting the technique of the work in both training schools and basic schools. There are two aspects of education, the inspirational and the technical. The latter aspect is in itself both an art and a craft and calls for much patient and devoted work. A few selected institutions, both training schools and basic schools, should therefore be set aside as laboratories where methods and techniques can be tested and standards and tests can be formulated and made available to all other institutions and workers.



SPINNING IN CLASS

BASIC EDUCATION CENTRE



MORNING MEAL



GARDENING



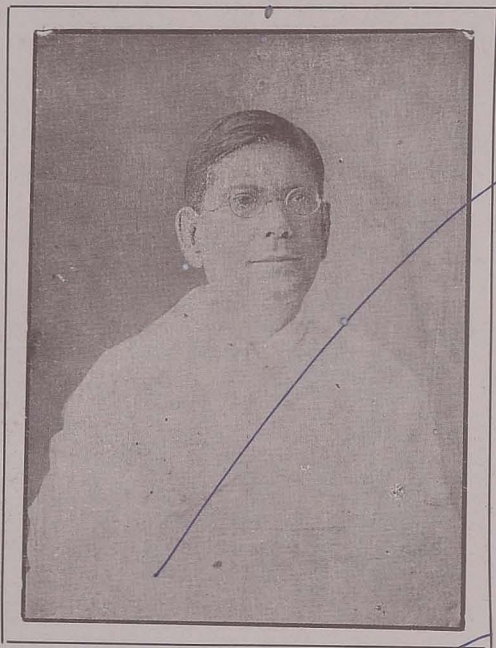
PLAY

WARDHA

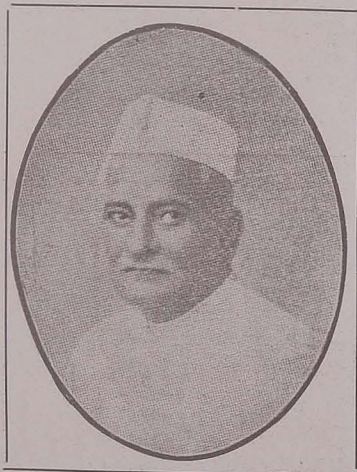


LEST WE

FORGET



DESHBANDHU CHITTARANJAN DAS



MOTILAL NEHRU

The problem of the production of educational literature, both reading material and teacher's handbooks, also calls for immediate attention. Educational literature in the true sense of the word does not exist today. Workers of basic education must do pioneer work in this direction also. The Hindusthani Talimi Sangh has already started work in this direction and has published the following books :

Hindi

1. **Buniyadi Rastriya Shiksha.**
2. **Shiksha Main Ahimsak Kranti.**
3. **Mul Udyog Katna** by Vinobaji.
4. **Autna Va Dhunana** by Satyan.
5. **Katai Ganit** by Krishnadas Gandhi.
6. Report of the Poona Conference.

Urdu

1. **Buniyadi Talim.**

Marathi

1. **Mul Udyog Katna.**
2. **Sethi Shikshan.**

English

Basic National Education.

Educational Reconstruction.

The Latest Fad by Acharya J. B. Kripalani.

Carbord Modelling by Lakshmishwar Sinha.

Further books are under publication.

The Hindusthani Talimi Sangh also publishes a small bulletin "*Nai Talim*" in Hindi and Urdu. During 1939 the circulation reached 2,000. An attempt is made to use this bulletin as an organ for workers of basic education and a day-to-day record of the progress of basic education.

It is essential that the ideal of citizenship inherent in the scheme of basic national education should be understood by the District Boards and Municipalities, who are in charge of elementary education in the country. This is what the Zakir Husain Committee report says : *

"In modern India citizenship is destined to become increasingly democratic in the social, political, economic and cultural life of the country. The new generation must at least, have an opportunity of understanding its own problems and rights and obligation. A completely new system is necessary to secure the minimum of education for the intelligent exercise of the rights and duties of citizens. Secondly, in modern times, the intelligent citizen must be an active member of society, able to repay in the form of some useful service what he owes to it as a member of an organised civilised community. An education which produces drags and parasites, whether rich or poor, stands condemned. It not only impairs the productive capacity and efficiency of society but also engenders a dangerous and immoral mentality. This scheme is designed to produce workers, who will look upon all kinds of useful work—including manual labour, even scavenging—as honourable, and who will be both able and willing to stand on their own feet.

"Such a close relationship of the work done at school to the work of the community will also enable the children to carry the outlook and attitudes acquired in the school environment into the wider world outside. Thus the new scheme which we are advocating will aim at giving the citizens of the future a keen sense of personal worth, dignity and efficiency, and will strengthen in them the desire for self-improvement and social service in a co-operative community.

"In fine, the scheme envisages the idea of a co-operative community, in which the motive of social service will dominate all the activities of children during the plastic years of childhood and youth. Even during the period of school education, they will feel that they are directly and personally co-operating in the great experiment of national education."

* Basic National Education, 4th Edn—P. 12.

The results achieved during this short period in basic schools amply justify the claim made in the above statement of basic national education. It is earnestly hoped that the District Boards and Municipalities will effectively co-operate with the Government in the introduction of basic national education in all the schools under their control without undue delay.

Nearly 60% of the boys and 90% of the girls of school-going age have not yet been provided with school accommodation. The

rate of expansion of new school accommodation during the past two years under the Congress *regime* has been very disappointing. If the Haripura resolution on national education is to be implemented, Governments will have to expand school accommodation and train teachers at a very rapid rate. This will depend on the amount of public opinion that can be created in the country for a vigorous programme of universal, free and compulsory education for children of school-going age — seven to fourteen years.



SOME OLD-TIME SUGGESTIONS *for* NEW-TIME CONGRESS WORK

SHRI BHAGAWAN DAS

The Publicity Officer of the Ramgarh Congress has very kindly asked me to contribute an article to his projected Souvenir volume.

I have nothing new, fresh, interesting, inspiring, to say. But I have received reminders. It has, therefore, become a duty to say something. I also take heart from the fact that all the political workers and writers are mostly saying the same things over and over again; also, that all life, all nature, is one infinite series of repetitions: wakings and sleepings, slow constructions and destructions and reconstructions, loves and hates, peace and murderous war and then belated peace again, savagery and civilisation and again savagery, birth and death, orbs in space rolling round and round themselves and one another, integration and disintegration, equality and inequality, differentiation and simplification, cosmos and chaos, over and over again, endlessly. It will be no inexcusable fault, therefore, if I repeat, with some variation, perhaps of phraseology, my oft-told

tales of old-world ideas, based on time-old human nature!

THE RESULTS OF TWENTY YEARS' EFFORTS

What do we see as the result of 20 years of strenuous political activity in India, since the Nagpur Congress of 1920? Something which is very saddening and discouraging.

1. The more Unity has been preached, the more Disunity has grown, not only between Hindus and Muslims, but within the Congress itself, till it has split up into a 'forward bloc', a 'midward bloc', and a 'backward bloc', into leftists, centrists, rightists, and each of these into several divisions, Socialists, Communists, followers of this leader, followers of that other leader, Reformists, Responsivists, Compromisists, Dominionists, Congress Nationalists, Complete Independentists, Provincialists, pro-Hindus, pro-Muslims, Harijanists, and Opinionists galore: all held together by the one common bond of Mahatma Gandhi's wonderfully magnetic personality; all straining

against each other, straining to fall apart; yet none with sufficient self-confidence of ability to lead and guide effectively; all trying to 'exploit', each for his own purposes, Mahatma's unique influence over the 'masses' as well as the 'classes', the Bureaucracy included. Yet it is fairly obvious that a single *personality*, apart from a commonly, strongly, earnestly held, *clear* and well-understood *principle*, is a very precarious bond. As soon as the cord, that ties together the separate sticks, breaks, they all fall apart and scatter. What is wanted is a single (not *only* emotional, but *also* rational) *Vital Principle*, holding together roots, trunks, branches, branchlets, twigs, leaves, flowers, fruits, in the single, strong, sturdy *organism* of a living tree. What is needed in our case, is a *well-understood* and clearly visualised goal as our Ideal to strive for. Another consequence of the fostering of too much 'Personality' and too little 'Principle', is to be seen in the growth of powerful factions, centred in the prominent 'leading *personalities*', who have been 'disciplined' by the High Command, (apparently in 'non-violent' imitation of Russian, Italian, German, 'violent' party-'disciplines'). The factions would have been impossible, if the nature of the Goal, Swaraj, had been reasonably specified in the very beginning.

2. The more the Congress has tried to placate the Muslim League, ("even going out of its way to court the displeasure of the Hindu Mahasabha," as one of the most prominent members of the High Command said recently), the more implacable the latter has become.

3. The more the Congress has ignored the Hindu Mahasabha (instead of acting as arbitrator and conciliator between it and the Muslim League), the more sympathy from Hindus the Sabha has received, and the worse has become the antagonism between the

Sabha and the League, till things have come to such a pass that Mahatma Gandhi has realised and said in public print that any false and hasty step, of the nature of Civil Disobedience, is almost sure to cause a terrible outbreak of communal riots all over the country.

4. Khadi continues to be very largely a spoon-fed industry, heavily subsidised by the financial self-denial of the more honest among the Congressmen. Also, much spurious Khadi is being made and used, even within the ranks of the Congress.

5. The more truthfulness and non-violence Mahatma Gandhi has preached, the more the opposite qualities have pushed their way into the Congress ranks, especially since the acceptance of Ministerial office. All sorts of men are eagerly putting on cheap Gandhi caps and endeavouring to "gerry-mander" themselves into places of authority and prominence within the Congress, in the hope of sharing "*Power*"—that cynosure of all eyes, that heart's desire of all hearts today. Mahatma Gandhi's recurring complaints on the subject, in the weekly *Hari-jan*, are proofs; and, (besides many doings not publicly reported), the reports, in the papers, of the occurrences at elections for Congress-offices, forcible loot, or destruction of ballot-boxes, tamperings, lathi-fights, now and then an outright murder, supply further periodical proofs.

6. The more anti-untouchability has been preached—the less has been the real, sincere lasting fraternisation; and the mutual 'untouchability' between the two thousand odd 'castes' of 'untouchables' remains as strong as ever. Some sporadic attempts at 'model bastis' for 'sweepers' here and there, seem to be the only useful result; and also the opening of temples, especially in the South, which no doubt, is something substantial. Another, and less useful, result has been the growing

insistence of the 'leaders' of 'Harijans', on separate electorates and special representations and proportions everywhere, irrespective of qualifications.

Such have been the saddening and discouraging results of twenty years' working of Mahatma Gandhi's four-fold 'constructive programme'.

WHY SUCH RESULTS?

Why these consequences—the reverse of those desired? Why have the results of Mahatmaji's noble efforts and exhortations and personal example of perpetual self-sacrifice, his marvellous *tapasya*, gone so astray? Why has the tremendous arousal of the mass consciousness, which has undoubtedly occurred, taken such wrong turn?

Turning over the pages of a monthly magazine, recently received, the following words caught the eyes, this morning:—

"The *Freedom* of a People! That has been, from the beginning of time, the cry of revolutionists. And when a flame like that *blinds* men's eyes, there is no appealing to *reason*."

