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A POLITICAL WEEKLY

Editor :—SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

VOL I. No. 10

CALCUTTA, SATURDAY OCTOBER 7, 1939

ONE ANNA



DESHA-GAURAB
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 at
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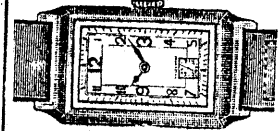
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SATURDAY, OCTOBER 7

India's Demand

For long years preceding the Lahore session of the Indian National Congress, the demand for Indian independence came from solitary voices uttering the language of a dream. They seemed like a child's cry for light. They were the idealists' cry for what seemed impossible and unrealistic. The cry rose from the heart of a submerged people. In the December of 1928 in Calcutta, the cry became like a passionate chorus. It was loud and insistent. A substantial section of Congressmen proclaimed their faith in the ideal of Indian independence. They could not be ignored or laughed out.

Next year in Lahore the idealists triumphed. The Congress itself stood for the ideal of independence. Independence was no longer the demand of an irrepressible minority—it is the demand of the Indian National Congress, chosen instrument of the will of the Indian nation. Since then this demand for complete independence has been re-stated and reaffirmed in every session of the Congress. It has taken shape and colour. It has become part of the creed of Congressmen. This faith in independence has formed part of the life of the Indian people, of their activities and of their dreams.

Attempts have been made from time to time to whittle down the content of independence. For influential people it has meant only the 'substance' of independence. For irresponsible people it has meant even what is called Dominion Status. For the rank and file of Congressmen, for the masses of the Indian people, independence has meant what it is, independence, unmistakably independence.

Will the mission to Simla and Delhi bring for the Indian people their charter of independence? The rank and file of Congressmen have been asking this question and have been groping for an answer. Back from the Viceregal house, the Mahatma was 'optimistic.' So is Pandit Nehru. And so is Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President. Meaning smiles greet the enquiring pressmen. Significant reticences leave the country to think,

and wonder, and wonder again. Optimism, it seems, is in the air about Simla and Delhi. The people in the centre of the stage, the people who count, are optimistic—but not so the millions who groan away their daily lives under the heavy and the weary weight of wrongs and disabilities. In their lives they find no reason to be optimistic. It is not that they have abandoned hope. Simla and Delhi do not inspire them.

In the stress of events notable persons in Great Britain, including journalists, have learnt to be 'generous and sympathetic' towards India. The *Manchester Guardian* and the *New Statesman and Nation* have put in a word for the new India. Mr. H. N. Brailsford has written eloquently, "Some test we must choose. For me it will be India. India has put the question to us. She has published it more than a fortnight ago, but it has been smothered by our press. It is easy and pleasant to liberate oppressed peoples under the enemy flag; not so easy for one's own subjects of another race. If we do it the world will listen with respect when we talk about the new democratic order we wish to establish."

In the language of Hamlet, these are "words, words, words." They read well. They do not mean much. People in power in Great Britain have been more cautious and less effusive. Many of them have spoken about the coming world order—but about the order in India they talk the "language of the eighteenth century."

The new India does not look up to them. It has reasons to look suspiciously on the goings to and fro between Wardha and Delhi. Will the mission to Delhi bring to the Indian people their charter of independence? No one in the country seems optimistic. There can be no whittling down of the demand for complete independence. The country will look to Wardha for a true and clear lead.

Political Prisoners

A press note recently issued by the Director of Public Information, Bengal, states that nine political prisoners have already been released and orders of release have been passed on another batch who have refused to buy their liberty in exchange for an undertaking. They were, it is reported, asked to state in clear terms

that they would in future cut off all connections with the "terrorist" organisations and abjure violence before they would be allowed to pass out of jail-gate into a fresh life of freedom. As a result of this demand from the Government, the whole matter has now gone into a stalemate. It is extremely regrettable, to say the least of it. It really passes our comprehension as to why the Government should have thought it fit to tack on their belated act of fairness the sting of an unnecessary provocation. Is there any ground for it? We think there is none.

The history of the political prisoners in Bengal is too well-known to the public to call for repetition. It is known how the inauguration of provincial autonomy raised justifiable hopes of liberty in them which however, were not fulfilled. They burned with the desire of serving their dear country in a new setting and along new channels. Hopes deferred maketh the heart sick. Ultimately they were seized with desperation and launched on a hunger-strike. That only resulted in their shifting from the far-off Andamans to the local prisons. Months after months rolled by but still they were left to rot in jails without any specific assurance of release within certain period.

Mahatma Gandhi put forth his best efforts but he broke on the obduracy of the Government. The prisoners assured the Mahatma and through him the countrymen at large and the Government that they were convinced of the futility of their old ways and henceforth they would work under the broad banner of the Congress. But all went in vain. In deeper desperation they again launched on a more determined hunger-strike before which they repeated the assurance to all concerned that henceforth they would serve the country as full-fledged Congressmen. Finally, through the intervention of Mr. Subhas Bose they gave up the strike on being given to understand that all their cases would be sympathetically reviewed within two months. Naturally they put an optimistic interpretation on the formal and covert official jargon and felt assured.

Those two months have almost passed and now they are being presented with the offer of release on undertaking! This, to our mind, betrays not only want of grace but even something worse on the part of the Government. Have not the past avowals of the prisoners satisfied them?

To the best of our knowledge, "terrorism" has no existence in reality to-day, although it seems to cling on to the frenzied imagination of the Government. We would solemnly ask them to rid themselves of this scare. Does the conduct of the released prisoners testify that they are still holding on to their old ways? Then, why this hurtful condition precedent to release?

Mahatma Gandhi

Mahatma Gandhi has crossed another milestone of his historic life—he has now stepped on to seventy-one. With the innumerable glowing tributes of respect and love that have been offered to him, we too, join ours. More than two decades ago he burst on the field of Indian politics after his eventful career, at South Africa and took the whole nation by storm. He sounded the death-knell of the comfortable arm-chair brand of politics that had been in vogue before and gave the nation a new baptism in love and sacrifice. Not only the classes, but also the masses became imbued with a new life. The Congress was made to cast off its prayerful mood and under his inspiration grew infinitely larger and aggressively militant. The nation knew its redeemer and bowed its head to him. Since then the General has led the country from one victory to another. On the anniversary of his birth-day we remember with profound gratitude the priceless services that he has rendered to the Indian nation.

But the goal is not yet. The barge of the nation has still to steer a long way through troubled waters. The tremendous mass-energies that the Mahatma has himself unleashed, have grown impatient to-day. The people of India demand the full prize of a resurgent nationhood. They are steeled with determination. They are prepared for any sacrifice. They stubbornly refuse to drop down to rest on the way-side. Their appeal is to the chosen leader of the nation to illumine the path with wisdom and courage. The fog of mysticism repels them because their gaze is fixed firm on the destination. The Mahatma, the prophet of universal love and unity, belongs to the world and to the morrow. But the Mahatma, the Generalissimo of Indian nation, is of to-day and solely ours. May God grant him many

more years to fulfil both these missions. That is the prayer welling up today from the heart of the country. May it not go in vain.

Current Comments

Our New Political Pleiad

Our new political Pleiad is a curious assortment drawn from various parts of political sky,—we mean the cluster that has issued a statement questioning the *bona-fides* of the Congress. Sir Chimanal Setalvad, Sir Cowasji Jehangir and Mr. V. N. Chandravarkar belong to the Liberal Federation; Mr. V. D. Savarkar comes from the Hindu Mahasabha; Dr. B. R. Ambedkar is called at least by himself a Depressed classes leader; while Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and Mr. N. C. Kelkar are possibly neither fish, flesh, nor good red-herring. Yet all these seven worthies have displayed a striking unity in non-conformity. We shall only say to them that political influence is gained by showing other records than those of hunting after spurs and ribbon or playing an obstructionist game at Round Table Conferences or by drawing a sour face over the Congress prestige. To Vir Savarkar we shall say that it has been a shock to us all to see him troop in such company. However, we hope, now that he has been invited by the Viceroy to an interview, he would use this opportunity to put national interests above communal.

