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A POLITICAL WEEKLY

Editor :—SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

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SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 18

*Whither High
Command?*

Ever since the beginning of September, members of the public who usually look to the Congress for light and lead have been passing through mental bewilderment and confusion. The Resolution of the Haripura Congress on War had formerly been regarded as an unerring guide and the natural expectation was that as soon as the crisis broke out, steps would be taken to implement it forthwith. But this did not happen. At first there was delay. This was followed by vague murmurings in Rightist circles to the effect that altered circumstances rendered that Resolution inoperative. The result was vacillation and comparative inaction.

Surprise and bewilderment gave place to utter confusion. One can easily imagine the mental condition of those who had got into the habit of taking marching orders from the Congress. What were they to do? The Haripura Resolution which should have served as their objective guide, was unceremoniously shelved and no substitute was given. No doubt in September the Congress Working Committee produced a long-winded resolution which some of our international experts (?) hailed as "as a lead to the whole world" or as "a charter of liberty for subject races"—but analysis of that resolution did not reveal much more than mere words. And in the midst of verbiage, the kernel was missing. What was the Congress going to do if the reply of the British Government on the questions of War Aims and of India's political future was inadequate and unsatisfactory?

The heroic language of the resolution naturally led the unsophisticated reader to expect heroic deeds. But were the intentions of the authors equally heroic? In Rightist circles there were high

hopes that a satisfactory response would come and a crisis would thereby be averted. One fails to understand, however, what justification there was for entertaining such hopes. Nobody claiming political sense should have felt optimistic in the given circumstances. The fact, nevertheless, was that there was considerable optimism which was dashed to the ground when the Viceroy's pronouncement was made in October. The statements of some of our Ministers contained a note of wail and afforded distressing reading.

For once there was prompt action. The Viceroy's statement evoked a ready response from the Congress Working Committee and our Ministers were instructed to vacate office. Though we hold a different view as to the manner in which this should have been done, there cannot be the slightest doubt that ministerial resignation was an act worthy of an organisation that had to vindicate the honour of a nation. It was the very least that the Congress could do, but it was not all that it should do.

The Viceroy's statement had disappointed and surprised our friends on the Right. It was now the turn of the Viceroy and of the British Government to feel likewise over the resignation of the Congress Ministries. It is a moot question as to why ministerial resignation should have caused disappointment and surprise in Governmental circles and why, on the contrary, it was not regarded as an inevitable corollary. Whatever the answer to that question may be, the facts of the case are perfectly clear. It can be surmised, however, that a combination of factors had induced the British Government to think that the Congress would not show fight. The statement of Mahatma Gandhi early in September revealing an attitude of unconditional co-operation towards the Government, the feeling in Rightist and particularly in Ministerialist circles, the absence of preparation in Congress Committees dominated by Rightists—these and other factors could have but one meaning and significance and it was natural for the authorities

at Delhi and at Whitehall to infer that all would be quiet on the Congress Front. This inference was legitimate but it contained one piece of miscalculation. The Congress was neither a static nor an utterly homogeneous body. It was, therefore, possible for elements within the Congress to bring their influence to bear on it and produce results which might appear to the outsider as a deviation from the official course or at least as a development wholly unexpected.

By the man in the street, ministerial resignation when viewed against the present national and international background, could not possibly be regarded as an isolated phenomenon. He has, therefore, been expecting this act to be followed to its logical conclusion—in accordance with his commonsense, 'native' logic. Transcendental logic—if we may use that expression—will not make him change his mind and this elementary fact should be grasped by the Congress Working Committee if it does not desire to betray India's cause at this critical juncture. All the excuses and extenuating considerations that may now be put forward in the name of prudence or caution or even Truth and Non-violence, will not weaken in the least possible degree the popular demand that however badly circumstanced we may be today, honour and self-interest alike demand that the Congress should march forward towards its goal. This elemental demand of the nation's soul can be ignored only at our own peril.

A forward policy and move as desired by the people has been consistently resisted by Mahatma Gandhi for the last twelve months or more. Stock arguments advanced in support of his view have been mainly two,—firstly, the existence of corruption within the Congress and, secondly, the inevitability of the outbreak of violence in the event of a national struggle being launched. We have often urged in the past that these arguments are of questionable validity and that in no case can they be used as an excuse for applying the brake to our forward march.

Since the beginning of September, the above arguments have been reinforced by a third one—viz. that the launching of civil disobedience will be followed by Hindu-Muslim riots etc. A more worthless or erroneous argument cannot possibly be conceived. The Hindus and Muslims against whom such a serious reflection is made will, we have no doubt, emphatically repudiate such a charge. According to our understanding and information, a forward move on behalf of the Congress will appreciably improve the present inter-communal relations and bring the two parties nearer to each other than ever before.

If you are not prepared for a forward move, why not say so frankly and without equivocation? Why cloud the issue by advancing arguments that will not hold water?

The position of the Left is perfectly clear and has been reiterated times without number. If the Congress Working Committee does not move forward, we shall do so. No threat hurled either by Mahatma Gandhi or by the Working Committee will deter. And if they resist us, we shall boldly face such resistance.

But if the Working Committee rises to the occasion, we shall be with it like loyal soldiers. Differences will be sunk within one moment and the Congress ranks will appear as one solid phalanx arrayed against the forces of Imperialism and Reaction.

Subhas Chandra Bose

THE SIGN-SEEKERS

It is said that for six days God created the world and "saw that it was good", and on the seventh he took rest. The Congress having withdrawn the Ministries has taken "the big step" and is now content. The big step has confounded it utterly and its holiday must needs be much longer than a day. It is beguiling its idle days, singing, "The world's great age begins anew....." Irreverent people who are not within the charmed circle have begun to ask the question: what next?

A press correspondent in Allahabad has taken a pleasant dive into the future of Congress history and has summed up the possibilities thus:

There are three alternatives, writes the press correspondent, open to the Congress.

(1) To remain out of office and keep a neutral attitude towards the war. This alternative is not approved of by some Left wing Congress leaders. Even Pandit Nehru has publicly stated that neutrality is not feasible under the present conditions.

(2) To launch civil disobedience. To this, however, Mahatma Gandhi is not agreeable. It is said that he has expressed the view that the United Provinces is not prepared for a non-violent struggle and unless it is prepared he does not mean to launch Satyagraha.

(3) To reopen negotiations with Mr. Jinnah for communal settlement. The idea appears to be to present a united Congress-League demand for the declaration of independence of India. Having regard to the totality of circumstances, the third alternative is regarded to be the one which will be pursued.

While commending the enterprise of the press correspondent, we cannot shut our mind to the obvious defects of his study. He has not exhausted the possibilities. It is not difficult to imagine that the Congress will stage a comeback. Nor is it difficult to imagine that the Viceroy will soon suffer from a stricken conscience, and declare the British war aims to the complete satisfaction of the Indian Congress, and incidentally, declare India to be an independent country.

Then the correspondent has offered no explanation as to why the Mahatma should have singled out the United provinces as the one province not up to his mark of incorruptibility and non-violence. For less informed minds, the United Provinces seems quite as good or as bad as Bombay, Bengal, or Madras.

The correspondent also does not say what the Congress should do after it has squared up with Mr. Jinnah. Will it not take up the problem of Indian unity with the

Aga Khan, the Arhars and the Momins, with Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. Rajah, with the Sikhs and the Indian Christians and the Anglo-Indians and the domiciled Europeans?

These are all by the way. What really matters is the sequel to the problem play now troubling both the Mahatma and the Viceroy. Who will take the first move and indicate his change of heart? And when?

Another press correspondent—from New Delhi to which all roads lead—has given his study as follows:

"Regarding the deadlock resulting from resignation of Congress Governments no fresh move is likely to be taken for sometime. The stalemate will continue since the Viceroy expects the next move from the Congress, and the Congress leaders having laid their cards on the table expect the Viceroy to make the next move. Only after the Allahabad decisions are made known and their reactions watched would the next move from here be taken if at all."

