

Leaders Misleading

FORWARD BLOC

A POLITICAL WEEKLY

Editor :—SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

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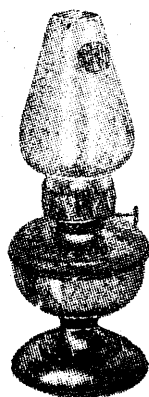
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FORWARD BLOC

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 30

Leaders Misleading

The ordinary, unsophisticated man who is not politically-minded generally believes that the hero who won several battles will go on winning till the end. Rarely, if ever, does he remember that the victory of Austerlitz may terminate in the debacle of Waterloo. When the tragedy does take place he is overwhelmed with surprise. It is always painful to discover that one's god has, in reality, only feet of clay. When this discovery is once made, the spirit of the people rises in revolt in anger and disappointment, and ruthlessly repudiates the erstwhile god. This is how Sir Surendranath Bannerji—once known as Surrender-not Bannerji and one of the fathers of Indian Nationalism—was discarded by his own countrymen, his erstwhile worshippers.

It would be unfair and improper to conclude from this that the public are ungrateful or that public memory is short. It only means that while a nation feels grateful for a leader's past services and may love him for the same, it will follow him only so long as he moves with the times and marches at the head of his countrymen. Past suffering and sacrifice can never be a passport to future leadership under all circumstances.

In living and progressive nations there is a link between the old and the new. The wisdom and experience of age is made available to the rising generation without being obstructive. Youth, on the other hand, which is naturally

radical and progressive, seeks advice and guidance from grey hairs without giving up its dynamism. Ex-Premier, Lord Baldwin, gave up his office when he was at the height of his power and glory and has been living in comparative seclusion since. He is no longer an obstructive force, but as an elder statesman he wields tremendous influence still and may perhaps be regarded as the power behind the throne.

In a nation that has been enslaved or suffers from a slave-mentality, it is somewhat different. Once leaders ascend the pedestal, they do not feel like retiring voluntarily. They have to be pulled down as Sir Surendranath Bannerji had to be and this is a painful operation indeed. In such a country, the people are more prone to blind hero-worship and take more time to be disillusioned than elsewhere. But the evil day can nowhere be put off indefinitely. In the fulness of time, the naked truth ultimately stands unmasked.

In the present case it is so very difficult for a grateful, admiring and emotional people to believe that those who have held the reins of leadership for two decades, have fought many a battle with varying success and have braved many a storm in life's path will fail us when the supreme moment has arrived. But is there any other conclusion that we can possibly draw? Though warned over and over again since last year, these leaders of ours did not move their little finger to prepare for impending developments. Instead, they ridiculed us. At the Tripuri Congress they were more anxious to wreak vengeance on us and to rehabilitate their lost prestige than to look after the nation's interests. Thanks to them, the Indian National

Congress has proved to be the only major political organisation in the world that deliberately refrained from preparing for the approaching international crisis.

This is but the beginning of the indictment. How did they behave when the storm actually broke out in September? The inconvenient resolutions of the Haripura Congress of 1938 and Tripuri Congress of 1939 were quietly and unceremoniously shelved. We were told that the Supreme Executive of the Congress had started deliberating. But what was there to cogitate over? Since 1927, the Congress has been deliberating over the war-crisis and has embodied its decision in successive resolutions. There was nothing to reconsider—all that remained was to implement the resolution already passed and reiterated. But all kinds of subterfuge have been resorted to, in order to evade the issue.

The two classic arguments against the adoption of a forward policy have, since September last, been reinforced by a third argument viz., that a Satyagraha Campaign will culminate in Hindu-Muslim riots. This is not only a subterfuge, but a dishonest subterfuge. What has happened since the Majlis-i-Ahrar of the Punjab launched their campaign in September? Moreover, what does it matter if mischief-mongers, here and there, succeed in creating communal trouble? Did not such stray riots occur in 1921 and 1930 and 1932? If this argument is allowed to go unchallenged, it can always be thrown at us in order to frustrate a forward move.

The strangest thing that has happened since September is the virtual abandonment of the demand for Swaraj and the surreptitious substitution of the demand for a

so-called Constituent Assembly in its place. In order to resist the mass-pressure from below, the Congress High Command has cleverly side-tracked the main issue of Swaraj and introduced a false issue.

In the last issue we examined this proposal of a Constituent Assembly and pointed out that what the Congress Working Committee was now demanding was certainly not a Constituent Assembly. Such an Assembly could not meet under the aegis of an Imperialist Government. It could be summoned only by a National Government or a Provisional National Government after power had been transferred to its hands, following a successful fight. The National Demand has been whittled down by the Congress High Command in order to avoid a struggle and because its advisers in Great Britain say that there is a reasonable chance of such a demand being fulfilled.

We can only hope and pray that this demand will not be fulfilled by the British Government—for if it is, then the Congress will surely land itself in disaster. Thanks to separate electorate which has been conceded by the Working Committee, the proposed Constituent Assembly will have such composition that it will soon become the battle-ground of Communal forces. It will ultimately break up in disorder and the enemies of India will point their fingers at the Congress as the real author of the tragedy.

Even if the above Constituent Assembly does succeed in framing a Constitution, it will always be open to the British Government to find an excuse or a plea for not conceding that Constitution to India. This will be the case if the present international storm blows

over in the meantime. We feel astounded that it does not strike our elderly leaders that before they could sit down to frame a Constitution, they should first win the right to do so. Have they, we may ask, secured that right? No. That is why we say that a real Constituent Assembly can be summoned only by a National Government or a Provisional National Government.