Reticence that speaks

While no light has yet come from Simla as to how things are shaping there, two short questions by Mr. Gallacher in the House of Commons have drawn forth replies from Mr. O'Neill, the Under-Secretary of State for India, which are quite meaningful in their vagueness, evasion and silence. Answering the first question as to whether the Government proposed any measures to satisfy the demands of the Working Committee, the Under-Secretary said that the Governor-General was keeping in the closest touch with the situation and seeing leading members of the Committee and other important leaders. The public know as much even without Mr. O'Neill's favour of a reply. But when the member came to the more crucial question as to whether the Government was aware of the existing feeling in regard

to war aims and if it would not help to clarify matters if India had a Constituent Assembly, Mr. O'Neill chose to maintain a sphinx-like reticence. Silence in golden no doubt, but the Under-Secretary should have remembered that sometimes it may let one down in a very bad way.

Master of the Baltic

The Soviet does its job thoroughly. After Estonia comes the turn of Latvia, Finland and Lithuania. The Baltic sea has again been regained by Russia through the occupation of the new Estonian bases for her navy and air force. Latvian and Lithuanian agreements with the Soviet will further ensure to Russia the use of the Baltic ports and a passage to the Baltic by raid. So, Herr Von Ribbentrop is feted and returns from Moscow agreeing to the Soviet domination of the North Eastern Europe, and the Latvian and Lithuanian Governments are invited to send their representatives to Moscow to assent formally to their change of political masters. Nazism had overshadowed their politics for the last few years; they had even refused to have anything to do with any assurance from a 'Peace Front' and now the encircled Soviet of the post-Munich era has entirely turned the table on the Nazi diplomats. The Nazis are to retire from the Baltic sea board; they are on the retreat from the Balkans, too. Within one month of the war the "greater Germany" of Nazism is a faded dream; and, 'world Revolution' of Sovietism is taking instead a recognizable shape.

Turkish Trials

M. Sarajoglu of Turkey is still at Moscow standing his trial along with the Latvian and Lithuanian ministers. In the nervous days when Hitler seemed to be stalking over the Danubian basin to appear finally at the Black sea, Turkey accepted friendship with Britain and France, who thus had the gates of Dardanelles assured to them for their fleet if Rumania required its help. In their recent agreement with the Soviet, Turkey considered herself doubly insured in the same policy i.e. against aggressive Nazism. But within a fortnight aggressive Sovietism has made room to aggressive Sovietism. So, at Moscow M. Sarajoglu is in difficulty; he would not repudiate the engagements Turkey has made with Britain and France. The Soviet probably assures that no such thing is necessary; but Dardanelles

has to be closed to other powers ; Turkey has to enter into closer economic alliance with the Soviet, and all that this implies. M. Sarajoglu awaits instructions from Ankara in his trial at Moscow. From the Baltic to the Black sea the shadow of Stalin has replaced that of Hitler, and Turkey probably feels as uneasy under the one as under the other.

"Community of Interests"

Mr. Churchill is perhaps the most brilliant man in the present British Cabinet and brilliantly he presents the facts in the Commons reviewing the progress of the war. Nothing but his experience could have helped him to appreciate the action of Soviet Russia in Poland. Years ago he was known to be the implacable enemy of the Soviet; he was greatly responsible for the crusade against the new-born Soviet on its defence then. To-day he discovers a "community of interests" with those flaming Communists. The existence of the Soviet was then to Mr. Churchill a menace; now the expansion of the Soviet is to him a hope and satisfaction. The Soviet could not but forestall the Nazis in Poland; it was "necessary in the interests of Russia"; and it has thus warned Hitler off his Eastern dreams. Of course inscrutable are the ways of Moscow. "It is a riddle wrapped up in mystery inside an enigma," confessed Mr. Churchill. "But through the fog of confusion and uncertainty we may discern quite plainly the community of interests which exists between Britain, France and Russia. These are to prevent the Nazi giant to put itself upon the shores of the Black Sea or overrun the Baltic Sea." But if only the British Cabinet had discovered this truth before the German-Russian Non-Aggression Pact! Today the declaration of this common truck with Moscow does not bring the Soviet so close as Mr. Churchill would desire and the interests would require.

Stalin's cat's-paw

Bernard Shaw, who still retains his flair for flashing up the less obvious side of a question, had long read the Soviet riddle. He hailed the Russo-German Pact as a good omen for, he said, 'Hitler would be now under the powerful thumb of Stalin whose interest in peace is overwhelming.' Many could not accept Shaw's reading then and the German aggression on Poland together with Russian advance

into defeated Poland had tended to confirm their suspicions. Yet Shaw has stuck to his own opinion and said that Stalin has no objection to using Hitler as his cat's-paw. That Stalin is using Hitler for his own purposes is evident from the reports that come from Russia and Germany. Ribbentrop had to break bread with Jewish officers in Moscow and Hitler has been releasing

daily thousands of German Communists from German prisons and camps. Thaelmann, leader of the German Communist Party, was among the first to be released. So it appears that Hitler, who once directed that all Communists should be made to swallow castor oil so as to be purged of their Communism, is getting purged of his own Nazism.

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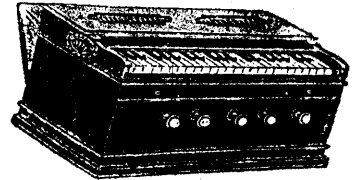
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THE SOVIET IN WORLD AFFAIRS TO-DAY

By PROF. HIRENDRA NATH MUKERJEE

There is to-day in India a very great deal of confusion in regard to the present role of the Soviet Union in international affairs. Some people point out that while there is a growing appreciation of the astuteness of Soviet diplomacy and unqualified recognition of Soviet military might, the former respect for the consistent peace policy of the Soviet has pretty nearly vanished. Communists and Nazis, they aver, have shown themselves to be the same land-grabbing sort, supremely indifferent to the rights of nations and even on the look-out for fresh acquisitions, no matter how ill-gotten. This point of view is widely held today, and the Press has helped Russo-phobia by preaching ill-informed homilies on the "cynicism" and "perridy" of Soviet foreign policy. To many of course, any stick is good enough to beat the Soviets with, but some of us, at any rate, who ought to know better, should stop fulminating against the Soviets for their alleged violation of the moral principles that are supposed to govern international affairs.

Of one thing, of course, there can be no doubt. For, surely it does not lie in the mouth of the Western "democracies" to brag of moral principles. Even since 1931, when events began to move rapidly in the Far East with the Japanese attack on Manchuria, the so called "democracies" of Western Europe have pursued a policy of bare-faced connivance at the growth of the fascist powers. Hitler, of course, is today Public Enemy No 1, but the city of London has financed the Nazi regime and the government of Chamberlain fearing the power of the people like the plague, have so long allowed itself, perhaps only with occasional misgivings, to be bullied, blackguarded and harried by the fascist states. It is good, no doubt, that a stand has at last been taken against Hitler and all that he represents, but any assumption of moral superiority on the part of the former friends of Hitler can only be laughed to scorn.

There is no question, also, about any ideological coalescence between Marxism and Fascism; between the two is an abyss that nothing can bridge over. The failure of the Anglo-French-Soviet negotiations

was due not to any preference of the Soviets for Nazi friendship, but to entirely other causes. A genuine peace front was the concern of the Soviet, not of the others. It is amazing to recall that Poland, with British encouragement, was resolutely refusing to allow the Red Army to step on the soil of Poland for her defence. The Baltic States, fearing Bolshevik infection, put further impediments by declining to be helped. The sharply limited terms of reference given to the Military Mission sent grudgingly to Moscow on Molotov's express invitation, only confirmed the long-standing Soviet distrust of Britain's 'bona-fides'. It must have been known that Russia alone was in a position effectively to help Poland, and when Russia was persistently balked of her scheme for doing so on the basis of a genuine pact of mutual assistance with Britain and France, it was natural for her to conclude that the western democracies were only "glad to fight Germany to the last Pole", in the hope that Nazi Germany would then oblige them by going East and mopping up the "den of Bolshevism" which had so often formed the theme of Nazi philippics. So there followed the Soviet-German pact, a slap in the face of the western "democracies." The *anti-Comintern axis* was broken; and one sees Japan moaning about it even today. The realistic diplomacy of the Soviets, backed up by the might of the Red Army, has, as even Mr. Churchill has been constrained to admit, warned Hitler off his Eastern dreams, has meant a tremendous augmentation of Soviet power and prestige, and has brought the prospect of world revolution very much nearer.