The future of India thus hangs by the fortunes of sign-seekers. The Viceroy has taken his stand on the solid fact of British Imperial interests. To the Mahatma political realism is taboo. And the inner voice which should be unerring, is unfortunately not always infallible. When, and where, and how the two minds, and the two points of view, and the two methods of approach will meet is a problem not for the political workers but for the psychologist.

The question of India's independence has however remained unsolved. The last Great War which has not ended all wars, did change the face and mind of Europe. The map of Europe was changed beyond recognition. The arts and ideals of Europe were altogether transformed. To India, the gifts of the Great War were its aftermath, the Influenza Epidemic of 1918, and the Jallianwallabagh tragedy. Europe is in the thick of another Great War, this time to forge a new world order. In India we do not feel the exaltation and the heightened sense of

awe and admiration of the New Era that is to come. The Congress that should have led India to fight her way into the threshold of the New Order, does not fight. It waits and watches. Or it has ceased to wait and watch. It squirms. To squirm and think oneself a mighty fine fellow for it, to squirm in the conviction that this is the whole duty of man—is a confession of futility and death. It pains us to think us poorly of the Congress as all that. India really is on the threshold of new things. She "looks out, like Joshua from the mountains, over a kingdom of promise, but unmapped." She requires new minds which can comprehend the fact of a new world, men who are capable of change, new artists, new architects who will forge the future for her.

A Jute Lesson

Thirty six thousand hands in the jute industry downed their tools on a demand that the cut to their wages to the extent of 1a. 6p. in a rupee, forced on them three years ago, should be restored now, when the industry is at its full swing and war conditions have made prices of the worker's food and necessities go up. The jute mills, so long as the workers did not go on strike, were deaf to all their cries. Now, as soon as the stoppage is threatened,—and naturally it is a temporary stoppage to their mounting profits,—within 48-hours the *Indian Jute Mills Association* grow reasonable. They are said to be about to concede their demand by an increase of 10 p.c. This is a concession, we know which concedes little. The war has meant a windfall to the jute mills, as we have seen. Millions of sandbags are ordered for; so much so that the belated scheme of restriction of areas under jute cultivation to be devised by our Huq ministry, may have to be withdrawn before it has been put into force—and, of course, after the the necessary expenses have been made. In fact, the *Jute Mills Association* to-day are ready to consume enormous quantity. By a "conspiracy" they have purchased

jute cheaper too—making a profit of Rs. 10/- per maund while the jute-growers could make by no means a profit of more than Rs. 2/- or Rs. 3/- per maund. The mills make to-day still higher profits, from their finished manufacture, and, as the orders for them are almost endless, the mills are trying to produce more, still more. We referred in the past to the methods pursued for keeping the cost of production low—increasing the hours of work instead of taking in the unemployed, retrenched during the year; sticking to a rate which was forced on the workers against all opposition on the plea that the industry was in a bad way; and, lastly, by closing the area to all social workers and Trade Unionists except to those of the communalist-ministerialist brand. The Minister for Labour more than once read homily to the sheep under his care regarding the harm caused by strikes. He was in his *Guddee*, and all was well with the jute world—no increase in wages; no increase in employment; no "war allowance" when war had raised the price of the foodstuff—and all profit to the millowners. No anti-profitteering law operates against them. But suddenly this eruption comes—and the jute mills lose no time to concede; for delay would mean a loss of the gigantic profits they were making now. But is not the strike a bad example to others in the industry and in other industries? or is it a lesson?

Current Comments

Latest from Paris :

Le Temps of Paris must have stolen our Oriental thunder. It has discovered that the struggle between the two dictators, Herr Hitler and Com. Stalin, has an intriguing background. The Fuehrer, it learns, counts on an internal crisis in the Soviet and replacement of M. Stalin by M. Molotov. For, here is what he owes to the Orient,—Madame Molotov is a German and—and it explains everything. Who, we know, has so great an ideology as to be able to disoblige his wife's brothers and sisters? And who, we pray, can be so great

a diplomat as to checkmate the efforts of the wife when she takes up the case of her brothers and sisters? The Commissars for Foreign Affairs are really guided by the commissars for their home affairs. *Le Temps* did not mention M. Litvinov—he had an English wife. And does not that explain M. Litvinov's efforts for gaining the support of Britain for the League and for "collective security"? Viewed in this Parisian light, the rivalry between M. Stalin and M. Molotov may be found not at all fanciful, but due to the different fancies and nationalities of the wives of the two Marxist comrades. If Russia is a riddle to us, the latest from Paris helps to solve the riddle—diplomatic moves have connubial origin. But has not any among the Soviet heroes a French wife?

Sighing for a come-back

It appears that out of office, the Congress Ministers are feeling just like fishes out of water. Naturally they are sighing for a come-back. Their extreme anxiety has found a significant expression in a recent utterance of Mr. Rajagopalachariar who is now racking his fertile brains for producing some suitable means "to end the present deadlock." In this connection a certain weekly of Delhi has given currency to a very intriguing story. It has related how after resignation a certain Congress Minister rang up the Viceroy to withhold its acceptance by the Governors (he was speaking on behalf of all Congress Ministries) till the end of the present impasse. Poor soul, he is certainly to be commiserated! Indeed, it was extremely cruel of the Viceroy to have turned down this soulful prayer. But let not the Ministers lose heart, it is never too late yet. Things may turn up in their favour any moment. The post-resignation comings and goings of certain persons between Wardha and Delhi can leave no doubt as to which way the wind is blowing.

Nehru-Jinnah Interview.

As at present arranged, the forthcoming Nehru-Jinnah interview is to take place some time in the first week of December. Congress circles are said to be optimistic about the outcome of the talks, but to us it appears difficult to find out any ground whereon to build reasonable hopes. No sensible man can think that Mr. Jinnah's Id-day outpouring had any serious import. It has now been amply proved by what he is doing. It is reported that the Muslim League, shepherded by Mr. Jinnah, is "determined" to step in the breach created by the resignation of Congress Ministries and cooperate whole-heartedly with the Central Government. Not only that, Mr. Jinnah has decided to nominate Mr. S. A. Aziz and Nawabzada Liaqatali Khan on the Viceroy's Executive Council as representatives of the League. This does not certainly augur well for a Congress-League settlement. If Mr. Jinnah really wanted it, he might have waited till he had finally done with Pandit Nehru. In the face of these facts, to persevere with the League leader seems almost an impossible task for the Congress. Yet, it is just human nature to hope against hope and there is no harm in making another try, in spite of the experiences of the past.

Indian Seamen On Strike

About 300 seamen from India have been sent to British jails for refusing to work, and, some 50,000 according to the Secretary, All India Seamen's Federation Mr. Ali, are ready to court the same honour. It is a reminder of a problem—our seamen. Ordinarily, the *Laskars* in the ships are as good as galley-slaves. They are of value, as Indians everywhere are, for their cheap labour. Naturally, they should hold life also cheap.

But as the war came it was found that these also held life dear and wanted adequate consideration for the additional risks they were to run on the sea when enemy U-Boats sent them too into the fathomless bottom. Moreover, they suspected that even to friends they were too cheap to be a prize for rescue. So, their demands for increase of wages became insistent. Some companies conceded it increasing by 30 p.c.; one ship even went up to double it as the European seamen got. But employers are not in a mood to emulate the example of higher wages. They would rather wait and see, and resist these alarming tendencies. The unwilling seamen are, as the laws permit, being sent to jails. But the lesson meanwhile is being brought home, as Mr. Ali points out, that British jail is more welcome than fore-castle. The fore-castle for the Indian seamen has to be made attractive, paying and human.