One thing we cannot understand. If our leaders really do not want to move, why do they talk big? It would be more honest to follow the clear lead of Mahatma Gandhi, however erroneous it may be. Lengthy resolutions, high-sounding phraseology savouring of Leftism, frothy speeches, periodic doses of bellicose utterances, frequent references to a new world order that need not be fought for, but will fall from the skies—Imperialism crashing under its own weight without any onslaught from outside—all these fit in with what we know as Kerensky-tactics and ill accord with the demands of 'Real-Politik.' Soon after the Congress ministries tendered their resignation, and official organ of the Congress High Command declared that the hour had come 'to clear the decks'. Many such hours have passed since then, but nothing has transpired so far. While the decks were being cleared by the official organ, 'War-Councils' were set up in some provinces. These 'War-Councils', we are informed, are now busy spinning along with their Commanders. Under the orders of the Congress Working Committee we have to spin yarns and also spin our way to Swaraj. With such a potent weapon in our hands, Constituent Assemblies appear superfluous.

Now what is all this evasion and backsliding due to? What

has really happened to the Congress High Command and to the Generalissimo of Satyagraha? Why are they moving earth and heaven to avoid the straight path that leads to Swaraj?

They are afraid that if and when a struggle is launched, the leadership will pass out of their hands. New forces and new elements will come into the field and they may capture both the machinery and the leadership of the Congress. Hence, avoid a struggle by all means—try to keep whatever power you have already won and work for more through anti-chamber conferences and negotiations. Meanwhile, do all you can to suppress the Left-Wing. You may one day come to a compromise with Imperialism—but with the Left-Wing there must be war to the bitter end.

Can one explain this apparent inconsistency—this vendetta against the Left-Wing and against the Forward Bloc in particular, when we are passing through a crisis of the first magnitude and when the leaders themselves have been making repeated appeals for national unity? Can one account for the unceremonious rejection of the innumerable appeals made for the withdrawal of disciplinary action against the Leftists—and particularly of the appeal of no less a person than Viswakavi Rabindra Nath Tagore? Yes, perhaps we can. This is 'Real Politik', where neither sentiment nor humanitarianism has any place. Behind the apparent party struggle within the Congress, there is in reality a class-struggle going on all the time. And wherever there is class-struggle—there is ruthlessness, truth and non-violence notwithstanding.

A large section of our countrymen still think that the Congress

Working Committee and Mahatma Gandhi will not be found wanting. With them we would fain say—Amen. But, after all, is this not wishful thinking? We are told that the Mahatma will produce a formula (perhaps a magic formula like Salt Satyagraha) at the next meeting of the Working Committee and that this formula will be presented to the next session of the Congress at Ramgarh in March. Congress elections preparatory to the Ramgarh Congress are to go on in the meantime. Consequently, the programme of the High Command till the end of March has been already fixed. During this period, people have to spin hard and have to create the usual dissensions in the wake of Congress elections. Excellent preparations for a forward move.

One thing more before we close. If the elders think that by avoiding a struggle they will maintain their present position, they are mistaken. This may, in fact, undermine their position much more than if they march boldly ahead in the present crisis. So far as we are concerned, we have to go our way, come what may. The road to freedom is not strewn with roses. It is a path covered with thorns—but at the end of it, there is the full-blown rose of Liberty awaiting the tired pilgrim. Forward, therefore, and ever forward.

Sudhanu Chandra Bose

B. P. C. C.

Since its inception the *Forward Bloc* has mainly devoted its attention to the principles and programmes of the Congress, and stressed the need for an immediate all-India struggle with a view to

the early attainment of independence. It has criticised, without fear or favour, the policy of the present Congress leadership, because this policy has been found to be in conflict with the principles and the revolutions of the Congress itself. In most vital matters there has been a departure from the accepted and advertised policy of the Congress. Not only in recent months was there a trend towards constitutionalism and reformism but there is also a clear move to sabotage the struggle for independence.

In the Congress organisation itself there is not much room for constitutionalism even. The constitution of the Indian National Congress or of the Provincial Congress Committees has to go by the wall, if anywhere it is found to be in conflict with or prejudicially affect the interests of the present Congress leadership, often pompously called the High Command. From Khyber Pass to Cape Comorin everything inside the Congress organisation must be as the High Command, in its own interests, wishes it to be. Protestantism in any shape, form or degree, must not be thought of or tolerated. Inconvenient persons can be branded by vociferous propaganda as unpatriotic. Inconvenient committees have only to be ruled out of court. All power to the High Command, that is the slogan; and the sordidness and the ugliness of this slogan are covered up by incessant talks of unity and mealy-mouthed appeals for observance of truth and *ahimsa*. Its tussle with the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee has proved to be extremely unedifying. In the course of a press controversy with Mr Jinnah, we remember Mr. Rajagopalachariar once said that arithmetic, after all, could not be defeated. Our High Command however has performed that strange feat in Bengal. Unlike in other provinces, the Wardah junta took upon itself the work of nominating an Election Tribunal for Bengal. The power that properly belonged to the provincial Congress committee was taken away for no worthier reason than that power had to be taken away from the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. The

High Command then interfered in the matter of a municipal election, and the result was disastrous to itself. But these pin-pricks have not fully served the needs of the Working Committee. It has chosen to use the sledge hammer. By a stroke it has virtually superseded the B. P. C. C. It has appointed an *ad hoc* Committee composed entirely of persons who may be fully trusted to say ditto to the Working Committee in all weather and on all occasions. It has vested that *ad hoc* Committee with the most vital executive powers of the B. P. C. C. One of the reasons advanced in support of this strange act of supersession is that the Working Committee did not, on occasions, like "the tone and temper" of the B. P. C. C. resolutions. Further, the B. P. C. C. has not given full co-operation to the nominated Election Tribunal, and the Secretary of the B. P. C. C. has issued certain instructions to the Rajshabee D. C. C. which, in the opinion of the Working Committee he ought not to have done. The charges are there fully made up, and the Working Committee had neither the time nor the inclination to ask the Secretary of the B. P. C. C. to defend himself. It was not to its purpose to punish the Secretary if he had offended. The entire B.P.C.C. is the target. And the judgment has been delivered and the B.P.C.C. superseded. And the most strange and interesting part of the judgment issued by the Working Committee is the concluding appeal to the B.P.C.C. to gracefully accept its supersession and help in the work of the *ad hoc* committee! Truth has strange faces—and so has non-violence! Good, honest, devoted Congress workers have characterised the resolution of the Working Committee as high-handed, unconstitutional, undemocratic, *malafide*, *ultra vires* etc., but they do not see that the High Command represents the will of the Indian nation, and that the Congress organisations throughout the country should represent the will of the High Command! What if the Congress organisations go to pieces? Our High Command must live—and talk and have the stage all to itself.