Just the lack of a fifth item in the otherwise very effective programme, more important than all else, is the *why*; just the lack of that *reason*, of a clearly *reasoned* specification and explication, of the nature and outline-detail of the 'Freedom' striven for. The supply of *that* lack would have made, can still make, the programme far more effective.

The unexplained word 'Swaraj,' from which all definitions and specifications were deliberately excluded at the Nagpur Congress, began the confusion of thoughts and inner feelings. The unexplained words "Complete Independence" (un-reasoned-out "Complete Freedom"), adopted at the Lahore Congress of 1929, added positive mischief. The unexplained words "Constituent Assembly," are adding to the confusion. They are only

affording, for a time, an excuse for continuing to avoid, and to 'escape' from, the trouble of hard and clear thinking.

'SNAGS' IN THE IDEA OF A 'CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY'

If there are 'snags' in the Viceregal pronouncement, as Mahatma Gandhi pointed out, there are at least as many, if not more, in the demand for a "Constituent Assembly." Who will be the 'constituents' of the C. A.? Who will call it? Who will pay for the very expensive universal-suffrage-elections for it? Who will conduct the elections and prevent the free employment of the time-old four-fold 'diplomatic' and 'politic' methods of (a) cajoling, gerrymandering, packing, (b) bribery, graft and boodle, (c) 'divide and win' electioneering tactics and tricks, and finally (d) intimidation, black-mail, rioting, outright murder? Who will be elected? How many? By whom; directly; or indirectly, by electoral colleges, as has been suggested by one of the High Commands? How will the interests of the minorities be guarded? "They are a sacred trust"—Mahatmaji has declared. No doubt, but the leaders of the minorities retort: "So have the British Statesmen always declared that the interests of the Indian People are a sacred trust, that, indeed, they are the White Man's *Burden*!" Then Mahatma-ji has himself very recently said, "The Muslim League blocks the way". If it continues to block the way, taking advantage of 'the sacred trust' assurance and provision that, at the sessions of the Constituent Assembly, there will be no legislation against the strongly expressed wish of a 'minority', who will clear the way? Who will 'maintain law and order' between the representatives of the Sabha, the League, the Sikh Sanghat, and their sub-divisions, the Alighol, the Mahavira Dal, the Belchadar Khaksars, the Trishul-dhar Shakti Dal, the Ahirars, the Sanatanis, etc., when they tend

to 'communal rioting' within the C. A., during its sessions? Finally, if any decisions are arrived at, at all, by the C. A., who will implement them, who will make it possible to carry them out, if there is any considerable opposition and resistance? Will all this have to be done by the British Government? Must the British Government help those who cannot help themselves, who are determined not to help themselves?

No doubt, the answer to these questions is, "Where there is a will, there is a way".

THE COMMON STEADY WILL WITHOUT COMMON CLEAR UNDERSTANDING

But the misfortune is that there *cannot* be a Will, a Common Will, non-fickle, steady, *where* there is not an Intelligence, a Common Understanding; where there is not real Unity, Unity of *head* as well as of *heart*, of intelligent understanding, of reason, as well as of enthusiasm, emotion, *noble patriotic passion*, or whatever else it may be called. *Omni-potence* is not possible without *Omni-science*.

So it all comes back to "Unity", which, as Mahatma-ji has repeatedly said, is indispensable for achieving 'Swaraj'; (though, in his latest pronouncement, e.g., "Is it War?", and in the subsequent public statement by the new President-elect, which naturally echoes the same feelings, a change of view on this point is plainly indicated, as made unavoidable by the circumstances. A paper, the organ of another political party, has recently remarked, "Formerly, the Congress slogan was, 'No Swaraj without Hindu-Muslim Unity'; now it is, 'No Hindu-Muslim Unity without Swaraj'").

Not long ago, a Punjab leader of the Hindu Mahasabha said, "It was not necessary for Hindus and Muslims to unite in order to win Swaraj, but that if only the twenty-four crores of Hindus could unite, they could achieve Swaraj by them-

selves". Very true; but then why do they not unite? Why does he not make them unite? He failed to say why they could not and did not unite; nor how they could be made to unite.

THE SECRET OF UNITY STILL REMAINS TO BE DISCOVERED

The *Secret of Unity* remains to be discovered by Mahatma-ji as between Hindus and Muslims; by the Hindu leaders, as between the three thousand 'castes' of Hindus, (whose outrageously patent dis-union, has compelled Mahatma-ji to see and say at last, as he did recently, that 'the Hindu Majority is only a paper majority'); by the Muslim leaders, as between the 'seventy-two' and many more sects of Islam; by British Statesmen, as between British interests and Indian interests by the 'omniscient' and 'omnipotent' rulers and dictators of Europe, (now so busy with the supremely civilised work of enslaving and exploiting the weaker peoples, on the one hand, and of getting their own peoples to butcher one another, on the other), as between the several nations of Europe; by the thought-leaders of the modern world, as between the several 'ideologies' mainly individualism-capitalism, fascism-nazism, and socialism-communism; and, finally, by the priests of the several religions, as between all the creeds.

How is that *Secret of Unity*, that panacea which only can (if any thing can, at all) mitigate (though it may not wholly cure) all the manifold and terrible evils of Disunity, appearing in all departments of Human Life, today,—how is it to be found?

THE ANCIENT TRADITIONAL INDIAN SECRET OF UNITY

In some very old-world notions: such is the belief of some of us.

God (or, if any friends like that word better, omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent

Matter—the name does not matter, the Thing remains the same) seems determined to teach 'humanity' to Humanity, through the horrors and the torments of the hell of world-wide war (into which all the nations are being slowly, steadily, surely, dragged in), since they have declined to learn it through the beauties and the joys of Spiritual Wisdom. (As this is being written, the papers bring the news that war has become imminent, between Russia and Turkey supported by Britain and France. A small war has been going on, for nearly four years now, on the N. W. Frontier of India, between the British and some small tribes, led by 'Fakirs'. How the small tribes have been able to keep it on so long, and why they have been waging it, is a mystery).

Through terrible trials and tribulations, 'mankind' is being more and more rapidly driven, herded, (by and by it may become 'stampeded') towards a 'world-organisation', a 'world-order', a 'united states of the human world', a 'federation of the world', an 'organisation of the Human Race', a 'world-wide social organisation', 'universal social re-construction'. Such are the many phrases that thinkers and writers are inventing, to express the same single idea, in their endeavour to avoid monotonous repetition and say some thing fresh. In every country, today, there are some prominent thinkers who are expressing and advocating the idea. Socialism and Communism, Nazism and Fascism, though seemingly antagonistic, are all attempts, more or less unsuccessful, in this same direction. To be successful, this world-wide Social Organisation of the Human Race, obviously, has to be founded on the permanent facts and laws of human nature; must provide Spiritual as well as Material Bread to all, adequately; must form part of a Universal Spirituo-Material Science (which, so far, some persons have been

calling, and meaning, by the phrase, 'world-Religion' or 'Universal Religion'); which Science will tell mankind the "Meaning of Life", will tell them "What is Life" and What we should do with our lives", and "Why"; and will show them how to make adequate and equitable distribution of the Dual Bread.

There cannot be, there will not be, any lasting 'peace on earth and good will among men', until this has been brought about. And it is *not* 'a tall order', *not* 'impossible idealism', *not* some thing very far away in the distances of the future. The patient, sick nigh into death, despairs; and yet he may be just passing through the 'crisis' of his disease, and health may be very near. The remedy, the principles of such Organisation of the Human Race, are there, right under the eyes of the leaders of East and West. But the eyes of these leaders are closed. They have only to open and turn their eyes towards them.

THE FOUR-FOLD SOCIAL ORGANISATION FOR PEACE

(a) Some of us would suggest, with all due deference to Mahatma-ji, who has translated the *Bhagavat Gita* into Hindi, and has great faith in its teachings—we would suggest to him, to ponder again, very fully and carefully, the full significance of two of its lines.

Chatur-varnyam Maya srishtam guna-
karma-vibhagashah,

Karmani pra-vibhaktani sva-bhava-
prabhavair gunaih.

("The All-Self, the Supreme Spirit, the Universal Principle of Life and Consciousness and Matter, has created four main vocational temperaments, by predominant characteristic, and four main corresponding appropriate vocations or functions in the life of the social organism.")

(b) To the new President-elect, learned in Arabic and Persian, we would suggest that

he should similarly dwell on the significance of the Quranic words, 'ul-ul-ilm', 'ul-ul-arm', 'zurra', and the word 'muzd-war' or 'mazdur'; also on what Allama Abul Fazl, the famous minister of Akbar, has written in the *Maqad-damah* of his great work, *Ain-i-Akbari*; Jahanian az chahar garoh burun na bashand; (1) ahl-i-qalam, (2) mabarizan, (3) peshawaran wa bazar-ganan, (4) kishawar zan wa barza-garan.

(c) To Zoroastrian leaders, we would recommend for consideration, the words of their scriptures: (1) horistaran, (2) nuristaran, (3) rozistaran, (4) soristaran.

(d) To the modern-educated, who do not care for Sanskrit or Arabic or Persian, we would suggest, for deep consideration, the words: (1) the learned professions, (2) the executive professions, (3) the commercial professions, (4) the industrial professions.

(e) To the admirers of Russia—the words: (1) Workers (I-a, Intellectual), (2) Soldiers, (3) Peasants, (4) Workers (I-b, Manual).

(f) To the British Statesmen and people: 'The four estates of the realm', (1) the clergy, (2) the nobility, (3) the commons, (4) the workers or laborites.

(g) To the politicians, and thinkers in terms of 'power', of all countries: (1) science-power, (2) arms-power, (3) finance-power, (4) labour-power.

(h) To the peace-minded, who are sincerely desirous to organise the nations for *peace* rather than *war*: (1) the educators, (2) the protectors, (3) the feeders and clothers, (4) the little-skilled or unskilled helpers.

In these words are to be found (a) the *principles* of the natural and scientific four-fold Social Organisation for Peace, of each people, each nation, the whole Human Race and, therefore, (b) the *Secret* of real, permanent, stable *Unity* of head and heart, interest and interest, nation and nation, race and race, religion and religion.

The detail of this, of how an equitable partition, (satisfying the temperamental and peculiar as well as general needs of all so far as is humanly possible), can be made, of rights-and-duties, powers-and-responsibilities, work-and-wages, labour-and-leisure, trouble-and-pleasure, necessities-comforts-luxuries; this is obviously not the place for expounding such detail. It has been done elsewhere, by the present writer. But Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, member of the Working Committee, highly talented and selfless public worker, equally gifted as eloquent speaker and fine writer, historian of the Congress, is in sympathy (so the present writer has reason to believe) with those principles of the Ancient Indian Socialism (indicated in the above quotations from the *Gita*, the *Quran*, the *Ain-i-Akbari*, the Zoroastrian Scriptures). If the Working Committee should care to spend time and thought on the subject, he will be able to help it to come to a decision, as to what the 'war aims' of the Congress itself should be, and how they should be published, to the Indian People and the world at large, in order to clear away much very harmful haziness and many misunderstandings.