Finnish Footnote :

Finland would furnish an interesting footnote to the present chapter of Soviet diplomacy when it closes. Of course, Turkey has already shown that the Soviet was moving too fast for her to fall in a line with Moscow. British diplomacy won the day. That might have encouraged the Finns. Perhaps, they are also armed with the knowledge that Soviet conquests are to be pushed by M. Molotov at Moscow and not by M. Voroshilov on the shores of the Sea of Finland. Anyway, the language from Helsinki is heroic, and that from Moscow (but for this last open outburst that Finland was being instigated by the British to stiffen her attitude towards the Soviet) has been on the whole restrained. Heroic language did not save Poland and there is an ominous strength perceptible behind the quiet tone and temper of Moscow. By all

means the Finns should enjoy liberty—provided it does not later on prove to be, as in the case of Poland, liberty of the ruling class to exploit the rest. In that case the Soviet may secure the Sea of Finland to make Leningrad safe if the Moscow conversations break—they are declared in politeness to be only discontinued—it is not the Soviet arms that will passibly be set in motion but the Soviet trading and economic pressure that will bring Finland down on her knees.

NOTICE

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RESIGNATIONS—BEFORE AND AFTER

By M. ANNAPURNAIAH, Member, Working Committee, All India Forward Bloc

The Congress ministries have resigned at the bidding of the Congress Working Committee. It was demonstrated to the whole world that the Congress was never for sticking to office at any cost. All honour to the High Command that demanded the resignation and all praise for the Congress ministers, who promptly obeyed the behests of the Congress Working Committee. But "what next"? is the question persistently asked by the man in the street. Rastrapati Rajendra Babu's answer is "no fight", and Gandhijee's fiat is "no Civil disobedience". The Mahatma has even gone to the extent of declaring openly that "I will resist Civil disobedience unless I find the country prepared". *The great Civil resister has thus assumed the role of a resister to Civil resistance itself.* And Dr. Pattabhi claims Civil disobedience or Satyagraha as a trademark of Gandhijee, and resents any other person even uttering its name. Thus a policy of *wait and see*, which is only another name for inaction, is openly preached by the Congress High Command and the common man stands confused and bewildered.

Resignation to be followed by Direct Action

But was the resignation of the Congress ministries followed by a policy of *wait and see*, ever contemplated by the votaries of office acceptance? For an answer to this one must go back to the days of the Lucknow Congress of April 1936. Opposing the socialist amendment advocating non-acceptance of office, speaker after speaker waxed eloquent on a policy of wrecking the Act, on carrying the fight into the very citadel of the enemy, warmly declaiming all the time that when the constitutional fight was carried to the highest pitch, a state of dead-lock would ensue, resulting in either voluntary resignation or forcible dismissal of the Congress ministries, which would be followed by immediate declaration of direct action, in the country. Such were the speeches generally delivered by the protagonists of office-acceptance, and no wonder that they caught the popular imagination and every one expected that running fire of ruthless attack from the

Parliamentary plane would only pave the way to a relentless fight from the extra-constitutional plane. The talk then was, that ministers would, after laying down office, be leaders of a national struggle and not 'teachers' in schools of the Wardha brand, or lawyers resuming their practice.

Mentality has Changed

But twenty-seven months of constitutionalism has changed the whole trend of Congress politics. Instead of launching on schemes of bold political and economic reform, the ministries began to divert the attention of the people by the introduction of measures of social and religious reform like prohibition and temple entry. Peasant and labour legislations have made very little headway under the aegis of the Congress ministries. Measures of debt relief enacted, however, though defective in some respects, are praise-worthy, and while the bounds of Civil liberty have been enlarged in general, repression reigned supreme in some Congress provinces. The fact that the leftists were generally the victims of ministerial repression is note-worthy. The release of political prisoners is to-day a problem, not only in Bengal, ruled by a predominantly Muslim League ministry, but also in Behar, till recently ruled by a Congress ministry. Hundreds of Kisan prisoners are still in the Bihar jails under the very nose of Rajendra Babu. Rajaji's devotion to the Criminal Law Amendment Act was too well known to need any special mention, and his ministry also left out a few Kisan prisoners still to rot in jail. Labour strikers were fired at, peasant struggles were suppressed by lathi charges even on women, and leftists were harassed and repressed in ever so many ways. Mass agitation was definitely discouraged, Satyagraha was explicitly banned by the A. I. C. C. and even public criticism of Congress ministries was tabooed. Congress committees were sought to be made the handmaids of the ministries, simply registering their decrees. Homogenous cabinets which naturally insisted on a homogenous following have become the order of the day. And disciplinary action has almost become a normal feature in Congress politics. Even the

tallest among the leftist leaders like Subhas Babu could not escape from it. And it was declared from the house-tops that the country was not ready for any fight; and that all talk of an ultimatum (suggested by Subhas Babu) was rank nonsense. Really the country was made safe for constitutionalism.

Rightist calculations Upset

The Rightist Congress leaders never expected that the war would break out so soon, and that exactly six months after the Tripuri Congress, where Subhas Babu, as the nation's chosen, suggested a six month ultimatum to the Government, asking them to satisfy the National Demand, or be prepared for struggle with the Congress. But the Rightist calculations were upset, as if by a strange irony of fate. If only, Mr. Bose's suggestion had been accepted, and the Congress committees throughout the country were instructed to be ready for the fight, and a strong volunteer corps was organised, and all preparations for a struggle had been made, the atmosphere for a straight fight and final battle with British Imperialism would have been splendid. But unfortunately, as Subhas Babu frankly put it, "The whole world prepared itself for the crisis but not the Indian National Congress." Obviously the Congress leaders did not expect the war to overtake them in the manner it has done. They really did not expect many more things. If they had known that within three weeks of the disciplinary action they would have to invite Subhas Babu to the meeting of the Working Committee they would have thought thrice before debarring him. If only Dr. Pattabhi Sita Ramiah and Mr. C. P. Ramaswamy Reddiar, Presidents of Andhra and Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress committees, had even vaguely known that Subhas Babu would be invited to attend the meeting of the Working Committee at Wardha, hardly before the ink on their appeal for boycotting Subhas Babu during his tour of the Madras Presidency was dry, they would not have issued that narrow-minded appeal which was branded as "vindictive" even by the Mahatma. It was however expected that when Subhas Babu was invited to the Working Committee

(Continued on page 8)

MAXIM GORKY—IN MEMORIAM

By PAUL NIZAN

More than three years have passed since the death of Maxim Gorky. It is known to-day that the days of this man, whose greatness represented the pinnacle of the Soviet literature of his time and whose voice was the most powerful that was raised in the world on behalf of freedom, was shortened by a criminal conspiracy.

I will always remember Alexi Maximovitch as I saw him shortly before his death in the white-green house in Gorky, near Moscow, where he lived. There was a garden there full of flowers, and from the window of his room Gorky had a view of a wide landscape full of meadows and forests. To this house people came on pilgrimage from everywhere, just as at one time they came to Yassnaya Polyama to see Tolstoy. There came peasants, children, young women, writers and workers, or, as on one summer evening in 1934, Voroshilov, Molotov, Kaganovitch, Mikoyan.

Gorky listened to what his guests had to say, and replied: he told stories and gave advice. He was quickly aroused to indignation, quickly became calm again. He was not ashamed to weep when one described to him the torture of people in China and in Germany.

One could not leave Gorky's presence without a feeling of fresh courage, with the feeling of having met a great man. One could say of Gorky, what he himself said of Tchekov:

"To call to mind such a man gives strength: One immediately acquires fresh courage: life acquires a new, clear meaning."

Gorky displayed enormous activity in the last years of his life: he wrote articles, books, plays. He spoke at meetings, edited journals, guided the young writers, many of whom, like Avedyenko, had to thank him for everything, even the discovery of their literary talents.

He was a kind of spiritual leader, and his criticisms, which could be hard, his praise, with which he was not sparing, played a very important part in the cultural life of the Soviet Union.

Nothing was alien to him rather was he the type of writer who does not lose himself in literature. One must read his

last writings: they deal with everything that interests and stirs everybody—the Soviet Union, the Red Army, the petty bourgeois, humanism and inhumanity, history, the "Intellectuals," fascism, culture, love and hate. One finds in these writings the genuine voice of Gorky, his irony, his bitterness, the confidence and the hope which ---- after the terrible years of his life, which would have crushed a man less strong than he---have yet triumphed.