CURRENT COMMENTS

Mr. Savarkar's Speech

Mr. Savarkar's Presidential address at the Calcutta session of the Hindu Mahasabha has in it a considerable element of tub-thumping. We are constrained to remark that its outline is seriously disturbed at places by ill-laid emphasis. His attack on the Congress is one of his weak spots. Its accuracy and justice are both questionable. The Congress is not infallible and it has made many mistakes in the past, but its general policy is informed by a spirit of service to all India. While the Muslim League has been rancorously mean and the Mahasabha raucously outrageous, from its intermediate balanced position the Congress has all along tried to deal justly with both and has alone attempted an equitable settlement of the communal question which the other two have rendered more and more insoluble. If the Congress has made mistakes, they have sprung from its generosity rather than from any thing else and those mistakes are eminently repairable. But the Hindu Mahasabha has been doing incalculable harm to the idea of Indian nationhood by underlining the communal differences—by lumping all the Muslims together Mr. Jinnah and his confederates constitute only a speck in the vast mass of Indian Muslims and that vast mass is gradually awaking to a sense of responsible nationhood. We cannot oblige Mr. Savarkar by ignoring the contributions of the nationalist Muslims to the cause of India.

The Liberal Federation

Christmas is not only a time for holidaying, but speechifying too. The plethora of conferences that take place at this time is apt to confuse even the diligent readers of newspapers with their long-winded proceedings. It is not possible for us to take note of them all, specially as most of them are of sectional interest and appeal. But at least one other X'mas gathering besides the Hindu Mahasabha deserves a passing notice from us. We of course mean the Liberal Federation, that dwindling body

wedded to a decadent creed. Presiding over its annual session at Allahabad Dr. R. P. Paranjpye traversed the whole field of Indian politics but ended with the characteristic liberal note—sanity and caution. British statesmanship has proved sorely disappointing in the present crisis, but still, Dr. Paranjpye argued, we must not move an inch from our slow, leisurely and peaceful path of evolution and strike a grating note. The solvent of our problem lies in a small All-Parties' gathering for evolving an agreed formula! We fail to understand how quite diametrically opposed viewpoints can be rubbed down to an agreement and what will that be like. What amazes us most in such utterances is that how can those who pride on their sanity, can grow so senseless at times?

Whither Italy?

Speculation is rife in certain sections of the Anglo-French-American Press, that Italy, on the fifty-ninth minute of the eleventh hour may still have to decide to nullify the 'Pact of Steel' and take up an independent policy of her own, most probably in favour of the Allies. A hard blow has been given to this unfounded rumour by Signor Gayda and Count Ciano after the recently concluded session of the Fascist Grand Council. These two Fascist leaders have given a reply to the shrewd Balkan diplomats in their characteristic way and have clearly said that any attempt to create a pro-Allies Balkan Bloc would meet with a disastrous blow from Italy. It is, we believe, sufficient to disillusion Great Britain, France and America, and it may be taken as an inciting gesture to Germany to materialise her South-Eastern Policy and stretch to Italy a sympathetic hand for restoring her "historic" claims. Pre-1914 Italy had territorial claims against Austro-Hungary, her nominal ally, but to-day Italy has no claims against her axis-partner. All her claims are directed against Great Britain and France, and they are still unfulfilled. It is not only a folly to feast on the illusion of a probable change of Front on the part of Italy, but it is also a wish-

ful and unpaying denial of the history of Italian policy in Albania, Abyssinia and Spain. The history may repeat in the Balkans.

Smaller Neutrals

The Belgian Foreign Minister has declared that the German invasion of Holland would involve the violation of Belgian neutrality too. The statement is significant. It may be recalled here that when Graf Schlieffen planned a lightning offensive on France through Belgium, he counted upon the widening of the gap between the Ardennes and the Dutch Frontier by the German Armies. That Helmuth von Moltke has deleted this part of the original plan, does not indicate that the plan is invalidated. It can still be used for the service of the German Army. So, it is plain, that Belgium must suffer anxiety for the maintenance of neutrality of Holland, especially because Dutch defences and Dutch military training are not reliable. Of course, there have been troubles between these two small states since the last Great War, but the threats of a common foe and common geographical interests have contributed much to the evolution of a common Foreign Policy. This would surely be a matter of grave concern to the German Military Staff. But they may not refrain from taking a decision on the line suggested by Late Schlieffen and face the risks of throwing the neutrals, Holland and Belgium, on the Front of the Allies.

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Industrial Regeneration

By A. K. SAHA, M. Sc. (U. S. S. R.)
Member, National Planning Committee.

Upto this time Industry, Technique and Technical education in our country have been confined merely to maintaining and running imported machineries, as is obvious from the import list given below. We are to change totally this policy and to transform the country from one of importer into that of manufacturer of machineries and machine-making machines. Even if the foreign countries are for a time ready to dump our market with their producing machines, still on principle we should reject them. It is better to buy foreign products for a time than buy producing machines. In this age of progressive science the building of machineries means building of the nation. We must not pay too much consideration to temporary commercial gains but must look to our nation, a collection of human souls, who should be trained, educated and emancipated, because they have the same right to enjoy happy and prosperous life as other nations of the world.