Sympathy for the Poles is a natural feeling and surely a commendable one as well. They have suffered the horrors that are the inevitable concomitants of modern warfare. But suffering has been for the masses in Poland, the badge of all their tribe. In the days when Poland was independent, before the partition in 1772, the Polish peasant was ever under the heel of the proudest, most exclusive and tyrannical aristocracy in Europe. Since the resuscitation of their freedom

after the Great War, they have been enduring, pathetically, the rule of one set after another of militarist dictators. No democrat need worry his heart over the fate of fellows like Colonel Beck, the type of the haughty, unfeeling ruler of men. It is good, also, not to forget that the minorities in Poland—Jews, Ukrainians, White Russians and so on—were treated so badly that one may say the Polish government could very well give a point or two to Hitler and his crew on this question. Unhappy Poland has suffered so horribly because of the swaggering imprudence of her military dictators and the irresponsibility of her allies who, as in 1833, sent platonic messages of undying friendship.

The Soviet Union had never guaranteed Poland in the way she had Czechoslovakia; for the government of Poland the Soviets have had long-standing antipathy. Besides, it must not be forgotten that the Red Army did not touch Polish soil till after the Nazi hordes had overrun it, and the government had fled the country. The Red Army's advance was not, surely, a wanton act of aggression as some of our papers have interpreted it. It was, essentially, an act of self-defence against imminent Nazi attack on the minorities racially akin to Russians, included arbitrarily in the Polish state, and against Soviet territory itself, which was more than probable if the Soviets had not shown their iron fist hidden behind a velvet glove. The Soviet Union's new frontier in Poland approximates to the Curzon Line, fixed as an equitable frontier for Russia by the Supreme Council of the allied Powers in 1919, but revised later in consequence of the separate Russo-Polish War. The line follows fairly faithfully what unprejudiced experts would consider the proper ethnic frontiers of the Ukraine and White Russia. It would be unfair to disbelieve the Soviet statement that owing to the collapse of the Polish government, it devolved on the Soviets to come in and protect racial minorities, resident in former Poland, who already have their own organised

(Continued on page 8)

British Press On India's Demand

THE SOVIET IN WORLD AFFAIRS
TO-DAY

The New Statesman and Nation

The first out-spoken and sympathetic article in the British press on Indian policy appeared in a remarkable leader in the "New Statesman and Nation," entitled "India: the Test Question."

"In the present emergency, says the paper, 'the British Government has deliberately ignored Indian opinion and the Congress manifesto has not found its way into the daily press.'

The paper recalls Indian chivalry during the last War and says: "The Congress is now no longer an irresponsible Opposition. We now must answer the question, with India as a test: Is this war for democratic freedom or for Empire and the 'status quo'? Among the war aims we must include an undertaking to establish India as a nation controlling its own destinies.

"By making Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the President in fact, if not in name, we should win India and startle the civilized world into a belief in our sincerity.

"From Washington to Moscow everyone asks for what we fight this war. If we dare give India liberty we will win the leadership of a free people. If we meet rebel India with coercion will anyone in Europe or America mistake us for the champions of democracy?"

The Manchester Guardian

In the struggle which lies before us, says "The Manchester Guardian" in a leader, the whole-hearted support of the people of India may well be of vital assistance both materially, through men, money and materials, and morally, by proving to the world that England is not fighting oppression with bondage in her own house.

The spontaneous expressions of sympathy for the British cause that have come from Indian leaders of every persuasion, must not mislead us into taking India's support for granted before India's support has been sought and won * * *.

But if the messages of sympathy that have so far been available only in summaries are read in full text, it will be found in every case that Indians have not gone farther than to offer Britain an opportunity of gaining their support * * *.

If Britain is fighting to save democracy and establish a new world order, India would gladly join in the struggle, but if the war should turn out to be aimed at the defence of Imperialist possessions, India could take no part in it.

Thus the Congress invites the British Government to declare its war aims regarding Democracy and Imperialism, and state how these aims will be applied to India now.

The few curt remarks by Lord Zetland in the House of Lords have been the only public response so far to an offer that that is nothing less than a historic opportunity. It is impossible to believe that Government for all its urgent pre-occupations can mean to leave unanswered the frank appeal of a body that is able to make or mar India's contribution to the world.

In an earlier article the same paper wrote as follows:—

The British Government will make a grave mistake if it assumes that Mr. Gandhi will not stand firmly with the Congress in the issue that the Congress has raised by its demand that Britain, if it is standing in this war for democratic liberties, should apply its principles to India. We have a great opportunity and the Government should make it clear that it means to secure, if it can, the full and free co-operation of Indian people.

The Daily Herald

"The Daily Herald", in a leader, wants to know whether Britain is fighting a genuine battle for democracy or a mere war of rival imperialisms once again and adds, "If Britain can convince the Congress leaders that our allegiance to democracy is genuine then free and enthusiastic support of three hundred million people will be given us throughout the war.

"Let the British Government, therefore agree to grant straight away possible measure of responsibility at the centre to India's elected leaders. We have never yet repaid in full the sacrifices made by Indians in the Allied cause between 1914 and 1918.

(Continued from page 7)

states inside the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Moscow appears these days to be the centre of the international stage. Proud Ribbentrop, who the other day as good as shooed out the then obsequious Neville Henderson, Britain's ambassador in Berlin, does the trip to Moscow whenever bidden, and, his Aryan nose no longer in the air, quietly dines with Jews and Bolsheviks. With Turkey, the Soviet Union's consistent friend, the ties of amity are strengthened. Germany is warned off her sphere of influence in South Eastern Europe. The Baltic States—Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania—once so insolently and ruthlessly hostile to communism and the Soviets, are compelled to pay court to Moscow.

The recent peace offer, sponsored by the Soviets, is intended, as far as can be judged to resurrect a new Poland, genuinely democratic and shorn of the racial minorities incorporated with her in the interests of those who detested the Versailles treaty. To that end, the Soviet Union can surely exert pressure on Germany, and do it effectively. If however, a just peace is impossible, and if the Western powers are really keen on extirpating Hitler and at the same time avoiding the inspeakable horrors of a long protracted war they should open negotiations with the Soviets for the immediate conclusion of an Anglo-French-Soviet alliance. Things have happened in the last month or so, which are more miraculous even than that.

The Star

"India wants more democracy. So do we all and that is what we are fighting for. Democrats here will sympathise with democrats in India in hoping that the war will give them more freedom and not less. Certainly if they cannot get it from Britain they cannot even hope for it from any other Power."

WAR AND INDIAN INDUSTRIES

By HUMAYUN KABIR

India has hardly felt the military effects of the war which is now raging in Europe and it is more than likely that for a long time to come her comparative isolation will protect her from this hardship. Other effects of the Great War have, however, already made themselves felt and the sudden increase in prices in the early week of September came as an unpleasant reminder of our utter dependence on foreign resources for many of the necessities of life. In the last Great War India suffered from a want of many of the prime necessities of life and the development of textile industry in India may be regarded as a by-product of the European struggle. Other necessities, however, remain yet unsatisfied and the war has revealed in a painful manner how inadequate are the industrial resources which have been developed in the land. The paradox of the situation is that potentially India is one of the richest countries in the world and is better placed with regard to the essential raw materials than most. Nor can it be said that industrial inefficiency is intrinsic to the Indian character, for in the past, Indian industry held a place of honour in the economy of the world. If to-day, at first sight, the manual skill, industrial efficiency and commercial ability seem to be lacking, the causes of these defects are to be found in political rather than natural factors.