I know no more powerful expression of confidence and hope than the sentences with which Gorky concluded his famous work on Proletarian Humanism:

"The times are past when, among the proletariat, confidence and hope fought each other like falsehood and truth. There, where the proletariat is master, where everything is created by its powerful hand, there is no longer any quarrel between faith and knowledge; there faith arises from the knowledge which man acquires by his own mental powers. This faith produces heroes; it will never produce gods."

This was the man whom the enemy killed, and one can say of him the same which he wrote of Kirov:

A wonderful man has been murdered, one of the best leaders of the party, the ideal type of proletarian, a master of culture. I share with my whole heart the grief of the party, which is the grief of all honest workers. I cannot but add: that which the enemy was able to accomplish is proof not only of his baseness, but also that our vigilance was insufficient. And his death was also a lesson!

decide on the next logical step in the stage of the National struggle. The best means of restoring unity in the ranks is to decide on a programme of action. Will Mahatmaji rise to the occasion and assume the leadership of the nation once again and earn the gratitude of the toiling millions of India? Will the Congress High Command act?

Our offer stands

If a bold lead is given by the Congress High Command the offer of Subhas Babu that all the leftists to a man would line up behind the High Command, stands. What is wanted is not a change of leadership but only a change of the present policy of inaction.

RESIGNATIONS—BEFORE AND AFTER

(Continued from page 7)

meeting at Wardha on 8th Sept. the ban on him and other Congressmen would be immediately lifted and the ranks within the Congress closed; a programme of fight would be placed before the country.

Capitulation

But the public were thoroughly disappointed. While that was the proper time to strike for independence, the Congress High Command began to negotiate with British Imperialism for a compromise. Persecution of those Congressmen who insist on an immediate struggle with British Imperialism, here and now, and a slogan of unconditional cooperation with British Imperialism by Mahatma Gandhi, his repeated declarations that the country was not ready for a fight, Rajendra Babu's appeal to Congressmen not to criticise the British—all these were meant as gestures for a compromise by the Congress leaders. But it had exactly the opposite effect on the bureaucrats. The word of the negotiators, who openly avowed that there was no strength behind them, the strength to put up an effective fight, in the event of a breakdown of the negotiations, would not, in fact, did not, naturally carry any weight with the Viceroy or the Secretary of State for India. The policy of capitulation adopted by the Congress leaders was rightly marked out as a policy of weakness. Imperialism has pitted the minorities against the Congress, and is following a policy of "divide and rule" as Mahatmaji so nicely put it. But Congress leaders have learnt this lesson in their office. So they have been doing exactly the same thing, namely of dividing the leftists. They invited the Congress socialist leaders to the last meeting of the Working Committee, but did not invite Subhas Babu. They have been trying to woo the socialist leaders for some time past, and divide them from the other leftists; but happily this time even the socialists could not be entrapped.

Not too late

Even now, it is not too late. All the differences between the various groups can be composed. The Working Committee will do well to rescind the disciplinary action against Mr. Bose and others and

(Continued on column 2)

WHITHER STATES' PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT?

—By S. S. KHANOLKER

After two years' active struggle of the States' people the time has come to take stock of the various experiences and recapitulate. States' people have gone through an important stage which has laid the foundation of direct action. In a way it has done to States India what the C. D. Movement did to British India. Now local leaders have come forward and States' politics is no longer confined to Medows Street in Bombay (All India States' People's Conference Office). This does not mean that there is no necessity for guidance from above. On the contrary, the demand is increasing and to fulfil it leaders cannot rely on their old means. Resources have got to be doubled. Contacts have got to be revised and the proper advantage of two years' varied experiences has got to be taken.

The struggle made its beginning with Mysore's romantic move, meetings and processions with thousands, lathi charges and frings and it ended in Rajkot's historic spiritual experiment. During this period the Congress gave a sufficient trial to its resolution on States that created so much storm at Haripura. The practical experiences have come to our help and on the basis of them all can revise their positions and stands taken at the time of Haripura. It has been seen that some of the staunch opponents of the resolution became very soon its supporters.

It is a sufficient introduction to start with the analysis. Much of the opposition that came for the Haripura resolution was due, to a certain extent, to the lack of proper comments and explanations. The first draft of the resolution circulated by the Working Committee aimed at abolishing all Congress committees in the States. And the resolution that was passed at Haripura after a great storm, was with an agreed amendment which preserved the right of the States to form Congress committees. It simply took away certain rights of the committees in the States. This action too, was subject to a lot of misunderstanding.

Specially people who did not actually work in the States could not understand

the significance of such political bodies minus some political rights. I was one of those opponents of the Haripura resolution who realised its wisdom afterwards. It has been experienced that even after certain rights being taken away, the Congress committees in the States were in no sense empty bodies. Their existence surely meant a sort of relationship with the struggle in British India and was also an indication of the fact that the States' people's movement was not solely confined to the attainment of responsible government within the States but it had a wider outlook and relation with broader anti-imperialist struggle. In a way the Haripura resolution struck a golden mean. On the one hand, dogmatic non-interventionists maintained that the attainment of swaraj in British India would automatically solve the difficulties of the States' people. They did not count the States themselves as a factor in efforts for the attainment of swaraj. On the other hand, there were people in the States who saw nothing beyond responsible government in them. The real justification of the Haripura resolution lay in the fact that the States' people's movement was in a primary stage and hence it was impossible for the Congress to take direct responsibility on its shoulders organisationally. Moreover, each State had its different problems demanding specific treatment. In view of these, direct identification with the struggle would have meant involving the prestige of the Congress and disturbing its day to day activities in British India. Even in absence of rights such as to contest parliamentary elections or to undertake internal struggles in the name of the Congress, the committees have rendered important services in developing public life in the States. The committees in the States where civil liberties prevailed have been able to carry out anti-war propaganda and observe days announced by the Indian National Congress from time to time such as political prisoners' day, China day etc. The committees could enrol members in small as well as in big States and thus finance the activities of Praja Mandals (workers being the same in both the bodies) or other internal struggle conducted either by organisations or by individuals. They have also served as potent means in checking communal elements to a certain extent. These were the advantages which could claim attention of the opponents. To the dogmatic followers of Gandhiji, non-intervention policy was something like an eternal principle. The verdict of the Tripuri Congress was an eye-opener to such ardent believers in non-intervention policy. It has been observed by the Tripuri resolution that "the great awakening that is taking place among people

of the States may lead to a relaxation or to complete removal of the restraint which the Congress imposed upon itself, thus resulting in an ever increasing identification of the Congress with the States people."

The only objection against the Congress in general that could be raised was that it did not give due encouragement to the people in British India for their participation in the struggle. The doctrine of self-reliance, however important in the moral life of an individual, has its limitations in politics and specially so in its application to the States' problem.

The all India movement for responsible government in the States has received various measures of response. To understand that one shall have to take into account the class forces in different States. In the industrially advanced States upper class or the bourgeoisie took initiative in the struggle. Mysore can be given as an example. The obvious reason of the fact was that the rising bourgeoisie was keen on getting security for their investments in banks and other spheres of economic activity and it wanted to have its hand in the administration of the State. In States like Kathiawar and those of Orrisa, merchant class is the primarily suffering class on account of the monopoly system in the trade. Absence of competition in the trade and profit-making on the part of the States keep prices abnormally high and hence cause equal suffering to the merchants and the peasantry. Under such circumstances, the former took initiative in the struggle and the peasantry backed it up. Regarding small States which are not industrially or commercially advanced, the movement remained purely a peasant movement laying main emphasis on grievances pertaining to Land Revenue. Ramdurg may be given as an example in this connection. In such States the slogan of responsible government did not become popular. On the contrary, undue emphasis on the demand of responsible government created unnecessary troubles and hampered the growth of public life. It was, in fact, difficult for the people, middle class as well as the peasantry, to visualise the sort of responsible government that they had to attain. In such States it was impossible to start Praja Mandals. Circumstances were such that it was easier for the States to start counter Praja Mandals and encourage reactionaries thereby. Under such conditions Congress committees were the most suitable bodies. Kisan Sabhas might also thrive. In conclusion, it is fervently hoped that leaders from different provinces will give expression to their most valuable experiences received during last two years in connection with this important national problem, viz, the States problem.