MACHINERIES

Import to India

Year	Rs.	1935-36	1936-37	1937-38
		13,57,65,950	14,13,93,696	14,15,61,354 = British 64.1 P.C. Germany 14.9 & America 7.9 P.C. 1937-38. 1936-37.
1. Primemovers		1,69,83,517	1,62,75,627	
2. Electrical machinery		2,69,07,880	2,55,17,807	
3. Agricultural & Boilers		1,16,86,372	12,02,594	
4. Cotton Textile		2,92,12,729	1,80,72,908	
5. Jute		1,06,15,192	73,97,840	
6. Other textiled parts		52,21,477	20,63,133	
7. Metal working		36,11,862	29,17,331	
8. Mining Machinery		16,92,840	73,54,137	
9. Oil Crushing		22,80,274	27,59,773	
10. Paper Mill & Rice Mill etc.		44,89,439	19,46,888	
11. Pumping Machinery		36,14,663	30,57,418	
12. Refrigerator		28,28,692	15,54,116	
13. Sugar Mill		69,86,383	95,16,462	
14. Sewing and Knitting		82,00,427	60,96,905	
15. Tea Machinery		20,86,928	14,77,250	
16. Type writers		21,99,851	19,14,840	
17. Miscellaneous		2,98,96,839	2,25,40,022	
		17,15,61,354	14,13,93,696	

As regards financing the industries, I desire to say one thing from my personal experiences in Soviet Russia. It is obvious, that in the first period of industrialisation we shall require vast capital. This should be organised capital. If possible, it should be Government capital, because private capital is hardly organised. My own opinion is that we take private capital, we should not take it in the way of participation of private capitalist-owners, in direct industrialisation of the country. It may be taken in the form of loan, granting proper benefit, after a number of years, to the

subscribers of our Industrial loan. And equally we can take thousands of rupees from the rich and even a few annas from the poorest.

The masses must be made interested in our efforts. So anything that even the poor workers will contribute should be welcome to us. Without the active help and enthusiasm of the masses it will be rather impossible for us to be successful.

Enthusiasm of the whole nation is an enormous asset. In many cases fates of great wars were decided only by the enthusiasm of the fighters. The brightest example is Russian Civil War of 1919-20, when the famishing and wretchedly dressed fighters of the Red Army, some times even without guns, even with only axes and daggers in hands, conquered well-organised White Army, possessing first class military armaments, and regularly supported by foreign Powers. And this miracle happened only through the enthusiasm of the masses. The same enthusiasm of the people has helped Russia in her miraculous Industrial development, helped her to overcome all the difficulties and troubles within a wonderfully short period of time. This enthusiasm will help us too, if we are able to create and direct it properly.

Now, I desire to give a brief note setting forth the classification of the machine-building industry. The index of a country's technical advancement and culture is provided by the consumption of power per head of the population. This is why I have put the power machineries in the first place in the machine-building industry. The position of our country in regard to the consumption of power is hopelessly miserable in comparison with other countries as will be clearly seen from the simple fact that for 1935 Canada was consuming 2000, U. S. A. 950, England 600, Soviet Russia 150, China 7 and India only 4 kwts. per hour per head of the population.

I. The power Industry comprises :—
(1) Steam-Turbines. (2) Hydro-Turbines. (2) Turbe-generators. (4) Hydro-generators. (5) D. C. and A. C. Generators. (6) Transformers. (7) Oil Engines. (8) Gas Engines, etc. etc.

II. Next, the Engineering Industries consist of :—(1) Boilers, Steam Engines, (2) Automobile, Agricultural Machineries, Tractors, Combines, etc. etc. (3) Compressors, Pumps, etc. (4) Press, cranes etc. (5) Ball-Bearing works. (6) Electrical goods, etc. etc.

III. Metallurgical, Mining and Chemical Machineries etc. are :—(1) Blooming mills. (2) Turbo-blowers. (3) Pig-casting Machines. (4) Mechanical picks for coal etc.

IV. Machine-Tools and tool making : (1) Lathes. (2) Drilling, boring, shaping etc. machines. (3) Surface planning. (4) Calibre and Preser works.

V. Machineries for the Light Industries, are :—(1) Textile, Sugar, Paper Machineries etc. etc. (2) Boot shoes, dresses etc. (3) Match. (4) Food Industry.

VI. Transport Machineries. (1) Land transport. Railways.

It is obvious that the railways of our country are probably the worst in the world, and call for immediate improvement and reconstruction. In this way it is necessary :—

(1) To increase the efficiency of the locomotives by changing old models. Interesting to mark that Soviet Russia has constructed a new model of E-locomotive with a traction power of 10.2 tons, which exceeds by more than 75 p. of old type of locomotive.

(2) To modernise the locomotive by the introduction of economisers, super-heaters, rocking grates etc. and by use of suitable coal, etc. Applying the above methods in 1932, U. S. S. R. obtained 37% higher traction power than in 1913.

Regarding the

A. Water transport, we require :—

(1) Hydro-technical constructions, such as in U.S.S.R.—the well-known Moscow-Volga canal and White-Sea-Baltic canal. By the introduction of these methods floods can be stopped and at the same time, both irrigation and transport problems can be tackled successfully.

(2) Organisation of Ship-building plants, ship-repairing yards. Mechanisation of leading and ordinary operations. Introduction of Dispatchers, telegraph system etc.

Air transport.

1. Construction of Acroplanes, Hydro-planes, motors etc.
2. Creation of cadres of Pilots and Mechanics.

VII. Communication.

Communication service—Rest Telegraph, Telephone and Radio are responsible for the Industrial and Cultural development of a country. Therefore it is urgently required to organise :

(1) Production of Telephone apparatus, Radio and their parts.