"IS THIS WAR?"—WHO IS TO BLAME?— "THE OLD GAME"

A few more observations and suggestions may be added, for which this occasion seems to be not improper.

(a) In his article, "Is this War?" (dated 18-2-40), Mahatma-ji gives a splendid paraphrase of Lord Zetland's latest utterance. He maintains intact (perhaps improves) whatever there is of force, cogency, reasonableness, in it, and rids it only of 'diplomatic phrases' (which the public has now heard too often to be deceived by). He has also, in the same article, presented the view of "the Destroyers of the Empire Spirit" (among whom he, presumably, counts himself), with, if possible, even greater and

more effective succinctness. For our present purposes, two sentences, one of each, are specially noteworthy. " (Lord Zetland) : 'You (the Congress) are not the only party we have to deal with ; there are many in India who recognise the benefits of British Rule and Pax Britannica ; we propose to win the war with the help we can *command* from India through the loyal agencies ; their services we shall recognise by the grant of further reforms when the time comes'....." ("The Destroyers) : 'You (the British) have to remove from our way the obstacles you have created : if you are honest, if you are earnest, you will not only let us determine the method and manner of governing ourselves, but even help us to do so, if we want your help'....." Then, writing *in propria persona*, Mahatma-ji says ; "The more the nationalists try to deal with them, (*i.e.*, the 'four pillars' built by the British, *viz.*, the European interests, the Army, the Princes, the Communal Divisions), as if they were problems for which they (the Nationalists) were responsible, the firmer they must become". The clear implication of this is that *the Nationalist leaders* of India, and through them, their followers, the general public of India, the bulk of the Indian people, are *not responsible* for them. But another article in the Harijan, of the same date, Mahatma-ji closes with the sentence : "What does matter is *our own weakness*, for which *we alone should be to blame*".

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN 'TRUE' & 'TRUER'

These last two pronouncements of Mahatma-ji need to be reconciled. The former is *true*, if we look at the immediate and intermediate causes. The latter is *truer*, if we look at the *root-cause*. It is sometimes said, by some, that there is no middle course between truth and falsehood. Yet, it so happens, the whole world-process is one infinite and inextricable mixture of, and

middle course between, the two ; so that no material thing, no statement, no human life, not the saintliest or the wickedest, is absolutely true or wholly false. All are relative, comparative ; hence, one is 'true' another 'truer' : one is 'false' the eye fixed on the 'truer'.

INDIANS MUST HELP THE BRITISH TO REMOVE THE OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF THE INDIANS

It is 'truer' that the Congress is not the only party (as Lord Zetland says) that 'we (Indians and our leaders) are alone to blame' for this ; that 'the Muslim League blocks the way' of the Hindu Maha Sabha, and the latter of the former, and both of the Congress—*because* the Congress leaders are to blame, in *some* important respect, for *some* serious lack in the leadership, which lack it is their duty to discover and remedy. The 'British have to remove the obstacles from our way' ; but the Indians must help them to do so, which they are not doing. Mahatma-ji has repeatedly and insistently declared that he is a 'Hindu' ; the Congress Mussalmans also affirm equally that they are 'Mussalmans' ; and of course the leaders of the Hindu Sabha and the Muslim League assert thus, much more aggressively. What each says, in this respect, is no doubt 'true'. But it would be much 'truer', if they all said, "We are *insans*, 'humans', rather than Hindus or Mussalmans". The whole human-world's entire problems would be solved at once, if only we could and did say, all of us, that 'we are all *humans*, and not Indians or Britons, or Germans, or Italians, or Poles, or Japanese, or Chinese, or Russians, or Finns, or Arabs, or Turks, etc.' In the diligent emphasising, teaching, preaching, of this patent fact, that we are all indubitably 'human', will be found, (a) the Secret of Unity, (b) the removal of the obstacles to peace, (c) the laying of the *Spiritual* foundations of the

material (physiological as well as psychological) World-Organisation, for lack of which, mankind is perishing today. Let the politico-religious leaders preach to the masses, much more industriously, than they preach 'charkha' etc., that the name, Hindu, Muslim, British, German, etc., is *not* written on any face, but that the name 'human' is so written; that the elemental needs of all, in respect of food, clothes, family-life, shelter, are the same; and that these needs can be satisfied, for all, by *such-and-such* a Social Organisation. Until and unless our leaders and the leaders of the other countries do this, they will go on muddling and falling into blunder after blunder, and bringing greater and greater misery to their peoples. Out of the preaching, above recommended, will automatically issue all other things they are now preaching in vain, non-violence, anti-untouchability, Hindu-Muslim Unity, a real League of All Nations, etc. Let *that* preaching be done, then, extensively and intensively to the masses in every country.

CONSEQUENCES OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE WITHOUT SPECIFICATION OF GOAL

Mahatma-ji and the new President-elect, have plainly indicated that after the Ramgarh Congress, some sort of general Civil Disobedience is to be started; Shri J. L. Nehru has been advising the people for some months now, to "keep ready" and "be prepared"; Shri Subhas C. Bose has been urging a 'declaration of war' forthwith; Shri Sarojini Naidu, world-famous orator, poet, ex-president of the Congress, and other much-travelling speakers, have been endeavouring to 'inspire' the people, by the free use of the word 'freedom': and she has recently declared once again, (what many other Congress leaders also have been saying) that there is no question of religion involved, but it is all only a struggle for *power*, between the Hindu Sabha and the Muslim League.

There is little doubt that, if Civil Disobedience is started, without clear specification of the *kind* of Freedom sought, the use to which Power will be put, the manner in which the just interests of all sections of the People will be promoted, there will be immense commotion and turmoil throughout the country; that, while Congressmen may go to jail non-violently, many other groups (the British Government's bureaucracy among the foremost) will take to violence of various sorts, (his great apprehension of which, chiefly in the form of communal riots, Mahatma-ji himself expressed not long ago); that consideration of this probability is weighing heavily with the British Government, (since it is easy to start a conflagration, though very difficult to quench it), in consequence of 'the life-and-death struggle' (a phrase used by Mr. Chamberlain himself as well as Lord Linlithgow) with Germany, in which it is now engaged; and that, therefore, the British Government is genuinely anxious to come to terms with the Indian People and the Congress, and has gone so far now as to definitely declare that Dominion Status of the sort indicated in the Westminster Status *will* be given to India; and as *early* as possible after the war has been won: if India helps Britain in the war; and provided the major political parties here manage to get up some sort of agreement among themselves. (It may be noted that the British Government, now that it sees that the Congress does not respond to its advances, is stiffening its attitude and is beginning to reverse, in the Provinces, various measures and policies of the Congress Ministries, which it at first declared itself desirous of carrying on; while it persists in carrying on such measures of the Ministries, as were mistaken and unpopular, presumably to perpetuate that unpopularity).

But Mahatmaji has found that there are 'snags' in such declarations. Of course

there are; in the absence of a definite time limit; and in the proviso. The misfortune is that these 'snags' are the results of "our own weakness" (of many sorts, moral, intellectual, physical, religious) "for which we alone should be to blame".

SAY, NOW, WHAT CONSTITUTION OF
SOCIETY, OF STATE, OF GOVERNMENT,
YOU WANT

Instead of exactly ascertaining and preaching broadcast, the precise nature of this manifold weakness *and its remedy*; and instead of resolutely trying to cure themselves and the people; our leaders have taken refuge in the catchword 'Constituent Assembly', copied from the French Revolutionists, whose circumstances were very different. Unable to make their own minds clear as to *what* 'Constitution' (a) of Society, (b) of State, and (c) of Government, India needs, which would suit her best and most, they have decided to 'postpone the evil day', of hard thinking and real decision, to the indefinite distance of a future Constituent Assembly, which too the British Government must arrange for and call. The English proverb says: God helps those who help themselves. Accordingly, Britain has always, so far, helped only those who have been able to help themselves often, *despite* her. But now we want her to become maternal and paternal, and help those who cannot help themselves, and will not help themselves—which God himself, it seems, finds difficult to do. No doubt, it would be *very noble, very self-denying, very sin-expiating*, and indeed truly wise and far seeing too, *if* Britain *could* and *did* do so; it *would extinguish* the conflagration of war which is slowly spreading, and will, otherwise, surely envelope all the human world. But it is too much to expect; especially, when the Pandits and Mullas seem determined to positively *hinder* any efforts that

may be made in this behalf; and other politico-religious leaders are also determined to emphasise their Hindu-hood and Muslim-hood. The British Statesmen have been saying, since the days of the R. T. Conference, "You, Indians, come to a fair measure of agreement amongst yourselves, and we will *have* to act accordingly. Instead of talking about the thing, and round and round the thing, talk the thing itself". This is certainly a fair and reasonable attitude. To say, "But, you British, by underhand and overhand means, are preventing us from coming to an agreement"—is very feeble rejoinder. If we are so easily prevented from seeing our own good, indeed we are *not* fit for *any good*.

A GENUINELY FRIENDLY ENGLISHMAN'S
ADVICE

Dr. G. S. Arundale, being an Englishman, has worked for and served India, under the inspiration of Dr. Annie Besant, as a labour of love, (not of bureaucratic or *other power* and *pay*), for about as long and as zealously, though in a different way, as the universally loved Mr. C. F. Andrews. He is now the President of the Theosophical Society, which, though it does not (for various reasons) exercise the same influence now on world-thought, as it did thirty years ago, still has branches in 50 countries and more. He has been pointing out, almost every week, in his *Weekly Notes*, for months now, that it is for the Indian leaders to 'rehearse' a Constituent Assembly for and by themselves. "Let India make her own statement. If it is impossible for our various leaders to establish a 'Constituent Assembly', satisfactory to majorities and minorities both, then we have no political capacity in us, we are not fit for Home Rule, still less for 'Independence.' In so many countries in the west, when there has arisen occasion for nations to assert themselves, and to become self-

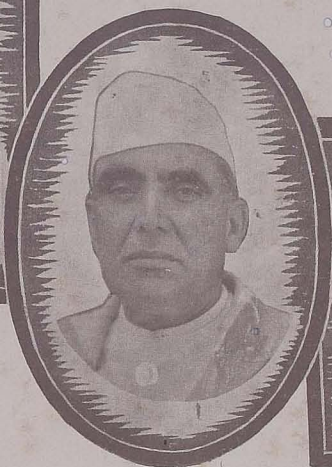
governing, they have themselves taken steps to do it. We wait, and wait, and wait, and the longer we wait, the greater the difficulty. —This is a critical time for India, and yet here we are playing about with words.—If Gandhi-ji were to move throughout India, telling the people what to do, constructively, to establish their own Constitution, (*i.e.*, the broad outlines of a Constitution which would satisfy the needs of majorities and minorities alike) it would be accomplished with very little delay." Dr. Arundale is sixty years of age, has lived in India for 35 years, has been the Honourary Principal of the Central Hindu College of Benares, has been a careful student of history, (more so than many of our leaders), has travelled very widely in Europe and America quite recently, knows conditions there first-hand, has been pointing out, courageously and impartially, the demerits of Britain as much as those of the other 'Great Powers', in the three or four journals he controls, and (though he may have his own limitations, no doubt, in the eyes of some, as every one has), is entitled to give the advice he has been giving, and is entitled to hearing and careful consideration of that advice. Some others of us have been making the same suggestion, in other words. He has said repeatedly that, in every country of Europe which has seriously desired a change in its Constitution, the change desired has been clearly indicated fully by the people themselves, through their representatives, called together by themselves; without waiting for the then Government to call such an Assembly for them and make everything smooth for them. We are relying on our ability only to create turmoil throughout the land, in order to compel the British Government to compel all our politico-religious parties to meet in a Constituent Assembly, and decide on a Constitution; and we shall, *after* that, settle our H. M. 'domestic problem.' Some of us fail utterly to understand the meaning of this.