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PLANNING IN AGRICULTURE

—By SACHIN SEN

There is a talk of planning on every body's lips, although I am yet to be convinced if everybody means to take to it. Planning annihilates "economic individualism" and brings into prominence the concept of social interest; it is not merely an adjustment of the claims of competing and conflicting interests. If we are to plan our agriculture, we are to see how land can be most efficiently exploited in the matter of production and how the produce of land can be sold at a remunerative price. Thus, both production and distribution come within the orbit of planning, and every interest involved in the whole gamut is subordinated in the interest of society.

There is evidently much loose thinking on the subject, and I propose to trace briefly but precisely the role of tiller in any scheme of planned economy. For the sake of making my thesis clear, I am sacrificing details.

First, a cultivator exists for society; he may own land for cultivation but he will be restricted at every step so that he may not neglect cultivation, or impair land. He will not have the individual freedom to grow any crop he likes, to persevere in the method of cultivation after his own liking, or to dispose of his own crop according to his will. Take the instance of the "Kolhoz" in Soviet Russia. It is a co-operative association enjoying full powers of internal administration, although its acts must "harmonise with the basic aims of the Revolution and with the immediate policies of the Soviet Government, and it is under constant surveillance of the Soviets and the Party organisation." The final authority of the "Kolhoz" is vested in the mass meeting of its members. Whether the type of Kolhoz is the *commune* where all individual income-yielding property disappears and all productive resources are held in common or the *artel* where peasants pool their productive resources and may maintain individual homes and may keep a cow, hens, geese etc. in proportion to their personal needs, the produce must be sold to government and not to private

parties. The Executive Committee does all the planning and administering of the work and the life on the "Kolhoz", the Inspection Committee keeps a vigilant eye over its actions; both the committees are chosen at the annual mass meeting of the members of the "Kolhoz." Even if there is planning within the orbit of individual ownership, it is provided

(a) that a cultivator shall not be given more land than he can cultivate by the labours of his own family, the agriculturist unit being the family;

(b) that the holding shall be cultivated by the occupier in accordance with the rules of good husbandry and shall not be used for any purpose other than agriculture or horticulture,

(c) that the holding shall not be divided, subdivided, assigned, let or sublet;

(d) that any periodical payments shall be duly made.

The position is this that in any planned scheme, communistic or capitalistic, the rights of cultivators must rest on the performance of their obligations and that tenancy or membership of the co-operative association must terminate if the terms of letting or membership are broken. The planning of tenancy within the capitalistic framework may be found in one small holdings movement in England and Wales where County Councils are empowered to take the land which any individual owns in excess of 50 acres and to sell or lease it to a farmer in small holdings.

Secondly, the principles of planning are bound to be defeated if there are grades among ryots with different kinds of rights. There may be stratification according to the type of work or the degree of skill involved therein. Even in the "Kolhoz" wages are "scaled according to the type of work a member performs or the degree of skill with which he performs it." In Bengal, for example there are rent-receiving ryots, that is, ryots who live on rents and are not called on to perform the task of cultivation. This trick is the work of our Tenancy Act. This gradation among ryots coupled with different rates of rent and different species of rights are inimical to any kind of planning.

Thirdly, in any planned marketing producers are asked to produce the particular quality and quantity of crops and to sell them to particular organisations. Marketing is organised and planned not necessarily to reduce the expenses of marketing but to maintain a remunerative price. In the long run, the maintenance or the raising of prices can only be secured by control of supply. To improve the technique of marketing the farmer's control over production and distribution of produce is virtually abrogated; he is left with the technical details of his cultivation. By subsidy, by quota restriction, by market reorganisation and by tariffs, the quality, quantity and price of agriculture produce are maintained and improved, and cultivators are to be regimented accordingly. Even in a capitalist country like England, this abandonment of economic individualism in the field of agricultural enterprise is frankly found in the Agricultural Marketing Acts whereunder the farmer in respect of the regulated products is tied to a quota which is "based on his average of a period receding more and more into the distance. He is not permitted to increase his sales by lowering his price: whatever his efficiency and his cost of production, he must stick to the figure which secures profits for the most inefficient farm which the Board sees fit to keep in cultivation. If he goes below this figure, he is liable to the most ferocious penalties."

When it is found that agriculture has sunk low and agricultural depression has sat tight in a most obstinate manner in a free and competitive market, the case for planning of agriculture gathers inherent strength. In India, where agriculture nurses the population, Government has failed to nurse agriculture. The country is economically laid low by agricultural depression. The competitive struggle in a free market which is supposed to give a continuous spur to efficiency and cost reduction has failed to rescue agriculture from the meshes of depressing factors. Government talks, agriculture declines.

(Continued on page 14)

TESTS FOR LEFTISM

—By S. KRISHNA IYER

There is a good deal of vagueness and and confusion about leftism because it has, to my knowledge, not yet been pinned down to a specific definition. That may possibly be due to the fact that it is, or it has been thought to be too elastic to be comprehended by a hidebound definition. But on a close analysis it will be found that it has got to fulfil certain broad tests. If the question is posed as to who is a leftist, many—genuine, spurious or indifferent—will come forward to claim the honour of the badge. And it need hardly be said that all of them cannot satisfy the tests. Then who is really a Leftist? For an answer thereto the whole background of congress politics has to be reviewed very briefly for leftism, in its Indian setting, has particular reference to congress affairs only.

In the first place, it has got to be carefully noted that Leftism is a relative concept. There can be no Leftist where there is no Rightist. The question will naturally come up here, what are the broad distinctions that mark off the former from the latter? They may, according to the prevailing notions, be summed up as follows:—(1) Ideologically the Leftist has some definite ideas about the reconstruction of the society after the attainment of national freedom; the Rightist too, has them but they don't tally with those of the former. In the future order dreamt of by the Leftist, all distinctions between man and man will be reduced to a minimum, if not to nil and every single unit in the society shall be allowed all the privileges for self-expression. Whereas it is presumed that according to the conception of the Rightist, there will not be a complete overhaul of the present state of things; only some changes will be effected here and there—no matter they are very big changes—but the present *status quo* will *substantially* continue intact. (2) Secondly, for the present, the Rightist has given the impression that he is more in favour of achieving freedom for the country by shreds and pieces through negotiations and by constitutional methods than having it whole at a time by one

mighty stroke on the citadel of enemy—a procedure in which the Leftist is believed to have full faith. It, therefore, appears that the differences between the Left and the Right are quite fundamental both in regard to aims and methods.

In this connection one is irresistibly reminded of the old Moderates and Extremists in the Congress. The Moderates (that strange species that has today appeared as Liberals) had a pathetic faith in the efficacy of prayers and petitions while the Extremists were firm believers in "direct action." It would, however, be wrong to suppose that the Leftist of to-day is only an up-to-date variant of the old Extremists. For, although the latter aimed at complete independence ("complete autonomy free from British control") and hoped to attain it through "direct action," they had no definite ideas about the future reconstruction of the country, at any rate, they did not make them known to the people at large. Perhaps they thought that once freedom was achieved, it would frame its shapes for itself.

It has got to be made absolutely clear that a genuine Leftist must satisfy both the tests laid down above. If desperate courage and irrepressible desire for fight alone would have constituted Leftism, then Hitler would be acclaimed as the greatest Leftist in the world today. But no stretch of argument would give him that honour since his ideology lacks in the very fundamentals of Leftism. On the other hand, ideology alone, devoid of the spark of fighting zeal, would make one merely an intellectual recluse whose fit place would be in the privacy of a cultural association or at most in a classroom, but not in the thick of active politics.