VIII. Precision instruments.

MR. SAVARKAR'S PANACEA

—By S. KRISHNA IYER

Mr. Savarkar is one of the most romantic figures that the Swadeshi movement of the first decade of the century threw upon the Indian scene. Cast in the mould in which true heroes are made, the whole career of this brave son of *Maharashtra* is one long thrilling tale of daring dreams and adventures with their inevitable concomitant in life-long sufferings. All eyes in the country turned on him when he came out to breathe free air after continuous confinement for the incredible period of twenty-five years. A lesser man would have been thoroughly squeezed out by this repression, but Mr. Savarkar stood the test well and brought back absolutely unimpaired the originally rich dower of Nature to him—a keen intellect and a singularly dynamic character. What a startling amount of steel he has in his mental make-up! But alas! instead of consecrating his splendid gifts to the Nationalist cause represented by the Congress, he has chosen to hover round the banner of the Hindu Mahasabha and sing a communal hymn. I can quite anticipate the familiar retort with which Mr. Savarkar will seek to meet this remark; he will readily say that in *Hindusthan* Hinduism forms the sole base of nationalism and all other influences must either be subordinate to it, swell it, or get wiped out of the picture. Here most of his countrymen will differ from him, retaining at the same time the highest regard for his personal character. The man is undoubtedly greater than the cause he stands for. That is the tragic part of the story.

To get at the truth of Savarkar the man, it is necessary to unravel the background of his personality. The Swadeshi movement, of which he has been a product, owed its origin to a reaction against the swamping influence of Western culture that set in with the first introduction of English education in this country. All reactions carry a large dose of excess along with them and the Swadeshi movement fell back on the ancient culture of the land, typified by Hinduism, with a jealous, almost pathological fervour.

The movement came to have a thoroughly Hindu soul under a national

garb. So it made a scripture of the teachings of Bankim Chandra and Vivekananda, and an idolatry of such heroes as Sivaji, Rana Pratap and Guru Govind Singh. Being a Hindu movement to its very core, it came to look on with certain suspicion all extraneous cultures, Islam not excluding. Mr. Savarkar drew his inspiration from it; and it is therefore no wonder that his nationalism has become another name for Hinduism.

But happily, the Indian nationalist of today has outgrown this conception. He has come to realise that Indian Nationalism is an ever-broadening stream, absorbing in its bosom many influences and enriching itself by them. Islam, particularly, has played a quite significant part in its evolution. It has left its indelible marks on Indian art, architecture and literature. The mediaeval Indian saints like Kabir, Dadu and others were the products of the fusion of Islam and Hinduism and their spiritual gifts to the nation have deservedly found an abiding place in the cultural heritage of the country. Islam has now become an inalienable part of Indian nationalism and it cannot be snuffed out of existence, for it has got subtly and permanently entwined with the very soul of the nation.

Mr. Savarkar has evidently been embittered by the sinister growth of Muslim communalism in the country. It is undoubtedly a most sickening and

dangerous phenomenon in Indian politics to-day. But his panacea for the grave evil is undoubtedly of a desperate nature. It is neither practicable nor prudent to divide the country in two warring camps and thus prepare it for a future blood-bath. Rather the call should be for communal unity for the sake of fighting the common evil—foreign domination. It has escaped Mr. Savarkar that Muslim communalism is an artificially bolstered up thing, devised and engendered by a few men at the top with an eye on the loaves and fishes of office and bigger slices of official patronage. When the better mind of the nation will be roused, it will disappear like fog-screen before the rising sun. It is therefore the duty of all patriotic souls to whip up national consciousness among the masses both Hindu and Muslim, and for this reason the mass contact movement launched by the Congress appears to be the most effective remedy for the deadly disease of communalism. But it should be supplemented by cultural measures as well. The common and vital points of agreement between Hinduism and Islam should be driven home to the common people by an intensive propaganda. Muslim communalism, cannot be cured by Hindu communalism, because two wrongs cannot make a right. When will Mr. Savarkar and men of his way of thinking realize this truth?

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A PRISONER SPEAKS

By BHUPENDRA KISOR RAKSHIT-ROY

Night, in somber silence. The whole prison sleeps like a tired leviathan. I am there the only exception. I saunter in the cell ceaselessly. Mind knows no restive mood. It works on and on. The engrossing solitude around me is its ardent incentive.

Suddenly, there peeped through the gratings of my cell-door a little bit of moon-light. The space it occupies looks like a silvery slumber. Oh, the joy of it! I come and stand by the iron-gratings. My eyes catch a glimpse of the little sky hung up within my sight. Yonder, on the heaven's azure shines the beaming top of a 'Sisam-tree'. That tree-top of the little bit of sky are the only manifestations of God-made beauty, all else are the symbols of human barbarity and high-handedness!

The tree-top is exuberant in pulpy-stalks and prolific-foliage. They are wide-flung like the clotted-hair of a meditating hermit who listens to, with wrapt attention, the untold-speech of the taciturn universe. Moon-light bathes the soul of the tree. It kisses the greenery, kisses its marrow. In ecstasy, I look at the lustrous-verdure stuck on the glossy-blue and I hum :

"Ah listen, for silence is not
lonely :
Imitate the magnificent trees
That speak no word of their rapture
but only
Breathe largely the luminous breeze."

Peshawar Prison,
29.8.34

A great assemblage of stars glittered yester-night. Such a packed-up gallery is not to be seen always. I was, too, invited. As I reached them, the stars with shining smiles greeted me...