The inter-lacing of economic interests all over the world has sometime blinded us to the necessity of a proportional distribution of the population of any country between industry and agriculture. *Laissez Faire* theory at one time tended to suggest that the world could be divided into water-tight homogeneous units according to the comparative advantages of production in different areas. There would be certain areas which would be primarily agricultural in their production and others which would specialise in some particular kind of industrial production. From the purely economic point of view this kind of distribution of production and concentration of particular types in particular areas would have, no doubt, a great advantage. There is little doubt

that under such a scheme, if it be feasible at all, the amount of economic energies available at any point of time would yield the largest return. Unfortunately, however, man is not purely an economic being and considerations interfere which have little to do with the quantitative aspect of production. It is not merely nationalistic pride or military apprehensions that compell nations to distribute their productive energies over a wide variety of goods. The threat of war and the possible cessation of supplies is no doubt one factor in the ideal of national self-sufficiency or autarchy, but even apart from military considerations the question of distributing the energies of a nation in different channels assumes a new importance from the point of view of sustenance of the people in a country. It is quite obvious that the number of people who can be maintained by a community depending solely on agriculture is much smaller than the number who can be maintained by industrial production. When Malthus stated the law of population and said that the population increases in geometric progression while food-stuff increases in arithmetic progression, he was unaware of the revolutionary possibilities which the application of science to industry has opened out. To-day it is no longer true to say that production cannot keep up with increasing population, provided such production is based on the utilisation of the resources of nature made possible by modern scientific advance.

The poverty of India is colossal and a crying shame, and reflects adversely against the system of government which obtains in this country. What is particularly significant in this connexion is that this growing impoverishment has gone on side by side with an increasing dependence of the people upon agriculture. The proportion of people who depend on the land for their sustenance has been on the increase. This was inevitable on account of the destruction of the Indian industries and can be checked only by the increasing industrialization of the land. India, therefore, affords evidence for the conten-

tion that distribution of productive energies of the people between agriculture and industry is important not only from the military point of view but also from considerations of the welfare of the community. If the undue burden which the land has now to bear is relieved and a proportion of these dependent on land provided from industrial expansion, the inevitable consequence would be a general increase in prosperity and a stimulation of goods agricultural as well as industrial. The standard of life would automatically go up and the increasing purchasing power will create larger and larger markets for all classes of commodities, leading to greater industrial expansion in turn.

The present war has brought home to us our utter deficiency in many of the primary necessities of life. So far as textile and sugar are concerned, India's position to-day is much stronger than it was before, but the position is not as satisfactory as it might and ought to have been. Newspapers have felt an utter inadequacy so far as paper supplies are concerned and even little things like pins and razor-blades have to be imported from outside. The last Great War helped the beginning of the Indian Iron and Steel Industry but here also the development has been for less than expected or necessary. The cessation of supplies from abroad during the present war should give an opportunity for the development of many of the primary industries and the sincerity of Great Britain in her professions of friendship and sympathy towards India will be measured by the extent of support that she extends to this move for the rapid industrialization of India. In spite of the war, England can help directly by lending experts herself or by securing experts from neutral countries or by utilising the technical training and efficiency of the large floating refugee population of the world. The immediate problem before India is the development of her resources to the extent which is necessary for satisfying her own needs. This is not merely an economic issue but also a political one, for an industrialised India will command and secure political rights which can be refused to a primarily agricultural country with impunity.

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WAR AND THE COLONIAL PROBLEM

By NIHARENDU DUTTA-MAZUMDAR

(General Secretary, Labour Party)

Mr. Ben Bradley's article in the *Daily Worker*, of which an extract has been published in the *Hindustan Standard* of the 21st September, refers to India and her role in the war. In such a critical situation as we are facing now, we cannot pass it over (although it has been published in an abridged form), specially when Mr. Bradley is known to have influence over some leftist sections in India.

Mr. Bradley makes a distinction between colonial rule as it is, and as he imagines it would be under Hitler. According to him, "in the Dominions, colonies and India the victory of Herr Hitler would mean domination by Hitler, with his race superiority and extremely reactionary conception of colonial rule." Hence Hitlerism, he concludes, is a menace to the colonial peoples.

Mr. Bradley is looked upon by some people as a good Marxist. But this is certainly not the correct Marxist approach to the colonial problem. Is it really a question of choosing between one form of colonial rule and another? Colonial rule is unacceptable, under whomsoever it may be. For us, the problem of independence is of supreme importance, and so it is for the vast number of colonial peoples of the world. The question of colonial rule *a la* Hitler or otherwise does not come into the picture at all. Mr. Bradley might as well have asked us whether we preferred to be roasted in a fire or fried in a pan.

Mr. Bradley pleads for a united front of the democratic forces to fight German Fascism and calls upon the colonial peoples to join it. He does not probably realise that he is repeating an old formula of 1914, when the fight was against German autocracy and Kaiserism. It is a great pity that Mr. Bradley cannot hit upon the correct socialist strategy in a given situation. The directives of renowned leaders of scientific socialism are clear and unambiguous. Let Mr. Bradley ponder over them.

We are all aware of the trend of the world politics in the period immediately preceding the outbreak of war. We do

not, however, see any reason for making a revolutionary change in our idea of world politics, simply because there is a war. For, war is merely a continuation of politics by other means. But Mr. Bradley in his panic demands of us just this revolutionary change.

The mechanistic and opportunistic outlook of Mr. Bradley will be thoroughly exposed if we take the example of the Soviet Union. Probably Mr. Bradley is not conscious of the fact that in this war the Soviet Union has chosen a course which cuts right across the path taken by him.

Fascism is the arch-enemy of Socialism. Fascism is even more dangerous to the Soviet people than it is to the colonial peoples. Still the Soviet leaders chose not to join the war against Hitler and entered into a pact of neutrality, non-aggression and mutual trade with Germany, not with the object of bolstering up Fascism but of spreading Socialism, as subsequent events have shown. Then, again, the Soviet Union is taking the initiative to conclude pacts of neutrality and non-aggression with the smaller democracies of Central and Eastern Europe and is apparently *not* asking them to go and fight against Germany, as the correct tactic at the moment.

The logical conclusion of Mr. Bradley's thesis would be that all democratic powers should fight Germany. But Voroshilov perhaps gave Mr. Bradley the rudest shock of his life when the Soviet Commander led the Red Army against the Polish army. There was, of course, very little fighting to do for the Red Army. Nevertheless, the fact remains that Stalin had decided not to fight Hitler's army. If Mr. Bradley still sticks to his thesis, he should condemn Stalin for this "sacrilege."

The brilliant tactical moves displayed by the Soviet Government could only be conceived in the brain of a great leader like Stalin, supported by a party which is continuing its revolutionary heritage of the past. Stalin is a perfect dialectician and unlike Mr. Bradley does not hang on

to formulae, whose validity has been destroyed by the passage of events. When the Peace Front failed to materialise and war was inevitable, Stalin did not waste a single second lamenting over it. He, unlike Mr. Bradley, did not start crying in the wilderness about the necessity of forming a united front of the democratic forces for a crusade against Hitler. He did not try to cajole the colonial peoples or raise the Hitler bogey to frighten them into a world war. There was the danger that the collapse of the Peace Front might mean a direct attack on the Soviet Union by Fascist Germany with the help or connivance of the international enemies of Socialism. The Soviet Union genuinely wanted peace and did not want a clash with Germany when the chance of Fascism collapsing as a result of the clash was doubtful. Hitler, on the other hand, did not want to launch upon a lone fight against a first-rate power like the Soviet Union and run the risk of losing the war. He could, of course, count on a few friends but there was no guarantee that these friends would neither desert him when the war against the Soviet Union would be well advanced nor dominate the situation when both Germany and the Soviet Union would be worn out by the war. Hence the pact of non-aggression between Germany and the U.S.S.R.

Some might argue that the pact was inspired by a narrow isolationist policy of the Soviet Union, unworthy of a socialist country when world democracy was at stake (This argument naturally follows from Mr. Bradley's thesis). Subsequent events, however, have shown that this charge is entirely unfounded. *It is the Soviet Union again which has proved in deed its unflinching loyalty to international Socialism and Democracy.*

The occupation of Eastern Poland by the Red Army is of historic significance. It may prove to be the turning point of history. Enemies of the Soviet Union see in it the menace of Red (!) imperialism. People with a narrow technical outlook interpret it as a purely defensive measure against Germany. Some sense nationalism in it and regard it as a measure to protect the Russian and Ukrainian minorities in Poland. But the real significance of this momentous event transcends all these narrow and limited considerations.