Between these two broad divisions there are many other grades which one who cares to look around may easily find for himself. Thus, Pandit Nehru talks Left but acts Right. Mr. M. N. Roy (the doughty champion of alternative leadership) talks extreme Left but at crucial times finds it convenient to range

himself on the Rightist side. To the broader public, as yet uninitiated into Royist mysteries, it naturally remains an enigma as to how "alternative leadership" can be set up by *virtually* identifying oneself with the Rightist. That brand of leadership automatically implies a distinct stand, a somewhat different outlook and wide-spread propaganda for it among the rank and file. If the differences are inevitable, their implications have to be accepted without a demur. At any rate, there is no sense in seeking quiet security under the protective wings of a leadership that is sought to be replaced.

Those who do not dare go the full length of their professions and have not the frankness to admit it, have to fall on the convenient device of tactics which undoubtedly plays a very important part in diplomacy. Lenin, though a communist, was in favour of joining hands with the Zeminders at one stage of the Russian struggle. De Valera, though a declared revolutionary, worked out the parliamentary programme in right earnest. But there was no mistake about their real aims. As a matter of fact, whatever means one may adopt for the time being, it is bound to get the impact of the real motive at the back of the doer's mind. Thus Lenin did not let the Zeminders or the "Big Money" get the upper hand in Russian affairs with a revolutionary and not a "reformist mentality." After all, the masses in all countries have a sure instinct for what one really aims at, through whatever means he may seek to crown them with success.

The above lines have been penned with a view to the fact that all should learn to discriminate the faked from the real. It should never be forgotten that all that glitters is not gold.

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WHICH WAY TOWARDS PEACE ?

CALL AN INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' CONFERENCE

—By BENYO GHOSE

We have heard of the talks of peace in Europe. The neutrals, Holland and Belgium, are the mediators. Every nation has already responded in its own way. With due applause to King Leopold's and Queen Wilhelmina's humanitarianism, Great Britain and France have expressed their earnest desire to stop the war. So too has Germany. Each of these warring camps has its own demands and conditions, on the fulfilment of which the cessation of war depends. We have as yet got no clear expression of the peace-aims either from Germany or from Great Britain and France. In retrospect, the Anglo-French policy affords us to believe that Britain and France will rather prefer to offer Germany a variety of economic bribes, ranging from a loan to the joint exploitation of Africans and the Chinese and an united anti-Soviet Front, than inflict a defeat on Germany and give the German Left their chance. To Germany such bribes and baits are absolutely irrelevant. Hitler's aim is not profit, but power. The rantings against "Bolshevik subhumanity" or the official "ideology" of the Nazi programme, have little to do with the shaping of the Nazi policy. The realism of the Nazi policy has successfully been stolen from the intellectual arsenal of British Diplomacy. So, we cannot establish peace by any "peace terms" which mean "appeasement" glossed over with a spurious internationalism. We must establish it by following a fresh track. We must throw light on the whole of the clue to this peace. But before doing that let us try to explain the cause behind this mediation of Holland and Belgium.

Holland, Belgium and Switzerland are all declared neutrals. But Holland's neutrality differs from that of Belgium and Switzerland. Swiss neutrality is internationally guaranteed, Dutch neutrality is not. Holland has never accepted any offer of a treaty guaranteeing its integrity from any nation. It does not like that its integrity should become the subject of negotiations.

Belgium had a technical military agreement with France and was a signatory of the Treaty of Locarno which, once Germany had withdrawn from it, looked like a unilateral treaty. So, Belgium needed Germany's recognition of its neutrality, lest the latter could do what it had done in 1914, and use the suspicion as to Belgium's neutrality as a pretext for an attack. Again, there are no military agreements between Holland and Belgium. Both have a totally different system of defence which makes co-operation almost impossible. Belgium has a short eastern frontier well-fortified, but Holland has a very long eastern frontier without any fortifications at all. Belgium can defend itself on the outer line, but Holland must fall back upon the great rivers, and further, to the inundation-line, which lies well inland. In these circumstances it is quite natural that each of them will be anxiously searching for peace, particularly when the menace of Nazism has been driven out of the Baltic towards the North-West by the Soviet Union. And we have said before that we can have no peace on this track. At best we can have another Versailles or Munich. But that is not our aim. That ought not to be. Which way then we must take to have peace?

The first step towards realism in any discussion of this kind is to face the fact that any concession whatever to Germany must thwart the realisation of this central purpose. A Conference of all Powers including the Soviet Union, should immediately be summoned to settle the terms of peace. *Lost freedom of the small states, like Austria and Czechoslovakia, must be regained. The integrity of new Poland formed by the real Polish nation should be internationally guaranteed.* In this respect, the arguments of Mr. H. N. Brailsford in favour of a "New League" on the basis of Anglo-French-Russian alliance is relevant. But the issue goes deeper than that. The acceptance of such terms will mean a defeat for Germany, and, that will inescapably lead to the fall of Hitler's regime and a social cataclysm. The progressive forces of Germany will have their say in the matter of shaping their

country's Government. British Tories abhor such an upheaval. We are reminded of Mr. Lloyd George's warnings in 1933 after the victory of Hitlerism: "If the powers succeeded in overthrowing Nazism in Germany, what would follow? Not a Conservative, Socialist or Liberal regime, but extreme communism. A communist Germany would be infinitely more formidable than a Communist Russia" (*Times*, Sept. 23, 1933). Here is mirrored the typical British Tory mentality. So, it is expected that there will be "share out" proposals and Nazi Germany will be given a share in exploiting the colonial peoples. Britain and France will crush the social revolution which will follow the military defeat of Hitler, and replace Hitlerism by an equally reactionary government, dancing at the sweet pipings of the Anglo-French policy.

So, the responsibility of establishing peace, ultimately rests with the common people, the workers of all countries, the masses. Fascism is not inevitable. It is certainly not a necessary stage of capitalist development through which all countries must have to pass. We have seen in Russia that the social revolution can forestall fascism. But if the social revolution is delayed or betrayed, Fascism becomes inevitable. Capitalism in its decay breeds fascism, which carries forward the contradictions of existing class society to their most extreme point. The capitalist state then lives in a state of permanent civil war.

Europe of today presents this picture. The capitalist countries are on the threshold of internal revolt. Germany is rotten-ripe for this social revolution. It must not be delayed or crushed. Old blunders must not be committed again. The liberation of the German masses can be the only basis of peace. The liberation of the colonial peoples can be its only effective guarantor. For this, we have shown that a revolutionary change in the Anglo-French policy is needed. That means the Tories of England and spokesmen of the "hundred families" of France must be replaced by People's Governments. *For the realisation of this end, that is, for the establishment of true peace, we propose that an International Workers' Conference should immediately be called, if possible before the Conference of the Powers proposed above. The International Workers' Conference should map out a definite programme of action with a view to securing peace. The words of Lenin on the eve of the October Revolution apply with tremendous force in the world situation of today—'Delay means Death.'*

PLANNING IN AGRICULTURE

(Continued from page 11)

It is for Government to plan; it is for Government to execute. The fundamental postulates of planning have been recited only to show that Planning is not an easy job. A mere broker cannot deliver goods unless the seller and buyer are agreed. No planning scheme can work unless Government and the people are ready. But the need for planning is most urgent as our country is limping from insolvency to famine condition. The difficulties inherent in planning do not extinguish our responsibilities; they further more emphasise the need for pragmatic thinking and constructive movement.

Be it noted that there are no absolute plans applicable to all countries irrespective of objective realities. Take the case of Bengal: she has agricultural population (excluding rent-receivers) of 31 millions out of 51 millions of the total population. The total net area cropped in Bengal is a little more 24 million acres. This means an acre has to maintain 1.3 persons. The country, where density of agricultural population is high, is not suited for collective farming which will inevitably contribute to displacement of agricultural workers whose engrafting in other industries may not be an easy task. Agriculturally situated as Bengal is, she tends more to "small holding" farming. This is mentioned only to indicate how the successful laying down of a planned scheme depends on recognition of the innate peculiarities of the particular country.