The world below looked splendid! She was never like that, when I was by her side. Closeness has its limitations—the beautiful loses its appeal and significance in close proximity, it becomes stale, and just the ordinary. Distance has its charm, its irresistible call. Vision from afar gives things a mysterious glow, the inner self gets the touch of the incomprehensible, the sensuous mind bathes in blissful delight. The beautiful ascends

the summit of its majestic magnificence and leads us to the realm of the awe-inspiring unknown.

However, as I reached the assembly, the stars asked in soft tone : Will you be telling us why we wish you to come ?

—No. Pardon me.

—You gaze, and gaze incessantly at us everynight, but you never join us in our table-talk. Why you do so, please ?

—That I shall presently say. In still nights, you talk many a twinkling-tale, but, poor men on earth realise nothing. In a hypnotic state they only raise their glistening-eyes towards the starry sky.

—We never take the initiative. Man weaves dreams in silence, tells many a tale, and, we respond. But why it is, he cannot catch our word, listen to what we say in response ?

—Your language is foreign to him.

—Be it so. How you are here in our midst. Let us sit side by side and open our mind in all frankness. Let us finish all our untold tales.

O, so impossible it seems ! The moment I am near by you—I miss you all. My mind flies back to the luminous beckoning of the distant earth. And, the earth robs you of the effulgent-mystery you breathe. The tales of my woes and joys rush towards her. How can I impede the onrush of those thoughts and tales, ye, my hosts of heaven ?

The stars were not happy at my words. With contempt in their eyes, they spoke : That's quite typical of man. No steadiness, no sobriety, no fixed principle—so fickle man is !

I drawled in reply : Man is 'man' after all. Why should he be with a fixed idea ? A product of the "ever-restless", an image of the "ceaseless-change" is he. Our earth will corroborate what I say—she will be too glad to admit that this fickle 'man' is her pride, her glory.

The stars, in their billions, suddenly raged in fury. I was taken aback ! The sky was all black with deep dark clouds. On a quick spur they were shot through with a sharp crimson gleam. There began, in the farthest reverberating heights, rumbling and thundering, roaring with

mighty claps !.. Then came sparse drops of rain. The whole atmosphere was surcharged with ebonized darkness. Where to find out the silvery assemblage of the radiant constellations ? How was it that I was so long a guest in their magnificent midst ?...Here I stood on the surface of that very earth where the beastliness in man discovered the Bastilles—the engines of ruthless repression—where human souls were always cramped and crushed. I hated this rolling machine—the prison, its cursed cells and uncanny walls. They were all relics of barbarity. I deeply sympathised with those pining souls—hundreds of hapless prisoners. I pondered a while in pensive mood. It appeared to my mind—
Was it not possible to run away from this world of ours to the skies where the stars hid their faces ? Was it not possible to find a pleasant world there for these groaning souls, despised and neglected by the humanity ? I pondered—with all restlessness I pondered !..

Peshawar Prison,
6.9.34

Non-Muslims form only eight per cent of the total population of the Frontier. And, I believe, their percentage will be far less amongst the inmates of jails in the province. So we hardly come to know about any Hindu festivity in prison. Muslim-festivals are our festivals.

They have two 'Ids' in a year. We share the jollity in them. We like them very much.

'Id' comes. All souls in prison flutter in joy and enthusiasm. Better dishes are served to them. Their friends and 'Rish-tedars' come for interviews, bring for them sweets and fruits as tokens of their love and concern. The jail-rule is a bit relaxed. All prisoners are allowed to say the prayer in congregation. The chorus voice shoots through the blue vault and reaches the region of the All-Blissful. It seems the devotees get some sort of mental uplift, and their half-closed eyes express the inner solace they have for the time. They are permitted to embrace one another after the prayer is finished. Really, that's a worth-seeing sight.

I, too, come out of my den and watch the scene from a distance. I look at the assemblage of the faithful servants of Allah — more than thousand 'Mukhtadin' repeating 'Id-Nemaz' led by the 'Imam'. The resonant voice floats in the air, moves towards Mecca, to the sacred precincts of 'Kaaba'—the glorious spot in the world. Along with it, my vision runs to the western sky—runs across those human heads, those high walls of prison, those tree-tops out-side, and that distant sky-line! Beyond the unseen Khyber, lie Kabul and Kandahar, kissing them there stands Iran! Iran—the land of a hoary culture of yore!

There was a day when Bengal invited Hafiz, the poet of Iran, to come and inspire the people of the land. The poetic soul of Hafiz accepted the invitation, but his aged frail frame failed him, and, he could not fulfil his desire. To-day, the poet of Bengal bridges that gulf and establishes communion, between Hind and Iran. The souls of the two countries kiss each other in joy and fraternal felicity.

I come back to my tiny cell and begin to weave dreams...

Hours pass by. I am still sitting on my deck-chair musing over Iran and her poetry. Evening breeze blows out-side and dishevels the clotted-hair of the "Sisam-tree". Western sky vibrates with the sonorous songs of 'bulbul', the tender rhythms of Firdausi's 'rubaiyats', the gentle jingles of Omar's wine-cup. The yon beckoning behind the dreamy ranges makes one oblivious of the immediate surroundings. Oh, the rosy environs of Isfahan, the smell of 'narcissus' from the valleys of Teheran, the green smile of the vineyards of Shiraj!... I revel in the songs and poetry of mystic Iran. I doze and slumber in my winged thoughts. Lo, there appears in soft steps my Muse, my love, with languid looks! She fondly caresses me and leads me on towards the iron-gratings of the cell. There she drawls—"Look at the yonder sky! Look at it, my love!"..

With heaving heart I raise my eyes. The heaven's azure hangs there with the delicate phase of Id's moon. Along with my beloved, I gaze at it. Our steadfast-look knows no faltering! for how long? who can tell!

Peshawar Prison,
'Id'-day, 34.