The outstanding feature of the Polish

war is that some 20 million people, who were labouring under a semi-Fascist regime, have been directly brought under Socialism. Beyond the borders of the U. S. S. R., Socialism is fast spreading over a substantial portion of Poland. Rich oil-fields, forest resources and other important raw material resources of Poland will henceforward be utilised to build up a socialist society and not for the greed of Fascists and Imperialists. The masses of Eastern Poland will no longer go starving, national minorities will no longer be suppressed. That is why even according to Reuter's message, many Polish troops actually "assisted" the Red Army to occupy Eastern Poland. That is why thousands of poor Polish refugees who had crossed the Rumanian frontier, are eager to go back to the territory occupied by the Red Army. They know there will be peace and real democracy, food and land and a new life to enjoy, free from all oppression. The Polish troops are being disarmed by the Red Army but are set at liberty at once. The Soviet system of government is rapidly spreading and national minorities like the Jews are occupying their rightful place in the administration. Although news from Eastern Poland are few and far between, we are confident that everything that Socialism stands for is rapidly being introduced there. Can anybody deny that it is a Socialist revolution without bloodshed?

In Western Poland we witness a different spectacle. Warsaw is in ruins. Fascist bombers are raining death and destruction on hospitals, children's homes and the civilian population. Prisoners of war are being thrown into Nazi dungeons. Refugees are fleeing by the thousand to escape the Brown terror. Food is scarce, liberty is dead. The heroic Polish soldiers are fighting the Fascist army with grim determination.

The contrast is too glaring to escape our notice. If any country has succeeded in saving liberty and democracy from the clutches of Fascism, it is the Soviet Union. If any army has defeated Nazism, it is the Red Army. If any policy has assured life to millions of oppressed human beings, it is the policy of Stalin. But all this has happened, let us remind Mr. Bradley because the Soviet Union followed Stalin whose plan is to crush Fascism by spreading Socialism.

The cream of Mr. Bradley's wisdom is contained in the following words :

"We are confident that the colonial peoples are deeply opposed to Nazism but we must recognise that their fight is on two fronts—to secure victory over Nazism and to win democracy in their own countries. India has an important role to play. Leaders of Indian people recognise that India would suffer if Hitler wins but India's demand for independence stands to-day and she has the right to be treated on a basis of complete equality. *To the degree that democratic rights are extended and the colonies and India treated on a basis of complete equality, to that extent will the colonial peoples realise the true meaning of this war and their place alongside us.*"

Mr. Bradley is perhaps aware that mass opinion in India is also expressed through the Forward Bloc, the Left Consolidation Committee, the Labour Party and mass organisations like the Kisan Sabha and the Trade Union Congress. Does he know what the leaders of these organisations and the masses who follow them are thinking about the war? Apparently he has no means of knowing the mass mind in India, otherwise how can he parade before the world as the conscience-keeper of the "leaders of Indian people?"

The most charitable interpretation of Mr. Bradley's article does not even bring it up to the level of the resolution of the Congress Working Committee, which itself is not satisfactory at all. The resolution gives an analysis of imperialist wars and expresses doubt about the "true meaning of this war." The Working Committee calls upon the British Government to declare their war aims in unequivocal terms and holds its decisions in abeyance. But Mr. Bradley gets impatient and volunteers to give the reply. He tells us that this war is a war to crush Hitlerism and that India should join the war. He goes further and implies that we Indians do not understand the true meaning of the war. He probably thinks that our intelligence is of a mean order and therefore suggests that we should be led to realise the "true meaning" of the war by means of an "extension of democratic rights" and by being "treated" as equals by Great Britain. Incidentally, we venture to suggest that the word "treated" is in bad taste and rather smacks of an

inferior brand of sub-conscious superiority complex.

What is the reward (or bait?) Mr. Bradley is so kindly offering us? From him we learn that "leaders of Indian people recognise that *India would suffer if Hitler wins* but India's demand for independence stands to-day and she has the right to be treated on a basis of complete equality." (Italics ours)

Here is what the *Manchester Guardian* has to say in the matter :

"Not only because of possible Congress objections but because of our own welfare, India deserves to be treated as a full equal. It is widely recognised in India that *India would suffer if Britain and France were defeated*. She must understand that she will gain from their victory." (Italics ours)

"Communist" Bradley and Liberal *Manchester Guardian* are talking the same language! Mr. Chamberlain has every reason to feel proud of the perfect unity which exists today among all sections of the British people, including Communists like Mr. Bradley. Our theoretical "socialist" Pandit Nehru is charmed to see the Cliveden set shaking hands with Communists of the Bradley-ian type. He uses this example to denounce the forces of opposition in India.

The *Manchester Guardian*, however, is more honest. It is not so altruistic and does not ignore "our own welfare" while offering India the bait. Mr. Bradley is more adroit and seems to be thinking exclusively of India.

Mr. Bradley says "India's demand for independence stands to-day." Yes, it does and it has been standing there even before the Congress passed the resolution advocating complete independence. But we are no longer standing, we are moving. Our movement gains greater momentum every day. Tripuri Congress gave a call to the country to prepare for independence. Has Mr. Bradley forgotten all this, because the nightmare of Hitlerism has frightened him out of his life? Why does he beat about the bush and remain delightfully vague by talking about the "degree of extending democratic rights" and the "degree of treating us on a basis of complete equality?" Behind all this vagueness is hidden the suggestion that we should give up our struggle for

(Continued on page 16)

Mr. A. K. SHAHA ON

SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN U.S.S.R.

For centuries Russia had been an agrarian country. She had to depend upon Europe and America for her industrial needs. There were no doubt some factories, work-shops and working mines but most of them belonged to the foreign companies or private owners. It is interesting to note here that after the invention of electric tram cars one would be surprised to see cars pulled by horses in the capital of pre-war Russia as St. Petersburg or Moscow, while in small town of Odessa there established Electric Tramway. The reason is quite clear. The foreign company did not like to remove their horses from the streets of St. Petersburg and Moscow as their contract was not ended. During the revolution and Civil war these industries stopped working and most of them were damaged; also the peasants could not cultivate their lands. So when in 1919-20 Soviet Russia took power in their hands, they found the country without food and without industrial products. During 1919-20 Europe and America cut off all export and import relations with Soviet Russia forming a kind of economic blockade; great hunger arose in the country. At the beginning of 1921 the Soviet governing body formed a planning commission known as GOSPLAN of U.S.S.R. and similar subordinate commissions were established in all autonomous republics as: Russia proper, Ural provinces, Ukraine province, White Russia, Trans-Caucassia, Turkmanistan (Uzbekistan and Tazikistan). It is interesting to note that at the beginning of forming this commission the industries and industrial products declined to about 20% of pre-war time and that of agriculture to about 40%. The works in mines and oil fields were absolutely stopped.

The period since 1921 upto 1928 can be considered as the revolution period. Lenin started to improve the country immediately after the Civil War was finished. From the very beginning Communist party under the guidance of Lenin had a mind to turn the country on the strict principles of communism without any private capital, private property or

private business. But very soon Government came to the conclusion that this is very difficult and most probably will not be successful. Only participation of private capital can help to revive Russia after the destruction caused by the revolution and Civil War. So, for the time being, party had passed the law giving free land for the private capital inside the country. This was a temporary declination from the general path and gave the most successful results in that critical moment. During this time, on application of new methods pre-war standard was attained.

In 1926 I went to Russia. Lenin had already died in the winter of 1922. I found that the country was in more or less normal conditions, cultural life was fully established, specially in central towns, such as Leningrad, Moscow, Tiflies, Har-kov, Odessa etc. Moscow had already come to possess many scientific institutions, technical schools, universities, research Institutes of different branches of science—some reconstructed and some newly established. Thus it was quite easy for me to start my research works. Everything had been going on almost as in the surrounding capitalistic countries but with much more enthusiasm and efforts.