In the scheme of planned agriculture it is very important to know the role of the cultivator, because tiller is father and land mother of material wealth. But to accelerate the productive activity of the cultivator, the State must fashion its policy to extend loans, machinery, expert advice and guidance to him. To yield the utmost result, that policy is to be planned, and this gives birth to planned economy.

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GLIMPSES OF MY TOUR (3)

From Poona I took the night train to Dharwar and Hubli. When morning dawned, I found the train wending its way through mountain scenery at several places. It was wet and chilly—but in spite of it, I felt enchanted by the surrounding country side. The wayside stations had expectant crowds who demanded short speeches. We went straight to Dharwar where we alighted.

I had a busy programme for Karnatak and I covered the major portion of the province—excluding the Bijapur District—partly by train and partly by car. While the province was new to me, I could not claim personal intimacy with most of our comrades there. Nevertheless, they were exceedingly cordial and enthusiastic. As a matter of fact, the volume of mass support which I found for the Forward Bloc came as a pleasant surprise to me. Along with many outsiders I was under the impression that since Sjt. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande was the outstanding leader of the Karnatak Congress, the Bloc would not perhaps make much headway there. But, as in other provinces, things had changed beyond recognition there also. Owing to the progress of mass awakening, new forces and new elements had come into our movement. Moreover, other anti-imperialist organisations had come into existence during the last few years. Those who could not keep pace with the march of time, could not adapt themselves to the changing composition of the Congress and could not link up with other anti-imperialist organisations, were gradually being eclipsed by more progressive and dynamic personalities. It appeared to me—and I hope I am not misjudging the situation—that older leaders like Sjt. G. R. Deshpande, in spite of their past sacrifice and service, were getting out of touch and out of tune with the rising generation who will, after all, make India's future. Many of us are liable to forget that Politics is after all something dynamic and ever-changing. If you rest on your oars and on the strength of your past sacrifice and service, claim a position for yourself for all time, you will surely land yourself in disaster.

You will have to move forward all the time if you want to be always in the forefront. Again and again throughout my all-India tour did I feel how rapidly the composition of the Congress was changing and new anti-imperialist forces were springing up and how quickly the political aspect of India was changing along with them. If this had been equally realised by the older leaders, perhaps our political progress would have been more speedy and simultaneously devoid of internal friction.

I do not know if it will be generally admitted that the character of a revolution in a country is determined by the nature of the forces opposing and resisting progress and that the latter in turn is determined by the psychology of the leaders and of the existing government. Where the psychology of the leaders or of the government is inelastic or static, the obstacles to progress are more formidable and the reaction to them is conse-

moved. It was a sight that could not but thrill a living soul.

As far as my recollection goes, the meeting was presided over by Sjt. S. K. Hosmani, President of the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee and member of the Central Assembly. In any case, I clearly remember that he was sitting at my side. After the function, we had a closed-door conference of the sympathisers of the Bloc which Sjt. S. K. Hosmani attended. He was unanimously offered the Presidentship of the Provincial Organising Committee of the Bloc which he kindly accepted. The news came as a bombshell to Rightist circles in the province who had never expected that a sane, sober, prudent and elderly person like Sjt. Hosmani would join a group of 'rebels' like the Forward Bloc. Most interesting was the remark he made to me to the effect that if disciplinary action was taken against the President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee,

then another President was needed to stand by him. Besides Sjt. Hosmani we found enthusiastic workers in Sjt. Mandgi and Sjt. Idgunji.

From Karnatak I returned to Bombay via Poona.

On reaching Bombay I found that a storm had broken out over my statement on the Prohibition Scheme of the Bombay Government which I had issued early in July when I left for my Poona and Maharashtra tour. My statement had been misrepresented in certain circles and political capital was being made out of it. Some hostile papers did not have the decency to publish the whole of it before proceeding to attack me. Since its inception the Forward Bloc had been making such headway that it had caused consternation in certain circles. How were they to arrest its progress—was the question. My statement on the Prohibition Scheme gave them a convenient stick to beat me with.

(To be continued)

By
SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

quently more strong and stubborn. There are signs that the opposition within the Congress to further progress is growing from day to day and this should give rise to serious concern in every quarter. If this opposition is somehow removed, then India will march forward with rapid strides and with one sweep will pass through both the political and socio-economic phases of her movement. Otherwise much sorrow and suffering will be in store for us.

To come back to our story. Beginning at Dharwar I finished my tour at Belgaum. The weather was not altogether favourable. Nevertheless, when we reached Belgaum, there was wild enthusiasm. The educational institutions had all closed down for the day and excitement in the town was at its height. After a mammoth gathering of students I went to the public meeting. It was raining cats and dogs but the huge concourse though drenched to the skin, despite umbrellas, hardly

FORWARD BLOC NEWS

FORWARD BLOC Working Committee Meeting On Nov. 24

A meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India "Forward Bloc" will, it is announced, be held in Calcutta on November 24.

MR. V. DAYAL TRIPATHI

"Forward Bloc" Secretary Arrested

Mr. Vishamber Dayal Tripathi, Secretary, All-India Forward Bloc and member U. P. Congress War Council was arrested on the 11th under Sections 124-A and 153-A I.P.C. at Bangermow, states a Unao message.

MANOHARPUR 'FORWARD BLOC'

Sj. Dilip Bose, of Manoharpur (Singhbhum) had a talk with Sj. Subhas Bose on Tuesday morning in connection with the opening the Manoharpur. "Forward Bloc" office.

Sj. Bose has consented to visit Manoharpur at an early date.

LEFTIST LEADERS ON TOUR

Kisan Meetings In Patna District

Swami Sahajananda Saraswati, General Secretary of the All-India Kisan Sabha, Pandit Sheel Bhadra Yajee, M.L.A., General Secretary of the Bihar Provincial Forward Bloc and Sj. Ram Jatan Sinha, General Secretary of the Patna District Kisan Sabha are touring and addressing Kisan meetings in Barh and Bihar Sub-divisions of the Patna District.

They addressed meetings at Bihar Sharif and Nauanda and exhorted the people to be ready for the next fight.

Meetings were held on the 10th at Harna and at Rups under the presidency of Pandit Sheel Bhadra Yajee. Swamiji, Pandit Yajee and Sj. Sinha spoke at length on the present political situation of India and advised the Kisans to be well organised to be able to take effective part in the next independence struggle.

Meetings were also held at Usafa and Hilsa on the 11th.

DACCA FORWARD BLOC

Visited By Sj. Subhas Bose

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose visited the Dacca District Forward Bloc office yesterday at about 12 noon. Several thousand of persons were waiting in the Nawabpur Road in the blazing sun to have a 'darsan' of the "idol of the nation". In the Bloc office, Sjts. Nilkamal Chakraborty, Satish Chandra Chakraborty, Ganendra Chandra Bhattacharya, Bhabesh Chandra Nundy, Nikunja Sen and other respectable gentlemen were present. The Forward Bloc volunteers presented a 'guard of honour' to Sj. Bose. Sj. Nundy explained to Sj. Bose the progress of the work of the Bloc in this district. Sj. Bose discussed with the workers of the Bloc the aim and object of the Forward Bloc. He left the office at about 12-45 p.m. and after a short stay on the way, Subhas Babu proceeded to Narayanganj in a car, accompanied by Sj. Bhabesh Chandra Nundy and Sj. Ganendra Bhattacharya.

Sj. Bose was given a hearty sendoff by a large number of Congressmen and public at Narayanganj Steamer Station.

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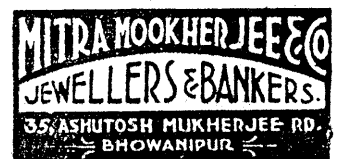
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BOOK REVIEWS

The True India By C. F. Andrews. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 6s., London.