I haven't forgotten the sky I found hanging upon the Bay. The boat bound for Burma was crossing the limitless blue under the blue-vault. She was, as if, gliding through the depth of blue in quest of beyond. My soul bathed in that Blue with awe and joy. The sun was still under the waters trying its utmost to float over. The rays already came out and kissed the sky and sea. in stupor and torpor, breathed in that luminous blue. It is still fresh in my mind.

To-day, I discover a bit of that very sky over the prison-yard of Peshawar. How deep and blue is the colour of the sky! How soft and glossy she looks! She dazzles in the morning light—yet how still, how somber! Isn't she the wonderful Sapphire to crown the queep of the pairy land—here, perchance, fixed on the head of the unfathomable void?

Or, is she the eternal '*Krishna*'—standing in grace with a soft look towards the earth, radiant with the brilliance of truth and piety of the eternal 'Prothama-Pandava', the first of the sons of Pandu?

This sky doesn't appear every day. Rather, the mind in me cannot receive the sky every day in similar mood and temper. The morning-to-day comes with a special message. My mind reads the glowing lines in it and becomes full. My mind dances with the muse and music of the soul. This morning-sky appears in all newness, in all her specific beauty—I discover! And, with A. E., I, too, ask:

"Why do I see in this still light

The Psyche of the city rise?

Is mine own psyche plumed for air

And shall that follow to the skies?"

Peshawar Prison,
25.10.34.

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INDIA AND THE PRESENT WAR

MR. SARAT CH. BOSE'S SPEECH IN ASSEMBLY

(CONCLUDED)

Sir, I shall now come to a subject even more pertinent than these atrocious stories, namely, the declared war aims in 1914. Sir, one of the declarations was—"it is a war to crush militarism". But what has followed this declaration? After peace was declared in 1918, after the War to crush militarism was over, Great Britain alone has spent from 1918 to 1926 thirteen hundred million pounds on armaments. Verily, verily, was it a war to crush militarism! The most extravagant and foolish of all slogans was started but facts are harder to repel than slogans. Sir, militarism cannot be crushed by mere declaration of war aims; it can only be crushed by the growth and development of democracy, of real democracy in an era of peace. That is how militarism can be crushed—not by war and threats of war.

Then, Sir, the second war aim which was declared in 1914 was, "It was a war to defend small nationalities." May I remind the House as to the results of the Great War of 1914? The war to defend smaller nationalities resulted in Montenegro, a small tract of country, being wiped out of existence; the British continued to occupy Egypt; the Syrians were subjected to severe repression by the French; the attempt of the Riffs to secure independence led to their being blotted out from the map of the world; Nicaragua and Panama were subjected to the political domination of the United States. And Sir, if I may come nearer home, the struggles of India for freedom since 1920 have been sought to be put down on the ground that they were revolutionary or if I may use the word which it has been the fashion to use since the year 1932 as 'subversive'. Other instances, Sir, of struggles of small nationalities can be placed by me before the House, but unfortunately at the present moment I find that I am racing against time. I shall, therefore, stop here.

The third declared war aim of Great Britain in 1914 was, "It was a war to make the world safe for democracy." Now, Sir,

the irony of that will be apparent if I remind the House that it was one of the declared war aims of the Allies, including Czarist Russia. Verily, verily, was the war in which Czarist Russia was one of the Allies a war to make the world safe for democracy! Its falsity and insincerity were proved by results. The war has been followed by ruthless dictatorship in Italy, an imitation of it in Spain, a veiled dictatorship that until recently existed in Poland, a series of attempted dictatorship in Greece and an approach to dictatorship in Hungary.

Now, Sir, the next declared war aim was "It was a war to end war". I should have thought that every school-boy knew that war does not end war, that war breeds war. Since 1918, after the conclusion of the Armistice war has never ceased in this world of ours. There has been war on the part of the Allies against Russia. There has been war between Turkey and Greece. There have been Black and Tan exploits in Ireland. There has been armed occupation of the Ruhr. There has been war of France and Spain against the poor Riffs. There has been war of France against the Syrians. There has been military action on the part of the United States of America in Nicaragua. There has been fighting in Mexico and there has been incessant war in China. Verily, verily, was the last war a war to end war!

Sir, the last and most important of the declared war aims so far as we are concerned, was that Great Britain asked for no territory. We have the declaration which Mr. Asquith—as he then was—made in October, 1914. He said, "We have no desire to add to our Imperial burdens either in area or in responsibility." It was followed by the declaration of Mr. Bonar Law in December, 1917, "We are not fighting for territory", preceded by the declaration of Mr. Lloyd George in February 1917—"We are not fighting a war of conquest." We have at about the same time the declaration of Mr. Walter Long, a member of the British Cabinet of

the time, namely, 'such a victory as will give not aggrandizement of territory nor any extension of Empire'. Now, Sir, let us consider the results of the war so far as Great Britain is concerned. Egypt which was formerly under Turkish suzerainty became part of the British Empire and the area of that part of the world was 350,000 square miles. Cyprus, formerly under Turkish suzerainty, became a part of the British Empire. It was a small tract no doubt with an area of about 3,584 square miles. German South-West Africa was to be held under a mandate by the Union of South Africa, which was a part of the British Empire, the area being 322,450 square miles. German East Africa was to be held under a mandate by Great Britain, the area being 384,180 square miles. Togoland and Cameroons were divided between Great Britain and France and the half share of Great Britain in that part of the world was 112,415 square miles. Samoa was to be held under a mandate by New Zealand, a part of the British Empire. It was a small tract no doubt with an area of only 1,050 square miles. German New Guinea and the islands south of the Equator were to be held under a mandate by Australia, a part of the British Empire, the area being 90,000 square miles. Palestine was to be held under a mandate by Great Britain having an area of 9,000 square miles. And last but not the least, Mesopotamia and Iraq were to be held under a mandate by Great Britain—an area of 143,250 square miles. Sir, the total in square miles was 1,415,929. Sir, it was not a 'war of conquest' because Lloyd George had denied it! It was not a war for territorial aggrandisement because Bonar Law had denied it! It was not a war for extension of the Empire because Walter Long had denied it! It was not a war for adding to the Imperial burdens either in area or in responsibility because Asquith had denied it! Now, Sir, the total of over one million square miles was not a negligible or inconsiderable total of conquests, or of territory or of territorial aggrandisement or of additions to Imperial