At the end of 1928 suddenly and abruptly everything commercial and political upturned again and the result was the Scientific and Industrial revolution. The effect of this revolution is to-day quite clear to everybody. The Soviet Government has not only become self-supporting and taken up the European and American techniques but in some respects gone far ahead. Here I shall attempt to explain what is this Scientific and Industrial revolution and how it took place. Before going into details of re-organisation methods and politics it is important to know first what is GOSPLAN and its objects. The main object of this planning commission is to transform this vast primitive agrarian country into a Industrial one as quickly as possible in order to free Russia from the foreign import and

thus make the State self-supporting and independent.

GOSPLAN divided the financial and political department into several commissariates as for example:—Heavy Industry, Light Industry, Education, Finance, Health, Defence etc. And to-day due to enormous growth of some of these commissariates, they are further subdivided into several independent commissariates, as for example—Heavy Industry is subdivided into Machine Construction, Heavy Industry, Defence Industry etc., and Engineering Colleges, Technical schools, Research Institutes, etc, are subordinate to these commissariates and financed by them. Thus they have given definite programme to work out according to the need of industries.

Academical diplomas are awarded to persons whose works have not only theoretical value but have practical significance and economic value as well.

Items of research are chosen according to the need of practical problems arising in the factory. And the results of the research must help either new products or improve the quality or increase the capacity of production which existed before. No abstract problem is undertaken unless it has direct practical significance.

Education in different branches of science are given according to the need of the industrial concerns and social organs. Every student knows well what he is learning and why he is learning. And he understands definitely and concretely when and where his knowledge and experience will be applied.

The Central Planning Commission—GOSPLAN of U.S.S.R. put forward the task quantitatively and qualitatively to the respective commissariates to fulfil in three five-year plans. And these commissariates further planned their work for every year, quarter year and so on. It is interesting to note that the people of Russia did not forget their miserable situation caused by the economic blockade by Europe and America, just after the advent of Soviet Rule.

Though now it is resumed but it can happen at any time. This idea gave the motive power and through vigorous propaganda among the mass Soviet Government succeeded in attaining to-day a foremost place in the world.

(Continued on page 15)

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Sd/ Subhas Chandra Bose.

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SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL
REVOLUTION IN U.S.S.R.*(Continued from page 13)*

One fine morning in 1928 suddenly all kinds of imports were stopped, all private shops, small factories and work shops transferred to the Government. Only a few machineries and book-imports remained in the hand of the Government. The people of Russia fell in a very critical position due to this abrupt change, but I found them cheerful in abandoning foreign goods, though they were in urgent need of them. Government introduced Card System of distributing food to the people, remaining food staff, wood and some other goods were sent to Europe and America to purchase machineries for the development of mother industry and to invite foreign specialists. The idea of inviting foreign specialists was not new. About 300 years ago the first Russian Emperor Peter the Great had invited German specialists and himself went in disguise as a simple worker and learnt the ship-building engineering.

In order to develop her industry Soviet Russia well understood that it was very difficult, rather impossible to solve the problems without the help of well trained foreign experts. Thus the Soviet country began to invite experts from all countries of the world to help in her industrial development and gave them all kinds of privileges and best condition of living.

In order to utilise fully the knowledge and experience of the specialists Government invented new methods and policies of which the following are the most interesting and worth mentioning :—

1. In order to solve the language difficulty the Govt. opened special language courses and within a short time trained a number of interpreters in English, German, and French. Thus the specialists had no difficulty to explain their ideas to the masses through the interpreters.

2. The specialists were invited not only for the general industrial work for the country but were given vast scope to develop their knowledge and ideas and put them into practice which they could not do in their mother countries. This created a great enthusiasm among foreign workers. The fact I can state from my own experience working as a foreign

expert I was given ample opportunities and thus could possess the abilities to complete my industrial gas burner and other inventions of mine.

3. In order to encourage the works Government wrote many slogans among which the following are the most interesting :—

(a) To overtake and surpass the technic of Western Europe and America.

(b) To free the country from technical import.

(c) To introduce into the industrial life all kinds of proposals and inventions of workers and experts.

4. To organise social services among the workers and engineers to teach language, elementary science, technical drawings and politics.

5. Publication of popular magazines and news papers such as "We will master the technics" "Tecnica" etc. This helped to popularise science and industries among the masses.

6. Opening departments of inventions, rationalisation and technical propoganda in every factory, research institute and laboratories.

7. Furtherance of competition among the workers and engineers, socialistic competition and also competition between two factories of similar condition. The competition among labourers both qualified and non-qualified and also among the factories is called Socialistic competition which is done in the following manner. The workers or specialists who desire to enter into the competition should submit promises in the prescribed form of their trade union representative who is also one of their co-workers. And in case of Factories, the Director of one factory should send his self promise which is a collective of all of his workers to the Director of another and vice versa. Every month in a general "Production meeting" these self promises will be examined for each particular candidate and those who will fulfil their promises cent per cent or more will be recognised as shock worker and each will receive a booklet with his photo attached to this effect. This book is a sign of honour and the holder gets many privileges over the common worker. The most common self promises are the following :

1. Punctuality 2. Fulfillment of the plan before schedule. 3. Rationalisation pro-

posal and invention. 4. Social Service. 5. Attending meeting and social gathering. 6. Joining special courses to improve one's qualification, etc. etc. All these should be put in prescribed form with concrete facts and figures and mentioning definite period of fulfilment.

The principle of brigade method of work lies in the fact that the workers or experts are divided into brigade consisting of 10 or 15 people and each group is led by one advanced man who is well trained both in technique and politics. He takes the responsibility of fulfilling the plan in time by his group who is termed as BRIGADIER. The BRIGADIER is selected by the workers in a general meeting and can be replaced by another who proves to be more efficient in organisation and labour.

9. In order to improve the quality of the products and surpass the attainments of Europe and America, the Government deputed offices to the villagers to find out specially talented persons and to bring them to the Central towns and to give them proper education. The proposal of the workers were sympathetically received and they were given full facility and scientific help. As for example comrade Kuberjeb-kee, a simple driver coming from Central Asia gave a proposal to replace the existing method of melting steel by hydrogen flame and suggested his own method. The Government gave him 100,000 roubles and a nice flat in Moscow. I had been helping him theoretically to realise his many other schemes as a part of my social services.

The first Five Year plan was completed within four years with great enthusiasm. I was invited to work at the agricultural machine plant at Rostov on the Done, which was equipped with foreign gas furnaces and I had my special duty to work out the secret of foreign gas burner. I was successful in this research and invented a new kind of gas burner, very simple in its construction, easy working and economic. I have given many inventions free to the Soviet Government and have received a certificate of honour from them. I wrote also a book on the subject for the training of young people in Russian language.

As a result of this tremendous effort during the first five years Russia had succeeded in possessing a number of

gigantic factories such as Amo 40 000 workers, Dunamen 12,000 workers, Ball Bearing 46000 workers. Besides these she has got a few powerful Hydro-electric stations of which Dneproges occupies the third place in the world. It is interesting to note that the Russian Government was paying special attention to 'organise large aggregates in order to utilise all kinds of by-products, for example—aggregate of Dnepropetrovsk, Stalino, Magnitogersk and others.

In the second Five Year plan which started from the year 1932 Russia had been mainly perfecting and completing the industries which were already started and planned in the first years. In the second Five year plan Government introduced new advanced industrial slogans among which the following are the most important :—

1. Academy of Sciences, Universities, Institutes etc must help the work of the factories.
2. There should be no plan of scientific work not directly connected with the factory production.
3. Every scientist must help to raise the limit of productivity and quantity of products.
4. Workers should raise their productivity of labour in order to complete the intelligent class by "Stakhanov Method"
5. Science for the service of toilers.

Here is necessary to explain the meaning of the term "Stakhanov Method". Stakhanov is the name of the Mine-worker who found a new method of raising coal by which he increased his productivity by about six times. Any method by which one can increase the production in an abnormally high proportion is called "Stakhanov Method".

Since 1936 Russia attained such a position that she had no need of foreign help. She is producing almost every kind of good such as heavy machinery, train cars, motor cars, engines, military machines, agricultural machines, cranes, airplanes etc., every kind of clothes specially good-looking artificial silk, musical instruments, gramophones, pianos, scientific instruments. Only in a few cases Russia has to bring some machines from Europe in exchange of her industrial products. Now she is exporting some of her industrial products to foreign countries specially to Persia and Turkey where textile and other small industries are introduced by Soviet experts with their own machineries.