WHICH SPECIES OF FREEDOM DOES INDIA WANT?

We are all crying out for 'freedom', and asking one another to 'keep ready' and 'be prepared', and deprecating the desire for 'power', as between Hindus and Mussalmans, and saying there is no question of religion. Yet no leader, of any party, tells the people (1) *What* sort of freedom they are trying for: the Russian sort, or the German variety, or the Italian kind, or the British species, or the U. S. A. quality, or the Japanese nature, or of the character and complexion of the South American Republics, which enjoy a revolution and a murder of the President etc., every week; (2) *What* we are to 'be prepared' and 'keep ready' for—merely going to jail, and creating general confusion and chaos all round, out of which cosmos is sure to emerge of itself some day, or for something, and what thing, more useful and lasting; (3) *What Congress is struggling for*, if not 'power', (in the abstract, to do any thing it, or its hoped-for Constituent Assembly, may please, on the spur of each moment, without any foresight and farsight and plan); (4) *How* 'power' is to be used when it has been gained (5) *Why* is there the incessant and extensive and intensive use of the names 'Hindu' and 'Muslim', if there is *only* a question of 'power', and no question of religions; (6) *How* these communal feuds can be rationally allayed; (7) *How* people can and ought to be convinced that they are 'humans' first, and 'Hindus' or 'Musalmans' etc. long afterwards; (8) *What* they need, as such 'humans' first and foremost, which, being provided, will make it unnecessary to aggressively assert their Hindu-ship or Muslim-ness (9) and *how* that will be provided.

THE NEEDED LIGHT AVAILABLE ONLY IN THE ANCIENT WISDOM : EX ORIENTE LUX.

When our leaders begin to think it worth while to try to discover the real *Secret*



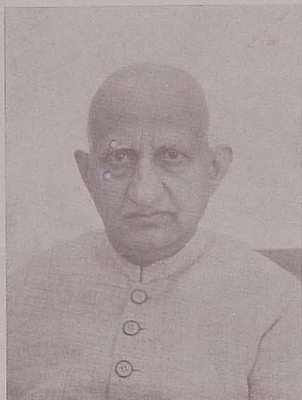
NORTH-WEST FRONTIER
PROVINCE .



CENTRAL PROVINCES

THE CENTRAL ASSEMBLY
CONGRESS PARTY

THE PRINCIPALS



Shri Bhulabhai Desai
— *The Leader*



Shri S. Satyamurti
— *The Deputy Leader*



Asaf Ali
— *The General Secretary*

of *Unity*, which they have been avoiding and evading so far; when patriots like Shri J. L. Nehru, not merely speak and write (no doubt opportunely, but all too) vaguely, about 'world-conditions' and 'impending changes in the social order' and their unavoidable influence on India, but themselves come to grips seriously with the problem of the social order that India needs; when they realise that secret is to be found, *not* in a new Religion different from the existing old ones, but in the very ancient *Universal Spirituo-Material Science*; which runs through and constitutes the very heart of all the existing religions; and which also, and alone, can co-ordinate and regulate all material sciences and their applications too, so that they will become instruments for promoting life, and better life, and not for destroying life; when they further realise that that *Universal Spirituo-Material Science*, that World-Religion, *includes* the principles of a *World-Organisation*; *then only* will they be able to really *help* the people. Until then they will go on, like 'blind leaders of the blind', creating turmoil and trouble only; excellently-intentioned, but very ill-equipped and very unprepared, by foresight and farsight, to achieve the really desirable Goal. The two years, haphazard working and many mistakes of the Congress Ministries have proved amply, the lack of clear vision and the manifold unpreparedness of the Congress and its leaders.

(Until a better exposition of this Spirituo-Material Science is available, readers, who have had the patience to, read this piece of writing so far, may look into the present writers' book, "*The Essential Unity of All Religions*"; in which these ancient principles—no idea in the book is claimed presumptuously a *new* or original—of Universal Religion and Universal Human *Organisation* are attempted to be expounded.

The book has been published by the Kashi Vidya Pitha, Benares, and belongs to it technically, *not* to the compiler, though, at the same time, *no copyright* has been reserved in it. It is being given away at practically cost-price; and, if that is recovered, it will go to a Publication Fund of the Kashi Vidya Pitha.)

If our leaders would only see that the 'non-violent' political efforts of India have been going astray, and proving infructuous on the whole, (except in respect of the very desirable gigantic awakening of Mass-consciousness and the very undesirable divergence of it into wrong channels); as have been, going astray the 'very violent' political efforts of Russia, Italy, Germany; *because* of the failure to grasp the full significance of the above quotations from the *Gita*, the *Quran*, the *Ain-i-Akbari*, as to *natural temperaments, vocational aptitudes, and psycho-physical peculiarities*; if they would only realise this, they would probably be able to draw up the outlines of Constitution which would satisfy all, on the whole, fairly; the British Government not excepted.

HOW 'VITAL DIFFERENCES' ARE CONVERTIBLE INTO 'RATIONAL AGREEMENT'

Mahatma-ji has said that the "vital difference" between the Congress and the British Government is that the former wants that Indians only should draw up the Constitution; and the latter wants that it, the British Government, should do so. The meaning is plain, of course. If Indians draw it up, Indian interests will be duly promoted; if the British, the British. But if the Indians were capable of drawing it up with a fair measure of agreement between all parties, they would have done so, long ago; and the British would have been compelled to agree, as they, the British, have been saying, in so many words

almost, for the last fifteen years, through their Statesmen. So much is this the case, that some British-conducted papers, in India and in Britain, have written to the effect that it would be quite worth while, for the British Government, to tell the Indians to go ahead and call their Constituent Assembly; for they would be sure to tear each other to pieces in that C. A.

LET THE CONGRESS 'REHEARSE' A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

To falsify this forecast, and rationally compel the better British mind and heart to agree to India's demand, the representative leaders of all our really important religious-political parties *should*, by themselves, *rehearse* a C. A., draw up a Constitution, and present it, with irresistible weight, to the British, for agreement.

THE VARIOUS 'WAR-AIMS' OF THE VARIOUS INDIAN PARTIES

In other words, our leaders, especially the High Command of the Congress, should not content themselves with merely insisting that the British Government should declare *its* war-aims, in respect of India. They should declare *their own* 'war-aims' too. And the British *have* now declared their 'war-aims' as regards India, to this effect, *viz.*, Dominion Status etc., as said before. But the Congress High Command continue to utter only the vague words 'Freedom', 'Independence', 'Constituent Assembly', to describe their own 'war-aims'. The Khaksars go to the fullest limit, and plainly declare their aim to be 'Muslim sovereignty over the whole world'. The Muslim League have, equally vaguely with the Congress, declared that they also want Independence, and, more plainly though negatively, that they do *not* want Congress Swaraj, for that is sure to mean Hindu Raj; and they have now adopted the Khaksars, ('as bringing strength to the Muslim League'), who, by virtue of their

'war-aims', should call themselves Alam-girs or Jahan-girs rather than Khaksars. The Hindu Sabha leaders have also now, in rejoinder, said that their 'war-aims' are "Hindu Raj, with, of course, every just protection of minorities' interests".

It has not been made clear, among other things, by the Congress leaders, whether the 'Independence' and 'Freedom' they aim at, will be the provincialistic separate 'Independence' of each linguistic province, or of United India; perhaps that too will be decided by the C. A. But the Muslim Leaguers have left the public in no doubt as to what *they* want on this point. They are clear that there are *two* nations in India, though living in alternate houses in every town, and that the Muslim Indian Nation should have its own separate Independence. How this is to be administered, seeing that the homes of the members of the 'two nations', are so tangled up—this too may perhaps be settled by the C. A., if and when it is allowed by the Muslim League, which 'blocks the way', to be held! But the very 'practical' suggestion has been put forward, in the meanwhile, on behalf of the Muslim League, that difficulty may be solved by cutting up India into two halves, a Pakistan and a Na-pakistan, the 'Muslims' in the former, the 'Hindus' in the other; with, by-and-by, appropriate expatriations and repatriations, of the two 'nationals', such as Europe has been recently joyfully and comfortably arranging and carrying out, of Germans, Poles, Jews, etc., and till then, 'minority-islands' with 'extra-territorial jurisdiction, like embassies'. *

Such is the 'clarity of vision', 'clarity of ideas', 'foresight and farsight', 'all comprehensive and lucid thought', that is guiding, leading, governing the minds of the Indian People. May Heaven help them; for the British Government is not likely to, unless

the pressure that Heaven is now putting upon all the Great Powers of Europe alike, by flinging them into the present 'life-and-death struggle' to expiate their sins, becomes overwhelming. The misfortune is that the British Government, and all the other governments of the world of today, also, are similarly 'diplomatic' in their utterances, though most of the others are more candid than the British Statesmen. The British Government has declared its general 'war-aims' (apart from those relating to India) to be 'to destroy Hitlerism, and give freedom (blessed word) to Europe' (not India). Hitler's 'war-aims' are 'to recover the German colonies, destroy British Imperialism, and promote German Imperialism.' Mussolini's: 'to revive the glories of the ancient Roman Empire on a grander scale.' Stalin's: (?) 'to Bolshevise the whole world, in the Stalini-an way, not the Trotsky-an; and destroy capitalism and imperialism, and establish super-capitalism and dictatorialism'. Japan's: 'to give freedom to China, and then India, and then generally to all Asia, from European dominance, but under Japan's hegemony'. And so on and so forth.

Well, the Ultimate Mystery is enabling the 'Great Powers' to endeavour to achieve their 'war-aims' in the old long-practised ways of (a) Conquering Glory, la Gloire, 'knightly' Fame and Honour by extensive mutual throat-cutting and even more frightful rape, which is the invariable companion of war-murder and (b) Possessions, plunder, loot, enslaved markets; and (c) Power—the most prominent and most frequent word in the 'Power-politics' of today.