A true lover of India, Rev. Andrews has done much towards building up the bulwark of good will and better understanding between India and West. His earlier works on Mahatma Gandhi and Indian problems are a tribute to the genius of freedom-loving Englishmen and England can really boast of Rev. Andrews. For the last few years propaganda agents of Imperialism have been busy representing India in the lurid colour. In West anti-Indian literature is found in abundance and the propaganda films, though few in number, have positively harmed the case of India. The new start in the sphere of vilification was given by Miss Mayo whose work was timed just before the enquiry into Indian Reforms. Mother India earned her cheap notoriety and in succeeding years the rank of propaganda agents swelled up. Appalling ignorance, grinding poverty, corroding superstitions are facts which no sane person would disown. But who is primarily responsible for all these? How to end this lamentable state of things? These are the questions left unanswered by the propaganda agents. Criticism of Indian problems should be actuated by the desire to discern the motive beneath the surface of things. Rev. Andrews' present book is a reasoned reply to the lying propaganda. He has approached Indian problems in the true perspective and has disrupted the fictions with the help of historical data. In Mahatma Gandhi Rev. Andrews finds the symbol of awakened India and he has offered some basic explanations of non-violence. The question of Indian poverty has been discussed in a realistic spirit and the author, though opposed to large-scale industrialization, advocates the combination of agriculture and industry that has been worked out with remarkable success in Denmark and Switzerland. Hindu-Moslem question is a knotty problem and it is difficult to break through the tangled skein and Rev. Andrews has discovered the origin of troubles deep-seated in orthodoxies. But this is also a superficial view of the unhappy problem. Is it not basic to the system that trades upon the ignorance and fanaticism of the people? He has

catalogued the weak traits of Indian character, though these are not the same as those 'placarded' by the hostile critics in West. One of the greatest faults, writes Rev. Andrews, which has become ingrained owing to centuries of subjection, and is still there beneath the surface, is the habit of submissiveness and apathy, in face of growing, instead of its fearless, active condemnation of wrong. Here we are more inclined to agree with Rev. Andrews and point out the danger of non-violence to the people. He stands for the abolition of joint-family and caste-system and thus writes on the evils of joint-family: "One serious consequence of the confined atmosphere where the family rather than the nation is the final unit, has been the lack of cohesion and unity in any great public cause. Not only do the ties of the family prove too strong, but the public cause itself is left in abeyance for personal and family reasons." India is an organic whole and diversity of languages and races does not obscure oneness. And rightly the author has questioned the "divine mission of Britain in India:" "Neither by differences of language, nor race, nor religion has there been as yet such a pronounced cleavage in India as to imply that the presence of a third party, such as Britain, is perpetually needed in order to keep peacethose who witnessed the vast Congress gathering at Haripura, where friction was reduced to a minimum, and a spirit of unity prevailed throughout, can have little doubt that Indians from all the provinces are learning that discipline from within which is essential for all true national life." The hostile critics who have emptied venom upon India should read the book, and even Indians should respectfully listen to the sympathetic criticism of one who is one of the best Indians and noblest Englishman at the same time.

BENGALI

Sahitye Biplab By Biren Das, Published from 114/1, Amherst St. Calcutta.

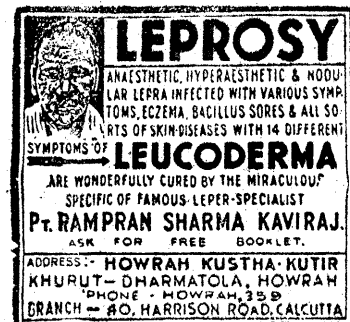
The book under review sets forth within a short compass the changes that have come over the outlook of modern writers. The present age is one of social

storm and stress brought in its trail by the Industrial Revolution which has made a few roll in wealth and has thrown the remaining vast multitudes into soul-killing poverty. Therefore, the modern writer has neither the time nor the inclination to take aerial flights on the wings of fancy. A broad social outlook is essential for his art. But he has to be careful, for the sake of his vocation, not to be a stark propagandist. The author has quite suitably put down all these ideas in his book. But the treatise is very sketchy for which possibly he has not been able to go into a detailed discussion of the various trends in modern literature as reflected in its outstanding representatives. The subject is quite big and very important and calls for thorough treatment in Bengali. As a preliminary discourse the book has its importance.

The style of the author is marked by simplicity and lucidity. The book, though very small, is undeniably a welcome addition to the critical literature in Bengali.

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In preparing M. S. S. for the Press correspondents are requested to write on one side of the paper only.

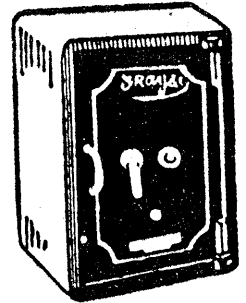
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Letter To The Editor

Next Working Committee Meeting

To
The Editor, Forward Bloc

SIR,

The next meeting of the Working Committee of the Congress comes off within a few days. The Committee shall have to take very important decisions this time; as a matter of fact, the fate of the Indian nation will be largely determined by those decisions.

The affairs of the Congress have now come to a sorry stalemate. The Government, instead of precisely declaring their war aims, have resorted to a good deal of quibbling. Or perhaps I underrate the fact, for has not Lord Zetland in his latest pronouncement quite unequivocally said that the Government are not prepared to forego their obligations in India and let her frame her own Constitution? However Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders may fret and foam, the Government have not found it necessary to stray even a bit from their wonted way, to change even a jot of their old methods. They still "talk in the language of the eighteenth century" and act accordingly.

On the other side, the Congress Ministries have resigned. Of course, they are still hoping that a settlement will soon be struck up between the Congress and the Government and they will be returning to their offices. I am told that the Ministers in the United Provinces are openly proclaiming that they are soon coming back to take their places in the secretariat. Presumably other Ministries too, are thinking like that. That indicates quite unmistakably that the High Command—for the Congress Ministries are but its faithful retinue—is only too eager for a compromise with the Government.

But compromise on what basis? The first question that comes up in this connection is, what is going to be the outcome of the forthcoming Nehru-Jinnah talks? Will they bear fruit? Mr. Jinnah's Id-day pronouncement in the course of which he said, "If I touch politics right it is only to tell you, as a word of advice, that we have our rights and our claims

in a future India. But we shall not be obstinate about them for obstinacy will be the negation of that spirit of love and toleration which should fall upon us on this day"—may lead one to expect that he has somewhat softened down and therefore a settlement with him is not outside the pale of probability. Of course, it may not be discreet to take the Id-day gush of generosity on the part of Mr. Jinnah as the expression of his normal sentiments. The truth, on the contrary, possibly lies the other way. But accepting for the sake of argument that he is genuinely anxious to arrive at a settlement with the Congress and present a united demand to the Government, will that be readily accepted and given effect to? Is it not quite probable that the Government in that case will raise the question of the Princes' rights and again complicate the situation? The whole thing boils down ultimately to this: will the Government agree to the summoning of a Constituent Assembly based on

the widest possible adult franchise and let India frame her own Constitution through it? If not, will the Congress and the League go in for a nation-wide struggle? Will Pandit Neheru insist on this condition before he enters into an agreement, if possible, with Mr. Jinnah?

According to Mahatma Gandhi and Rashtrapati Rajendra Prasad, non-cooperation with the Government has already begun with the resignation of Congress Ministries. Now the inherent logic of the situation should push the Congress on to the end. But will it vacillate in the midway and thus let the National Demand be whittled down? With or without the League the Congress shall have to forge ahead to the goal. The country, therefore, expects a suitable lead from the Working Committee at this critical juncture in the history of the nation. May the Committee rise to the height of the occasion and justify itself.

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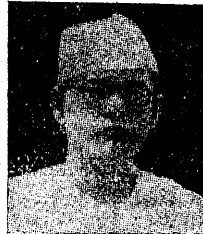
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