In the third 5-year plan Soviet Government gave special attention to improve the cultural life and the quantity of products in general.

WAR AND THE COLONIAL PROBLEM

(Continued from page 12)

independence, for Britain is at war with Germany. We hope that struggle will not thus be bartered away.

We do not care for doses of democracy and equality. We have had enough of them, India has declared for full and unqualified independence, for absolute power to determine her own destiny and to dictate her own foreign policy.

We are opposed to Fascism. We shall not let it pass in India, but we know also that India's freedom will mean a tremendous upheaval and will be a great contribution to a new world order, where there will be no room for Fascism or any other 'ism' which is based on oppression of man by man.

Why, then, is Mr. Bradley so keen on instilling the fear of Fascist barbarism into our heart? When the Tsarist Government of Russia spread the propaganda of German barbarism during the last war, Lenin never dreamt of raising the bogey of the barbaric Huns. He rather warned the masses against the Mensheviks and other people, who, in the name of socialism, were lending support to the Tsar's war aims. He never deviated from the path of socialism even when the German "barbarians" were bombarding the frontiers of Russia. When the Tsar's Russian troops were refusing to fight on the Eastern Front, the Social Democratic leader Albert Thomas was specially deputed by the Allies to induce the Russian troops to continue the war. This "champion" of Labour told the Russian soldiers if Germany won, Russia would be under the heels of the most reactionary Kaiser.

All this happened nearly a quarter of a century ago. Today there is another war, and the ghost of Albert Thomas has risen in the form of Ben Bradley.

Mr. Bradley has read Marxism but not learnt his lessons. Marxism teaches us not to take things at their face value, but to study events in their concrete surroundings and in their development. The rapid march of events has placed new problems before us. Unless we understand them in their correct perspective we shall be committing ourselves to a suicidal policy, which it will be impossible to change when it is too late.

The Soviet Union is marching westwards with her message of socialism. Will those opposed to socialism allow this to go on without let or hindrance? Italy is already alarmed at the lightning pace with which sovietization is going on in Poland. Mussolini is calling for peace with Germany. Ciano has given warning of an upheaval in Central Europe if war against Germany continues. Roosevelt is forcing a world conflagration arising out of Soviet occupation of Poland. One British paper has named a new enemy—it is the U.S.S.R. Responsible British circles are freely talking of setting up a new government in Poland. Let us read the words of Lenin over again.

"This (socialism in one country) must not only create friction, but a direct striving on the part of the bourgeoisie of other countries to crush the victorious proletariat of the Socialist country."

The Soviet Union is prepared to defend socialism. She is aware of the danger of aggression and is therefore rapidly building up a solid peace front of the smaller states in Europe by drawing them into pacts of neutrality and non-aggression. But Mr. Bradley completely ignores this danger.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Gandhism By P. Spratt. The Huxley Press, Madras, Rs. 2-8-0.

Mahatma Gandhi is one of the greatest political leaders of the century and his influence on Indian life and thought is immense. His entry into Indian politics was an outstanding fact and ended the era of petitioning and praying and taught the masses to think into freedom. Like a colossus he has guarded the portals of the congress for a quarter of century, and has dwarfed his opponents in the political arena. Critically examined his philosophy is found lacking systematic thought and often verges on anarchism. The existing literature on Gandhism is lopsided and betrays the lack of critical attitude. The present book is an attempt to study the life and work of Mahatma Gandhi in a realistic spirit and Mr. Spratt has termed it 'qualified Marxism'. Mr. Spratt has additional advantages over other European critics, for his relation with India is intimate and long. He lived in India, entered into the mind of the people and got under their skins and his readiness to serve the people landed him in prison. He has an insight into Indian mind and possesses a thorough knowledge of Indian situation. The book is a comprehensive history of Indian struggle from the Non-co-operation days down to the Tripuri Congress. Mr. Spratt has defined the historic role of Non-co-operation very briefly. "There was no attempt for example to alter the existing class-structure of society. But it did attempt in a sensible reformist spirit to deal with a number of social evils, and to give the people generally, except the lowest classes, who were not much affected, a spirit of self-reliance and an interest in improving their own lot, which in general they badly needed." Mr. Spratt has failed to explain the limited scope of the C. D. movement, particularly the motive that necessitated the violation of the salt law. He would have done well to adapt the methodology of Tr. Hutchinson as outlined in his 'Empire of the Nababs'. And that in the later part of the C. D. movement agrarian problem bulked large and the peasant upheaval was of unknown magnitude, is questioned by Mr. Spratt.

He may turn to Pandit Nehru's 'Autobiography' for startling details.

A doughty exponent of class-collaboration Mahatma Gandhi has always lent undivided support to the *status quo* and is opposed to any radical change in the structure of the society. His belief in the theory of trusteeship is well known and his approach to agrarian problems is based upon it. Mr. Spratt's observation on Mahatma's attitude towards labour and capital should merit meticulous examination. "His attitude towards the workers is very similar to Ruskin's, from which it may be derived. Both are opposed to class-struggle, and think that the proper relation between employers and employed is like that of a father and his sons; that the way to correct existing evils is to teach the capitalists to act morally; that the existence of rich and poor is a necessary and permanent thing."

1938 was a year of trials and triumph for Mahatma Gandhi and the Tripuri Congress had precipitated a crisis of his leadership. Mahatma Gandhi lay fasting while the Congress was holding its session at Tripuri and the nation's attention was switched off from Tripuri to Rajkot. This act of Mahatma Gandhi proved an enigma to the country. Was it the outcome of the inner urge? Mr. Spratt has ridden the veil.

"The fast was directed against the Government and the Princes; it mobilised the Congress Governments, the Congress itself, and a wide public on the side of the State people; but it was also directed against the Congress left wing and the unruly mass movement."

Evaluation of Gandhism in the light of Communism is the main object of the author, but unconsciously he has confounded Gandhism with Communism. The book is well documented and should be read by every student of Indian politics.

The Politics of Boundaries and Tendencies in International Relation (Vol. I) by Prof. B. noy Kumar Sarkar, Second Edition (1938). Rs. 2-8.

The book is at once a compendium of history, politics, and of international law and relations. But "it does not," as the author himself says, "attempt to be an

historical study of political facts" but it is an analysis or rather a review of political forces, internal and external, current over a definite period of time (1919-1925). With the kaleidoscopic changes in the events of the Post-War world, it is but natural that certain analyses, conclusions and prophecies have gone wide of the mark laid down by the learned author. But the reason as put forth by the author himself is quite evident. The interpretations, based as they are on the facts of a definite period, the post-war years (1919-1925), are valid so far as the data in question are concerned." We shall eagerly await the publication of the new volume in which, we are told, we shall get the interpretations for subsequent periods. However, the present book is, as are most of the works of Prof. Sarkar, a mine of information and covers, in brief, various aspects of the much complicated international relations.

In the preface to the first edition (1925) the author deals with certain fundamental points. "World economy" is a fact of contemporary culture and it is especially easier for a man to-day to realise that the "world is one unified system of economic agencies. Secondly, politics to-day are mainly the manifestations of the interplay of economic forces. Although political creed and tactics formulate and seek to realise certain economic conditions, nevertheless, political creed is greatly a creature of the current economic environments. Thirdly, in order to fulfil certain economic demands the control of state-power is the first essential; hence, the *laissez faire* theory of the rising capitalist economies of the nineteenth century has fallen into disrepute and the "state has grown into the greatest dynamo of material well-being." Socialism, by which the author means state control and state-interference, is the first postulate in public thinking. Lastly both the Grotian theory of external sovereignty and the Austrian theory of internal sovereignty cannot but be modified by the growth of internationalism on the one hand and the claims of autonomy by the lesser but more spontaneous associations on the other. The word "sovereignty" is a mediaeval term

connoting certain ideas of the mediaeval era. "Territorial sovereignty" is a legal fiction and as days are passing, we are gradually brought home to the inconsistencies involved in using a mediaeval term altogether with a new content. The Grotian theory of sovereign states reinforced by Vattel's ideas that they are "so many free persons living together in the state of nature" has been one of the greatest stumbling blocks to the formation of a world order and even sapped the foundation of the post-war League of Nations, which, in spite of all its defects, was the outcome of that inner urge towards an international society that is inherent in the modern trend of things.