ENGLAND AND IRELAND

But, unhappy India—can it not, can Mahatma Gandhi himself not, make effective his noble endeavour to apply *faqiri* and *sannyasi* 'non-violence' to *khanadar* and *gri-hastha* 'politics'? Why *insist* on such 'vital

difference' as he has mentioned? Whether *we* cook the food, or *you* cook the food, does not matter seriously; what does matter is that *such-and-such food should be cooked*. If that is agreed upon, let A., B., or C., any one, or all together, do the detail work. Black-and-Tan Lloyd George, and Winston Churchill, on the one side, and Sinn Fein Collins and Griffith on the other, inheritors of seven hundred years of 'vital differences' of hatred wars, murderous feuds and vendettas, managed to put down between them, on a single sheet of paper, the general principles and broad outlines of the Constitution, on which the Irish Free State has been working for seventeen years now, with gradual and fairly 'non-violent' modifications, from time to time, by the Irish themselves. Why can we Indians not act similarly? But there it is! We cannot agree among ourselves; and we wish and expect to compel the British Government to compel us to so agree, by threatening Civil Disobedience and general turmoil, and paralysis of administration, throughout the land. And what the Congress High Command is saying to the British, much the same, *mutatis mutandis*, is being said by the Muslim League and the Hindu Sabha to each other, and by both to the Congress, who are all 'blocking the way, of each other.

THE REAL CASE OF THE MUSLIMS AGAINST THE HINDUS

Here arises appropriate occasion to say, in *justification* of the Muslim League's obstructive 'blockade', what, so far as the present writer is aware, has not been said clearly by any Muslim writer. The Muslims *ought* to say: "You Hindus are believers in a system of *rigidly hereditary* castes, with superiority and inferiority and untouchability, by *mere birth*, and *birth alone*. This is utterly 'anti-democratic'. 'Democratism', on the other hand, is the

one 'ism', (even though it be a *word*, with as many interpretations as Swaraj) in which *all* the other ideologies (Communism and Fascism both) all the other religions, all the other races and nations, and especially we Muslims, are agreed, today. 'Democratism' is the ideal and idol of us all; we may differ in our interpretations and executions of it; some may hide 'oligarchy' under it, as Britain, U. S. A., France; some, Communist and State-capitalist 'dictatorship', as Russia; some, Fascist-Nazi and capitalist 'dictatorship', as Italy and Germany; but we are all agreed utterly that it does *not* allow any such hereditary superiorities, inferiorities, untouchabilities, any more than the exploded 'divine birthright of kings'. Therefore, we Muslims *cannot* fraternise, cannot co-operate, with you Hindus. You may go and dwell in your Na-pak-istan with your hereditary untouchables, na-paks (the impure). We will have our own Pakistan (the land of the pure.) Of course, superiority and inferiority and untouchability *are facts*, insuperable and unabolishable facts, *in nature*; but they attach to high qualifications, low qualifications or disqualifications, or evil qualifications, and to impurity and dirt and infectious and contagious disease, etc., respectively: they *do not* attach to any human beings as such, by *birth*. If you Hindus are willing to regenerate yourselves by realising these common-sense as well as scientific principles; if you accept, and act according to, Abul Fazl's rational interpretation of the *Gita-verse*: then and then only, is there a chance of our and your welding together into one Indian people, one nation of 'humans' with common politico-economic-social interests, common electorates, etc. in the spirit of true Democracy or Homocracy; even though we may retain our special creedal private peculiarities, like special tastes, habits, interests; which are not only not harmful,

but, within limits, desirable, as giving varied colour to life."

The Muslims as a whole, not only the Muslim Leaguers, have a right to say this; and should say this plainly and clearly, to the Hindu Sabhaites, and to the Hindus (such as insist on calling themselves 'Hindus') inside and outside the Congress. If they do so, they will effectively cause that searching of hearts, and stimulating of heads, and cudgelling of brains, (not only among Hindus and their Pandits, but also among Muslims and their Mullas), which *will* result in the discovery of the *One Great Secret of Unity*, enshrined, (quite unveiled, for all eyes to see plainly, if they would only turn that way), in the scriptural quotations made above. All the others, Statesmen, Rulers, Dictators, etc., who are now engaged in driving their peoples to the slaughter-houses, could also see the same *Secret*, in the same place. But all concerned have to turn their eyes in the right direction, to wash their eyes clean of the dust and soot and smoke of pre-conceptions and prejudices, and put on the glasses of just, reasonable, scientific interpretation, and 'humanism'.

THE REAL CASE OF THE LIBERALS AGAINST THE CONGRESS

The Liberals, another important Party, might also say to the Congress High Command: "Since the days of the R. T. Conference, you have been saying that the Liberals want to share *Power* with the British; but you, now, want to exercise supreme dictatorial power, through a C. A., which perhaps you hope to be able to 'pack' with your own men, by electioneering tactics, as in Russia, or in Italy (before 1936, when the Italian Parliament was abolished altogether); and you do not wish to share that Power with any body at all! Your men go about saying to the public that Congress-Raj or Swaraj will

be the 'poor-man's Raj or Swaraj.' That doubtless, helps to catch the votes of the masses. But what does it *mean*? Will Congress-Swaraj keep everybody *poor*; or make every one rich who is poor today? If the latter, then say so plainly; and *explain* to us *now* you will do so; and if your plan, for doing so, is at all plausible, and if you will guarantee to us such 'necessaries' and 'comforts' as you will ensure for yourselves and for the poor when they have been made rich by you; if you do this, then we will all joyfully give up our liberalism and walk over into your camp."

THE SUBTLETIES OF SATYAGRAHA

Such methods of Satyagraha, as Mahatma-ji's splendid intuition devises from time to time, are like powerful explosives, like shock-tactics, like the *Narayana-astra* described in the *Mahabharata*. Irresistible, for a short while; but once exhausted, incapable of being used again. They carry to a certain distance only; have no fount within themselves of self-renewing, self-continuing vitality. Another immense difficulty is that the very subtle technique of Mahatma-ji's Satyagraha is known only to himself and cannot be worked by any other, as said by him expressly, when suspending Civil Disobedience in 1934. Here again it is like one or two *astras* (secret weapons), which were known to only one or two, or at most three of the *Mahabharatan* warriors.

THE ONLY REMEDY AND THE ONLY WAY TO AVOID TERRIBLE VIOLENCE

But if a *reasoned* and reasonable ideal of Swaraj, in accordance with the scriptural quotations and references, were placed there, constantly, before the eyes of all concerned, that vitality to Satyagraha would enable its technique to be mastered by very many, (and there is safety as well as strength in numbers, and not in a single 'personality', however great and extraordinary); would unify and stabilise and immensely strengthen the Common Will with Common Understanding; would place the Secret of Unity in the hands of all honestly philanthropic political, economical, social-reformers, workers, leaders, rulers; would bring such non-violent and irresistible pressure to bear upon the British Government as would quickly make further Satyagraha unnecessary; and would set a healthy and helpful example to all other countries.

The writer trusts and prays that nothing, in what has been written above, will be misunderstood as carping and cavilling against what has been done by the Congress, under the noble inspiration and guidance of Mahatma-ji. The present writer sincerely believes that all that has been done, was very necessary and very desirable to do. But, he further believes, that something *more* was, and is, *also* necessary, and even *more* necessary to do—without the doing of which, all that has been or may be done, must prove futile or even very harmful. *If* that additional work is *also* done, then, and then only, and surely, the failure will be converted into success.

THE NATIONAL PLANNING COMMITTEE

SHRI G. P. HUTHEESINGH

The National Planning Committee was appointed by the President of the Indian National Congress as a result of the resolution adopted by the Working Committee in July 1938. The appointment of the Planning Committee was preceded by a Conference of Ministers of Industries of Congress Provinces in Delhi. At this Conference the need for a comprehensive scheme of National Planning was expressed by every Minister. Subsequently Shri Subhas Chandra Bose, the then President of the Indian National Congress, appointed 11 members to the National Planning Committee with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as its Chairman. The Committee has since then co-opted six further members. Originally only the Congress Provinces were represented. Today it not only includes the non-Congress Provinces, but also some of the major Indian States in the country, like Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore etc. With the Ministers of Industries and Directors of Industries of various Provinces attending in their official capacity, the Committee forms a large body of men acquainted with the problems of agriculture, industries, etc. in every Province of India.

At the first meeting the Committee set out its object in the following terms :

"The object of the National Planning Committee is to improve the well being of the community, principally by intensifying the economic development of the community concerned on

an all-round basis, in an ordered, systematic manner, so as to observe a due proportion between the various forms of producing new wealth, an equitable distribution amongst the members of the community, and to secure certain adjustments between the interests of Producers and Consumer, individuals and the community collectively, the present and succeeding generation, as to maintain a proper balance between these several interests."

The Congress has set before itself the ideal of a free and democratic state in India. Such a democratic state implies a society in which equal opportunities are provided for every member for self-expression and self-fulfilment. This can only be obtained in a society where an adequate minimum of civilised standard of life is assured to each member. This is the back-ground or foundation of our plan.

A planning under a democratic system has been defined as the technical co-ordination by disinterested experts of consumption, production, investment, sale and income distribution in accordance with social objectives set by bodies representative of the nation. Planning, therefore, cannot only be considered from the point of view of economics and the raising of the standard of living, but must include cultural and spiritual values and the human side of life.

The task is a very big one and cannot be achieved within a short period. The Planning Committee has, therefore, set down a certain minimum standard which must be aimed at within a period of 10 years in order to ensure an adequate standard of living for the masses. The national income must, therefore, be increased between 2 and 3 times within this period so as to ensure that irreducible minimum standard for everybody. To secure this it is not only necessary to increase production but also to bring about a more equitable distribution of wealth. The emphasis of the Congress on cottage industries is chiefly due to its desire to have a more equitable system of distribution and to avoid the evils of indiscriminate and uncontrolled industrialism. It is clear that the development of cottage industries on a vast scale is essential for the well-being of the masses. But this view has caused an apparent conflict in the minds of some between the claims of cottage industries and those of large scale industries. The conflict is one of emphasis. Cottage industries as well as large scale industries both are necessary for the development of our country, because without economic freedom there can be no political freedom.

The problem before the country, therefore, is one of co-ordinated growth in all directions, large scale industries must supplement the cottage industries and *vice versa*. Agriculture, soil conservation, afforestation, flood control and river training, transport, improvement of livestock and fodder supply, all need to be taken up systematically and organised into a co-ordinated plan. Large scale, medium and cottage industries must be planned in order to relieve the pressure of population on the soil. Education, general and vocational and research, must also be included in order to satisfy the demands of our advancing economy. A balanced pro-

gress of the whole country requires a proper distribution of our industries all over the country so that every Province and State could utilise its raw materials, employ its labour and invest its capital.

Such a scheme of planned economy is a vast undertaking and requires full information and data and the willing co-operation of the technical experts, industrialists, administrators and the public. In order to mobilise these forces the N. P. C. has appointed 29 Sub-Committees, on which all the available experts in the country have been requisitioned, to give their advice and opinions to the main Committee. These Sub-Committees cover all aspects of our economic, social and cultural life. There are seven Sub-Committees on Agriculture, Irrigation, Crop planning, Agricultural Labour etc. Other eight Sub-Committees are appointed on Cottage and Rural Industries, Power and Fuel, Chemicals, Engineering and Manufacturing Industries etc. There are also Sub-Committees on Labour, Population, Health, Housing and Education. Five other Sub-Committees are appointed to investigate into Trade, Finance and Currency and finally there is a Sub-Committee which deals with the social, economic and legal status of woman so that she may play her equal part in the future planned economy of India.

All these Sub-Committees have been working for the last eight months and most of them are in the final stages of reporting. The National Planning Committee has asked them to submit their preliminary reports by 15th of March. After that the Planning Committee itself will meet something in April and prepare its own report on the basis of the Sub-Committees' reports. The report obviously cannot be a complete scheme with all the materials available to be put into execution. Such an undertaking requires full information and data and an investigation

into materials which are not available today. Our present plan can only be a preliminary plan which shall have to be followed up by further investigation and preparation of detailed schemes. But we must today visualise the full picture which are aiming at and draw up a complete outline which may be filled in later.

A comprehensive economic plan presupposes a national authority with full power to give effect to the plan. An essential requisite, therefore, of planning is complete freedom and independence for the country and the removal of all outside control. It is not possible to draw up a plan on any

other basis. At the present moment we are not only not free, but we are hedged in and obstructed by innumerable restrictions, limitations and safeguards, which block our progress. But even under the existing conditions we must make every effort to adopt all measures and policies which develop the resources of the country and raise the standard of our people. All such efforts must be directed towards the realisation of the plan for a free India. A co-ordinated plan is necessary today in order to avoid, as far as possible, creating new vested interests or new obstacles in the achievement of our goal and the realisation of our full plan.



NIBARAN CHANDRA DAS GUPTA:

A Study & A Sketch

SHRI JIMUT BAHAN SEN

Nibaran Chandra Das Gupta was born in a village called Gaopara in Vikrampur Pergana of the district of Dacca in the month of April, 1873, the Bengali date being 12th Baisakh, 1283 B.S. He had his elementary education in the Village Pathshala after which he went to Barisal where he joined the Brajamohan Institution and passed his Entrance and First Arts Examinations in 1893 and 1895 respectively.

The Seventys and Eightys of the last Century was a period of revival, a period of renaissance in Bengal. It saw the re-birth of Indian Nationalism, Indian Culture and Indian Religion. Hemchandra wrote his famous poem, "*Bharat Sudhui Ghumaye Roi*", Bankim Chandra, his famous work, "*Anandamatfi*" uttering therein the famous *mantra* of Nationalism *Bandemataram*,—a *mantra* which invites everybody of India, a *mantra* when uttered or heard sends thrills after thrills into the heart of every Indian, a *mantra* which gives hopes and encouragement, strength and courage to every Indian to fight for his country's cause. While Nabinchandra brought out the real story of the Bengali hero, Mohanlal, of Battle of Plassey fame and Dinabandhu Mitra, his *Nildarpan* giving the real picture of oppression and torture practised upon Indian peasantry and labourers in the English-owned Indigo Factories.

And to give a practical shape to the whole idea W.C. Bonnerji, Monimohan Ghosh, Surendranath Banerji, Dadabhoi Naroji started the movement of the Indian National Congress.

In the field of Culture and religion the European Missionaries were exercising a very sinister influence threatening the very existence of Indian Culture and Religion. Sri Ramkrishna Paramhansadev, Swami Vivekananda, Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore, Brahmabandhab Keshav Chandra Sen, all appeared during this period in the role of stalwart fighters for the cause of Indian Culture and Religion. A new orientation, in keeping with the teachings of Nationalism preached by Hemchandra, Bankim Chandra and

others, of Indian religion propagating equal treatment of all Castes and Creeds, Working for the poor (Daridra Narayan Seva) was preached in Bengal.

This was the Age when Hrishikesh Nibaran Chandra was born. But apart from the influence of the age and its teachings, his direct connexion with his preceptor, the founder and the Principal of the Brajamohan Institution where he was receiving his education of the adolescent period had a lot to do with the shaping of his after life. His preceptor was no other than Srijiit Aswini Kumar Dutta, one of India's greatest Savant, one of the India's foremost Nationalist worker, an embodiment of selflessness, a kind and large-hearted man, whose work in Social service has had no parallel. Nibaran Chandra got his first initiation of Nationalism, Social service and high idealism from this great man as an active worker in his team of Social and National service.

After he passed his first Arts Examination he renounced his worldly connexion and for a time until he was brought back by his relations, to lead a life of a Socio-religious Mendicant. He was too young, and so he was made to marry and again to settle down. He passed his B. A. Examination, and took a job in the Government Educational Service. He worked for 23 years, he had lost his wife in the meanwhile, but the old teachings were evidently uppermost in his mind and with the first opportunity, which came before him, which gave a proper response to his hearts' call, he was out again.

It was the month of May in 1921, at about 10 o'clock at night, a very hot wind was blowing. Nibaran chandra had come to our house at Purulia to see my father who was very fond of him and who used to miss him very greatly if he did not come in the evenings. They were talking Philosophy and Religion and had finished for the evening. I came out to see him home. We strolled for sometime on the maidan in front of our house. It was a full-moon night, the sky was clear, and although the atmosphere

was hot, the soft rays of the moon which was flooding the barren maidan with light had given an apparent coolness to the atmosphere and very suited to the occasion. He was quiet but musing, he was very serene but radiant, glowing like the moon above. He suddenly turned round and said to me—"Jimut Babu, you must have read Shelley". I said 'yes'. He said "Do you remember these lines of Shelley" and he went on to recite :—

"And if then the tyrants dare
Let them ride among you there ;
Slash and stab and maim and hew
What they like that let them do,
With folded arms and steady eyes
And little fear and less surprise
Look upon them as they stay
Till their rage has died away.
Then they will return with shame
In the place from which they came
And the blood thus will speak
In hot blushes on their cheek."

He stopped there, looked at me in askance and I recited the following next lines :—

"Every woman in the land
Will point at them as they stand
They will hardly dare to greet
Their acquaintance in the street—
And the bold true warriors
Who hugged danger in the wars
Will turn to those who would be free
Ashamed of such false company."

And when I joined in the other lines he shouted out, "Oh, you know this poem, then?" "How sublime, how grand, how beautiful! Is it not worth living for? This is the Strength of Ahimsa,—not passive resistance."

He then took my hand, pressed it and held it on all the way till I reached him home. Not a word passed on the road. At the end of the journey he said, "Jimut Babu, I am not coming back any more to the school, don't tell this to anyone yet. Keep it to yourself."

He was the Headmaster of the Purulia Zilla School. At the beginning of the year when we had led a picketing at the School to get the boys out of it, as a part of the Non-Co-operation Programme, and when as a result the boys did come out, Nibaran Babu came out to bid the boys to go back to the school. He told them then that he could not allow

his pupils to supersede his claims, to lead them to come out of the school. He would then himself come out with the boys. The Director of Public Instructions, Mr. Fawcus, was present on the day himself at the school, and when he found that Nibaran Babu had brought back the boys, he congratulated him. But for the congratulations he received a rebuff from Nibaran Babu. The very same thing which he had told the boys, he said to the Director.

Nibaran Babu for his truth and honesty, for his love and sacrifice for others and for his very deep learning was universally loved and respected by all who had come into his contact and his superior officers were no exceptions. So when he did not return after the summer vacation to the school and when it was found that he had resigned his Government Service, Mr. Fawcus who had loved him, who had respected him, offered him to take a long leave till "the excitement of his mind was over". But he refused the offer of leave, and then he got the offer of a pension which he also refused. From that day he became the leader of the National Movement of Manbhum.

He was a quiet and unassuming man, he never pushed himself up and he remained unknown for a long time to come. The others of sensational brilliance, of which our country has no dearth, stole a march over him in position in public life. His recognition came much later, and, thereafter, people from different parts of the country flocked to him to get real inspiration.

He did not believe in propaganda work; he believed in solid teaching. He addressed many meetings which he had to do but he never was at his very best on these occasions. He was splendid when he was training the workers. His talk, his reasonings, his analogies, over and above all these his personal conduct and dealings, made the deepest impression in the workers.

In spite of his very frail health he never hesitated to take the most difficult and tiresome journey for this kind of work. He travelled from village to village teaching the philosophy of *Ahimsa*. He was not merely a seeker of truth but a lover too. And nobody dared telling a lie before him. He loved to work among the oppressed and fallen people. His work among the Kharias and Savar, known to be the most turbulent tribes of Chotanagpur, has been wonderful. His work among the Domes and Haris was equally wonderful. The former are no longer the habitual 'Dacoits and Robbers' while the

latter under his influence have given up drinks. It is his work that is being carried on by the Prohibition Programme of the Congress Ministry of Bihar so far as the work in the district of Manbhum is concerned.

He went to jail thrice, once in 1929 for a period of one year, again in 1930 for a period of six months and once again in 1932 for a period of eighteen months. The last occasion proved too much for his frail health. He had been a victim of Diabetes already and this time he developed Diabetic consump-

tion while in jail which ended fatally for him and his soul rested in peace on 17th July, 1934.

A great soul passed away. Not merely Manbhum, whose life and soul was he, suffered, Bengal and Bihar, nay, the whole India has lost a great man, call him a nationalist, call him a scholar, call him a philosopher or call him a seer and a savant. Often he has told me, “জীবিতবাবু, ভারত বিশ্বমানবের মিলনক্ষেত্র, শান্তিমন্ত্রের জনভূমি।” He believed in this, he worked for this and lived for this.

May His Sayings Come True !

“WORDS SEEM TO HAVE LITTLE
MEANING; IT IS AFTER ALL ACTION
THAT COUNTS, AND IT IS BY OUR
ACTIONS THAT WE SHALL BE JUDGED.”

—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

BIRSA BHAGWAN

REBEL PROPHET OF ADIBASIS

G. C. SONDHI

It was in the jail at Hazaribagh District where the Congress is meeting, that many of us first heard of Birsa Bhagwan. Some non-political Adibasi prisoners had related the story and which passed on from cell to cell, and established an affinity between us and the Adibasi prisoners. For some of us this was also the first acquaintance with them.

After 10 years today we got an occasion to see more of these charming people. The Adibasis label has authorised aboriginal tribes, such as the Semi-nomadic hunting people, like the Korwas, Pakeras and Badias or Dravidian Mundas or Dravidian Orans. But there is a homogeneity in the Adibasis' way and culture. In the fastness of the hills and jungles of Jharkhanda (land of jungles), as the Chotanagpur plateau was known, for centuries they have lived and developed a distinct social and economic life, and civilisation. They have been influenced and been influenced by Hindu outlook and institutions, but have kept themselves free from some of its burdens, such as castes, untouchability and seclusion of women. The Hindus might have shown the Aryan superiority-complex but did not treat them as untouchables and left them alone. In the Muslim period, penetration to these tracts was only partial and the burden of Government was light.

Then came fate, in the guise of John Co. The English got the Dewani of Bengal

through defective Title-deed but it gave them an excuse to interfere at Jharkhanda and other places.

It was at Ramgarh, however, in the year 1772, that a door was open for the English



BIRSA BHAGWAN

to enter Jharkhanda, by the intrigue of an ambitious pretender, Tej Singh, against his kinsman and ruler Raj Mukund Singh.