Conscious of these facts, the author tries to remove the vague theoretical ideals that are generally associated with the terms "nations" and "states." Both are young phenomena. Both of them indicate certain stages in the evolution of human society which are certain to be superseded by other forms. The terms do not possess any sanctity of their own. Nation or nationality is an abstraction and subsists only in the minds of patriots, philosophers and poets. "History knows only 'states'." The word "nation-state" is a misnomer and has no practical bearing. A poly-plot and multinational state is the usual phenomenon. The theory of nationality must be made independent of "culture" and "culture-ideals" because, firstly, life's "ideals" are the same all over the world and throughout the ages, and, secondly, it leads to "irredentism," racial jealousies and internecine strife amongst people of different states. A realistic philosophy of the state is required to counteract the "romantic" conception of nationalism as a cult. The state is not a "natural" organism. It is a voluntary association, an artificial corporation. Two factors which brought the present states into being are the consent express or implied, of the people and the force of arms, that is the forcible subjugation and annexation of one people by another. Hence follows the most important conclusion which is vital for India much obsessed as it is by differences in caste, creed, religion language and nationality. "If the state be a voluntary partnership... considerations of race, language, religion etc., are robbed of any special significance. For, the sole consideration would be the

deliberate and conscious agreement of the members of the...corporation...A state, conceived according to this non-mystical and positive theory, is postulated, to be complex, or heterogenous and does not necessarily have to be intolerant of the rights and interest of the 'minorities' since these might be safeguarded in the compact or agreement itself." Whatever might be the real nature and origin of "nation" or "state" Prof. Sarkar's exposition of them have a practical significance and a pragmatic value in the formation not only of states but, what is of more importance, of a federated world-order.

The remaining chapters are concerned chiefly with facts and events of the period. An analysis of the current facts and a suggestion of their future trends are what will impress a reader of these chapters. The second chapter refers to the post-war French aggressions and attempts to "colonise" the valuable Ruhr-Rhine-Saar area in Germany. The sociology of foreign rule is uniform all over the world. "Under foreign rule the country is not treated as one's own land but as an article merely of commerce." France's aggression had no other objective than this.

The resurrection of Turkey and her strategic importance have convinced her eternal foes, Britain and France, of the necessity of a change in their attitude to her, the rise of Italy as a first-class power under Mussolini has wrought revolutionary changes in the Mediterranean and Balkan politics, the emergence of Soviet Russia as a world Power vitally affected the Baltic States. One of the most interesting chapters is that which is captioned "the eternal Chinese question." Beginning from the Opium War till to-day the history of China is principally the history of the attempts of the rival imperialistic Powers to colonise the country. Intervention in a weaker state in the name of civilising the "barbarians" is a grand pretext for the violation of International law and is the special feature of imperialistic domination. The affairs in China bear striking evidence to this.

As the book was written almost a decade and a half ago, it contains as we have said many predictions, some of which have become facts. Others again have been otherwise, for example, the suggested effectiveness of the British Mediterranean naval base at Malta has been greatly minimised by Italian Mediterranean bases and specially by Pantellaria; Germany has again stood up as a world power contesting to-day British and French supremacy; Italy's interests in the

Mediterranean and in Africa have made her a great rival not only of France but of Britain as well; a strong Germany is not an enemy of Italy but is to-day her nearest ally; Japanese oil-concession in Russian Sakhalin has failed to form a basis of friendship between the two powers; rather the island of Sakhalin has become a bone of contention between them; Vladivostock, instead of being reconstructed with joint Russian and Japanese resources, has become a powerful naval and air base of Russia and Japan is watchful of the harbour as it might be used against her most effectively if required; etc. But these incidents, contrary to the author's predictions, are due to the time factor which is an important condition all of prophesis. With time, element of uncertainty counts much, specially in politics. Nevertheless, the accuracy of the analyses of the events from 1919-1925 based on the current data which the book contains, gives adequate food for reflection and interest to the readers.

Bengali.

Asru-Setar (A book of poems) by Abdur Rauf B.A. Publisher Asia Khatun Narayanpur, Jessore, 8 as.

The author is a new comer in the realm of Bengal poesy and he is not an unwelcome entrant as the book under review amply testifies. The key-note of the poems embodied in it is love—love in its various moods and phases. Sometimes personal love has risen to the height of love universal. Though in regard to subject-matter the author has treaded a beaten track, yet the note of sincerity and spontaneity rings clear in all his poems. The poet has handed various rhymes, though not without occasional lapses. We hope that if the poet sticks to his craft, he will be able to cast off the faults of immaturity in course of time. The frontis piece has been suggestive and fairly well-done.

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Letter to the Editor

STUDENTS AND POLITICS

To

The Editor, Forward Bloc.

Sir,—It is simply strange that still from some quarters voices are heard decrying the sacred right of the students to participate in politics. Whether the students should take part in politics,—this question could have raised a controversy fifty years back. It should hardly be debated now. Still there are people who argue that politics is a dangerous game and students should abstain from it. The students are the future citizens of the country, to-morrow they will take the leadership of its affairs. They should therefore keep in touch with the realities of the situation lest in future they be not misfits in the arena of politics. Unless the students are allowed to participate in politics, their very education will be lop-sided and imperfect. In all civilised countries such as Russia, China, Japan and England students are taking keen interest in politics and their participation has justified itself. The student community of India, in order to keep pace with the march of events must move abreast of times. Mere reading of books cannot complete their education. Theory must be supplemented by practice. But in having proper training for life students must beware of false prophets and opportunists.

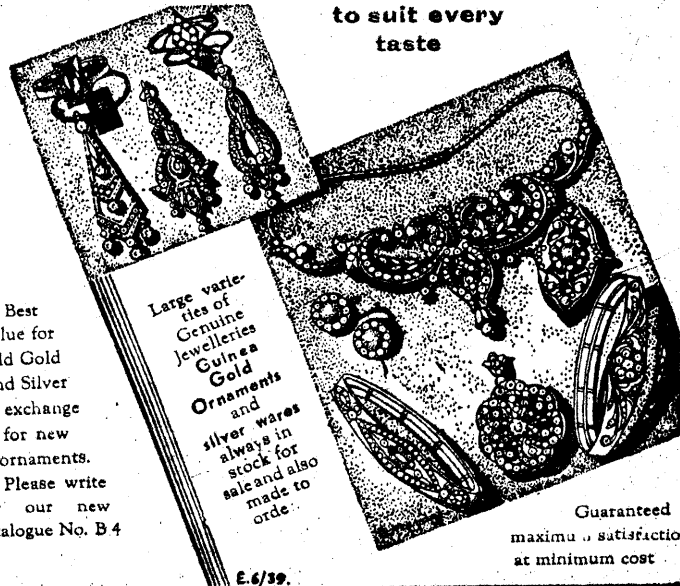
Now is a fateful hour in the history of the country. Students must prepare themselves for all eventualities that are likely to crop up. The recent ukase passed by the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri warning students against joining certain brand of politics is unfortunate, to say the least. He evidently forgot the adage, "Old order changeth yielding place to New". The student movement will not certainly suffer any set-back from such old fossils, however distinguished personally they may be. Rather, it has been daily growing from strength to strength and it will have its mission fulfilled in spite of Sastri-Sapru.

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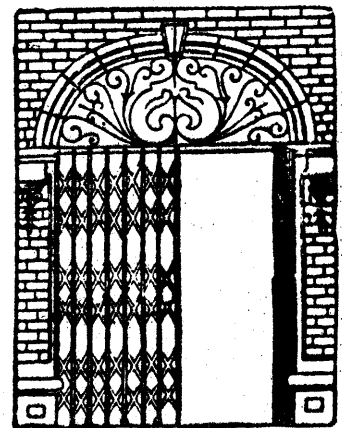
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