SANTAL DANCE
By Rani Chanda

By courtesy of the artist and The Modern Review

Mukund Singh put up a valient resistance against the British forces, but was vanquished and a puppet new Raja was duly installed.

Now begins the usual type of administration. Roads and Law Courts started land settlement made and taxes levelled. A systematic economic exploitation of the simple jungle villages commenced. The usual influx of money-lenders and land-grabbers followed. There was a steady expropriation of the Adibasi, with the help of Law Courts which he did not understand for his debts or arrears of rent. "In short, the administration or Ramgarh had all the faults and rigidly legal system, applied unscrupulously over an unwieldy region of the country, by officials who had the scantiest knowledge of the people with whom they were dealing." (Quoted in Hazaribagh Gazetteer). This caused smouldering discontent among the Adibasis, which broke out at least on two occasions only, with armed revolt, in 1820-31.

The great koals insurrection of 1831 was followed by some administrative changes. But the economic exploitation was in the very nature of the imperialistic system.

With the British had come the machinery. They found a less sophisticated and impressionable people for his activity. Schools and Hospitals were opened and great service for the social and economic betterment of the Adibasis was done by various organisations. But their proselytising tended to destroy the indigenous culture and religious beliefs. Also consciously or unconsciously, they tended to side with the foreign rulers against any social or religious movement of progress.

The soil of Jharkhanda was poor for agriculture but it covered rich mineral wealth of the country. This wealth was soon exploited by the British while the

Adibasis worked only as lowest paid labourers.

Thus Birsa, like all great personalities in history, was the product of historical forces. He was the embodiment of the spirit of revolt against the three-fold alien burden of the British rule, the outside landlords and money-lenders and the over-zealous missionaries, and as it was partly a product of the system, he stood up to destroy it. He had been brought up and educated at the Christian Mission Schools, and knew some English. He was born at the village of Jharkhanda, 30 miles from Ranchi in the Munda family. He had a handsome feature, complexion unusually fair for a Munda family. English writers have commented on his thoughtful and compassionate expression of face bearing an extraordinary resemblance to the usual portrayal of the face of Christ.

Stories are told of his wandering and how he received sudden divine light, during a thunder storm, in the jungle. A great idea and inspiration, seemed to have come to him in lightening flash, after anxious days.

Birsa became a Socio-religious teacher. He enjoined honest people, not to worship spirits and deities, but only one God, to give up animal sacrifice and eating of flesh, to give up drinking and live a life of purity. He advocated for a sort of Hindu revivalist movement, and advised the followers to wear the sacred thread. He was soon famous and reports endowed him with super-natural power. The lame, the blind, and the sick flocked in thousands to him. The influence of this prophet of 21 years, embraced the Adibasis of all tribes, even Christians converts. He was known as "*Dharti Baban*" or father of the world, and "*Bhagwan*." The revivalist movement and the growing influence were sources of annoyance to the British Government and their alien partners.

One night, when all of his followers were fast asleep, the British officers at the head of the detachment, came stealthily and spirited away the dangerous leader. Birsa was taken to the Ranchi Jail with a curious coincidence the mud walls of the jail, collapsed in the same night. Birsa was sentenced to 3 years.

The trial revealed his high purpose and deep influence. This prosecution, however, did not allay the Adibasis unrest or weaken the hold of their leaders. Birsa was later released before his time. The lesson of his incarceration was not lost. Birsa possessed a keen insight. He realised, like many others that no social and economic progress is possible in a land of alien power. The first step is to cease political power. Hence forward he turned his attention to politics. The Birsaists, beginning as a religious sect, were transformed into a rebel army, against the white Raj.

Birsa set a plan of organisation and preparations. He made whirlwind tours and sent out "*Pachars*" revolutionary workers carrying the torch of revolution from village to village and holding secret meetings.

The people were to rise up and drive out the invaders of their home land.

Birsa had retreated to a single hold of the hilly jungles and carried his campaign from there. Large number of his followers gathered round him. These plans were not yet mature, when in the year 1897-99 there was a terrible famine in this tract. People lost all patience. There were spordic acts of violence and atrocities. The attack was revealed not only against the Government officers, but against Raja and Zamindars, Christian and non-Christians intrudors.

A number of Policemen and Choukidars were killed. A German merchant was shot dead. Attempts were made at the lives of three missionaries. British Empire now lives in all its might and the rebellion was put down. Birsa was again put into jail at Ranchi and his followers were prosecuted and surpassed. It was in this jail that Birsa died in 1900, and his remains were burnt inside the jail, to prevent demonstration. But his memory is died for ever among the people of Jharkhanda. The metioric career of this youthful rebel prophet of the Adibasis ended in the British Jail, but his spirit lives for ever.

BIHAR AND THE PROBLEM OF THE INDIAN SUGAR INDUSTRY

K. V. VENKATRAM

The industrial development of our country, meagre though it be, has come in for a good deal of attention of late at the hands of both the Government and the public at large. The splendid development of the Steel, Textile and Sugar Industries during the last one decade must be sufficient to open the eyes of even the stoutest anti-protectionist to the benefits which have accrued to India by the pursuance of a policy of protection in regard to them. To take the case of the Indian Sugar Industry, it may be known to one and all that the principle of protection was recognized and adopted in the year 1932 by the Government of India. A look at the figures of import of sugar in the years 1931-32 and 1936-37, clearly indicate the phenomenal and unprecedented growth of the Sugar Industry in our country. Before protection was granted to the Sugar Industry, there was roughly an annual drain of about 16 crores of rupees from our country mostly to Java, and this has been avoided. Out of this amount saved, about 9 crores of rupees go back to the actual cultivator who had all along been in penury and poverty. Further, about 4 crores of rupees is spent on the entire man-power of the Industry including the uneducated labour force and the educated technicians and scientists.

The first and the foremost requisite for placing the Indian Sugar Industry on a stable

basis is the adoption of the licensing scheme which is already in force in the provinces of U. P. and Bihar and which has been advocated by the National Planning Committee set up by the Congress. Those who are connected with Indian Sugar Industry realise that the stage of self-sufficiency for the time being, at any rate, had been reached in respect of sugar and that further expansion spells over-production from an all-India viewpoint. The need for planning on an all-India basis has been recognized by the National Planning Committee as evidenced by the resolution adopted by that Committee at its meeting on June 8, 1939 at Bombay. It is only to be hoped that every endeavour will be made to implement the resolution of the National Planning Committee by the Provincial Governments of the day, whatever may be their complexion, for the adoption of such a planned scheme of regulated development is in the lasting interest of our country.

Enough has been said to show that the progress of the Indian Sugar Industry has been phenomenal and that the policy of protection to the industry has been more than amply justified. The question might therefore be asked, as to what were the causes which contributed to the successful growth of the industry within so short a period of seven years since the growth of protection. The mill-owners through their own efforts

succeeded in securing for their industry, as far as possible, as much of a mill efficiency as was in vogue in places like Java, Hawaii and Cuba.

But contrast these efforts of the Sugar Industry with the severe handicap under which it lies as a result of the high minimum price which it has to pay for qualities of cane which bear little or no comparison to those made available to factories in the rest of the world. But unfortunately for us the quality of cane available in India is very poor indeed and it is absolutely necessary that a well-planned scheme of cane development work should be taken on hand immediately if the industry and the cane-growers are to benefit in the long run. For example, while in Java the cane yield per acre is on the average about 50 tons, in India it is only about 16 tons per acre. Similarly, the average sugar recovery in the province of U. P. and Bihar is only about 92 per cent as against 11.5 per cent in Java. Added to these is the fact that the average crushing season in the Provinces of U. P. and Bihar is only about 3 to 4 months, whereas in the case of places like Cuba, Hawaii, Java, and even in Mysore, the crushing season ranges from 8 to 10 months. It will be therefore apparent that a good deal of systematic work is to be done in our country in various directions if the industry is to stand in the not distant future without protection or only a partial protection.

As far as the Governments of U. P. and Bihar are concerned, they are today levying a cess of 5 pies per maund of cane. It is therefore suggested that at least 50 per cent of the cess collected by them should be utilized for the purposes of cane development work.

Let us now turn our attention to certain conditions which have recently been brought into existence in the provinces of U. P. and

Bihar. The last two years have witnessed a policy of very high cane prices by these two Governments which have resulted in sugar being produced in these two provinces at very high prices. As a result of the fixation of high cane prices in these two provinces, a fillip has been given to other parts of India to erect new factories.

There is going to be a surplus production already this year in U. P. and Bihar. If to this figure is also added the amount of sugar produced in the rest of India, then there will clearly be an overproduction of about 3 to 4 lakhs tons of sugar. What then is to be the future outlook for the industry in U. P. and Bihar and what are the steps that must be taken to prevent a critical situation in the future? This critical situation can only be avoided if there is a regulation of production of sugar as also a regulation of cultivation of sugarcane. In the interests of the industry every step must be taken to avoid both the erection of new mills any where in India and the extension of the existing capacity of mills. What is more, steps must be taken towards cheapening sugar prices and this will in the end result in an increase in the total consumption of sugar in our country. The future of the industry lies in growing improved varieties of cane, making available to factories sugarcane at five annas a maund, cheapening the price of sugar and increasing the consumption in the country. If the cultivator produces more cane per acre, the profit per acre even at lower prices of cane will be more than what he derives today by selling at very high prices.

The abnormal conditions which have been brought into existence as a result of the war have produced far-reaching repercussions on all the industries in India and

the sugar industry along with the others is having a difficult time. Sugar is being manufactured at very high levels as a result of the adoption of sliding scale by the Governments of U.P. and Bihar. The industry has been still further handicapped by the imposition of fresh burdens. The Excess Profits tax and the increase in railway freight rate have prac-

tically given a stunning blow to the industry. And on the top of these has been announced an increase of 50 per cent in the Excise Duty. The lot of those who have sunk crores of rupees in the industry is indeed pitiable. Let the Central and Provincial Governments pause and think over the matter. Let them not kill the goose that is laying golden eggs.



INDIA SUGAR SYNDICATE

THE INDIAN SUGAR INDUSTRY IS RENDERING AN INVALUABLE SERVICE. ALTHOUGH STILL COMPARATIVELY YOUNG, IT HAS MADE GREAT STRIDES IN RECENT YEARS AND NOW PROVIDES A LIVING FOR 150,000 WORKERS TO WHOM IT PAYS RS. 3,00,00,000 IN ONE YEAR'S WAGES.

SUGAR IS WORKING FOR INDIA

Imports of Sugar to India

1929-30	...	...	Rs. 15,60,64,802
1937-38	...	...	Rs. 14,57,332

An Annual drain of Rs. 15½ Crores saved from going out of India. This gain to India's wealth is due to the growth of this National Industry.

Money Paid to Cane Growers

1931-32	...	...	Rs. 1,77,51,000
1937-38	...	...	Rs. 9,00,00,000
Increase	...	...	Rs. 7,22,49,000

Railway Earnings from Sugar

1932-33	...	...	Rs. 1,29,47,200
1935-36	...	...	Rs. 2,50,66,900
Increase	...	...	Rs. 1,21,19,700

Total Production in India From Cane

1931-32	...	...	1,58,581 Tons
1936-37	...	...	11,11,560 Tons
Increase in Production	...	...	9,52,979 Tons

Workers Employed

1931-32	...	...	20,000
1937-38	...	...	120,000
Increase	...	...	100,000

Approximate Yearly Payments to Govt.

Revenues

Sugar Excise Duty	...	Rs. 3,70,00,000
Provincial Cane Cess	...	" 50,00,000
Income Tax	...	" 40,00,000
Total	...	Rs. 4,60,00,000

BURDEN OF THE INDUSTRY

High Cane Prices in 1939-40

Date	Cane prices per md.
Nov. 1 to Nov. 15	Rs. 0 8 9
Nov. 16 to Nov. 30	" 0 8 9
Dec. 1 to Dec. 15	" 0 8 9
Dec. 16 to Dec. 31	" 0 9 9
Jan. 1 to Jan. 15	" 0 10 9
Jan. 16 to Jan. 31	" 0 10 3
Feb. 1 to Feb. 15	" 0 10 0
Feb. 16 to Feb. 29	" 0 9 9

Cess on Cane

Per maund of cane	...	Rs. 0 0 6
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Low Profits

Mean sugar price according to Sliding Scale	Profit to Industry on a capital of Rupees 18 lakhs
Rs. 10 15 6	3.26 per cent
" 11 2 6	2.64 "
" 11 5 6	2.74 "
" 11 8 6	2.84 "
" 11 11 6	2.94 "
" 11 14 6	2.30 "

Extra Burdens

Within the last one month the following additional burdens have been imposed :—

1. Excess Profits Tax.
2. Increase in railway freight by 2 annas in a rupee.

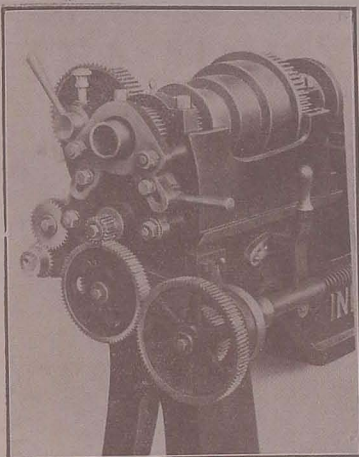
Loss to Industry on this accounts is Rs. 30 lakhs.

3. Increase in Excise Duty by 1 rupee.
from Rs. 1 5 0 per cwt. in 1934
to Rs. 2 0 0 per cwt. in 1937
to Rs. 3 0 0 per cwt. in 1940

Where is the future for the Industry ?

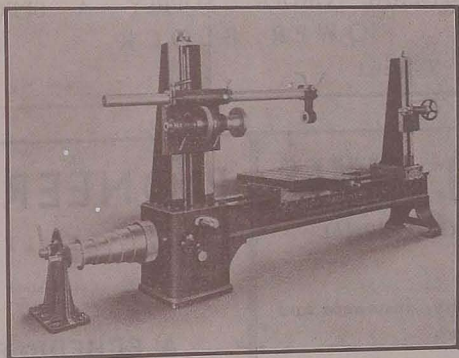


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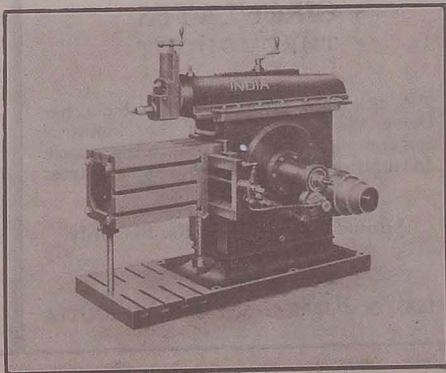
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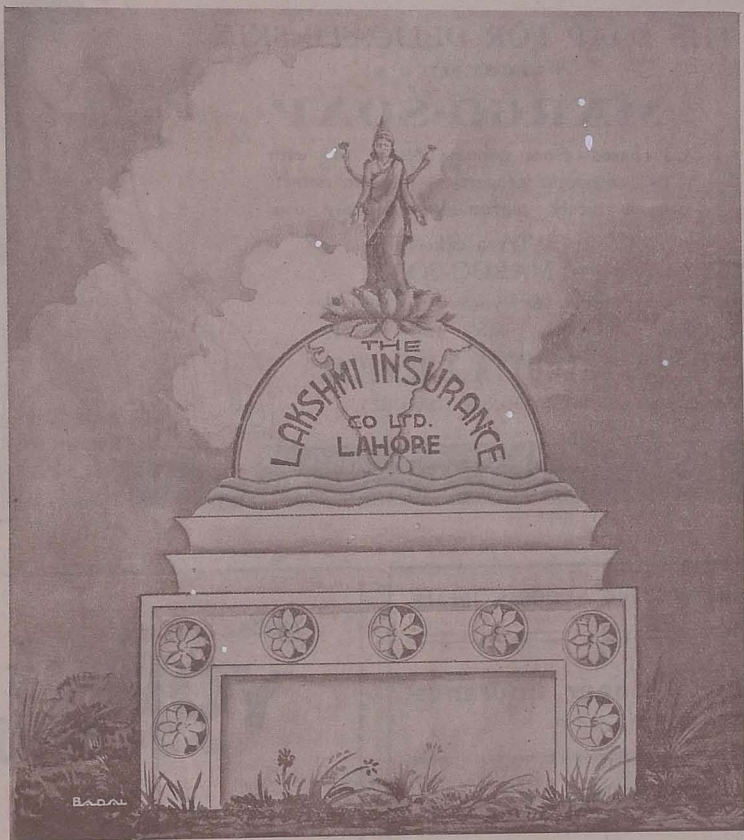
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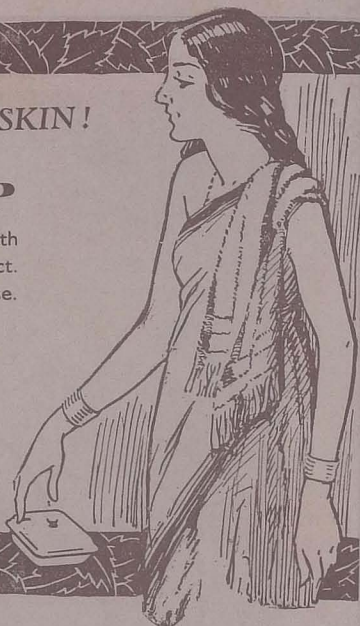
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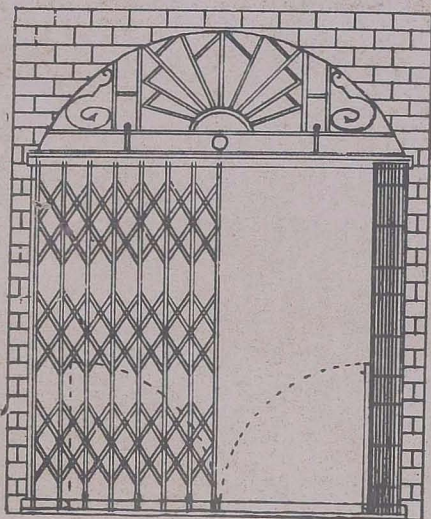
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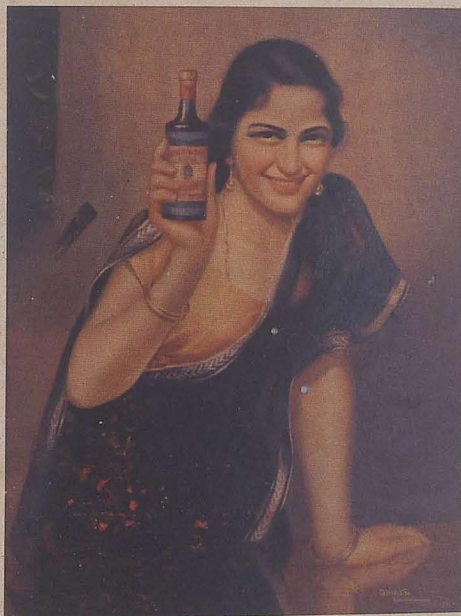
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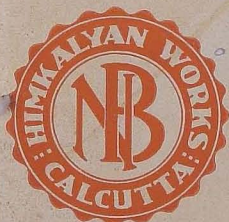
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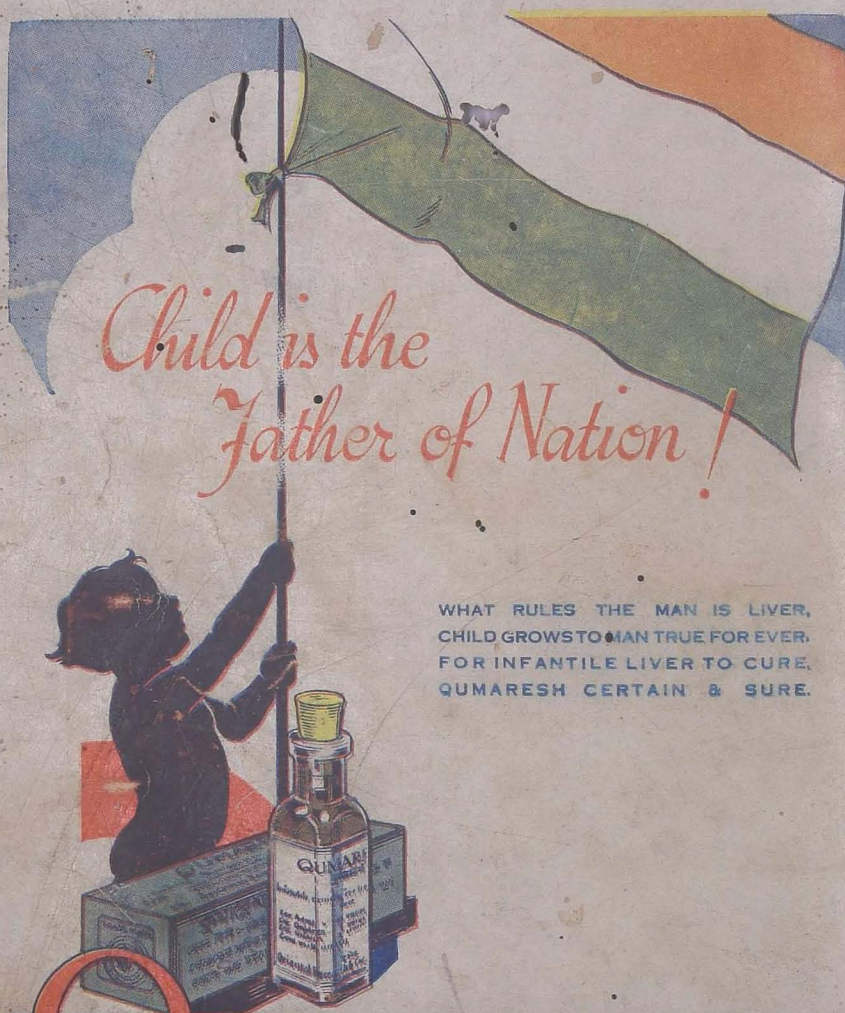
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