burdens in area and responsibility, call it by whatever name you please

Now, Sir, regarding the present war aims, I cannot do better than quote a few words of that great citizen of the world, George Bernard Shaw, which was published in a recent issue of the "New Statesman and Nation". (Ironical laughter from the European and Coalition Benches). I find some of my European friends to my left laughing. I know it is difficult, almost impossible for some of them to understand and appreciate George Bernard Shaw. I know it is difficult for some of them to understand and appreciate the articles in the "New Statesman and Nation." They are too high for mortals like them.

Sir, as regards the present war aims—and that is the subject to which the Hon'ble the Chief Minister referred in his Resolution as also in his speech—this is what George Bernard Shaw writes, "Mr. Chamberlain in reply states our aims in a peroration. Mr. Winston Churchill echoes it in a broadcast with a certain sense of its absurdity which the microphone betrays. Our aim is first to deliver Europe from the threat and the fear of war and our remedy is to promise it by a three-years war and more. Next to abolish Hitlerism root and branch. Well, what about beginning by abolishing Churchillism. But we are told if we do not send Hitler to St. Helena, he will proceed to annex Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Scotland, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Africa, and finally the entire universe, and Stalin will help him. I must reply that men who talk like this are frightened out of their wits. Stalin will see to it that nobody, not even our noble selves, will do anything of the sort, and Franklin Roosevelt will be surprised to find himself exactly of Stalin's opinion in this matter. Had we not better wait until Herr Hitler tries to do it and then stop him with Stalin and Roosevelt at our back?"

"The Archbishop of York in the next broadcast rose finally to the occasion a became a great Christian prelate. Unfortunately, he began not as a Christian prelate, but as a righteously angry hot-headed Englishman by giving his blessings to our troops as dedicated to the supreme immediate duty of lynching Herr Hitler and his associates. Now, I cannot go into the question whether Herr Hitler deserves to be lynched without raising awkward

analogies between his case and those of Signor Mussolini, General Franco, Stalin and his associates, and raking up events in India and Ireland which unfriendly pens have represented as somewhat dictatorial on our part. I simply remind the Archbishop that though we can easily kill 100,000 quite innocent German in our determination to get at Hitler, we should not finally succeed in lynching him, and the killing of Germans and our own losses in the process would produce a state of mind on both sides which would operate as a complete black-out of Christianity and make the Archbishop's sane final solution impossible. If we won, it would be Versailles over again, only worse, with another war even less than 20 years off. And, as is desperately possible we drove Russia and Germany into a combination against us to avert that catastrophe, which is just what our Stalinphobe, Old School Ties, and Trade Unionists are recklessly trying to do, then we shall indeed need God's help and not deserve it. No, it will not do, however thickly we butter it with bunk and balderdash about liberty, democracy and everything we have just abolished at home."

I would ask the Hon'ble the Chief Minister to ponder over those observations: "No, it will not do, however thickly we butter it with bunk and balderdash about liberty, democracy and everything we have just abolished at home."

George Bernard Shaw proceeds:

"As the Archbishop nobly confesses, we made all the mischief, we and the French, when we were drunk with victory at Versailles; and if that mischief had not been there for him to undo Adolf Hitler would have now been a struggling artist of no political account. He actually owes his eminence to us. So, let us cease railing at our own creation, and recognise the ability with which he has undone our wicked work and the debt the German nation owes him for it. Our business now is to make peace with all the world instead of making more mischief and ruining our people in the process."

Mr. Speaker: Mr. Bose, I am sorry to interrupt you, but you have spoken for 45 minutes and you know my difficulties. There are very important amendments by other members and I hope you will kindly finish.

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose: I think my Whip has informed you that if necessary we shall cut one of our speakers.

Mr. Speaker: But I would request you to realise that there are very important amendments tabled by other Opposition members and we have got only two days' time.

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose: May I remind you, Sir, that the Hon'ble the Chief Minister will have a right of reply while I won't have any?

Now, Sir, coming to the second and third paragraphs of my amendment to the Resolution, we on this side of the House have expressed our regret that India has

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been made a participant in the war without her consent and that laws have been passed and measures adopted curtailing the powers and the activities of the provincial governments. Sir, the Hon'ble the Chief Minister has talked of co-operation. I can understand, Sir, co-operation between equals. I do not understand co-operation between a master and his bond-slaves; I cannot understand co-operation between a Captain and his galley-slaves. Sir, the Hon'ble the Chief Minister has put forward the excuse for the consumption of the House that if India had been consulted secrets would have been disclosed. May I ask him what about the Dominions? If it was possible to consult Canada without secrets being disclosed, if it was possible to consult Australia without secrets being disclosed, if it was possible to consult important men in South Africa without secrets being disclosed, is it to be said in this House that it was not possible to consult India without secrets being disclosed?

Then, Sir, coming to the Government of India Amendment Act, the Hon'ble the Chief Minister's observations really took my breath away. He said the amendment to the Government of India Act which was passed by both House of the British Parliament in September last was not with a view to curb the powers of the Provincial Governments. I wondered, Sir, when he was speaking, whether he had the time or the opportunity to read the amendments to the Government of India Act which have been passed by the British Parliament, the amendments which make it legally competent for the Central Government to issue instructions and mandates to Provincial Governments, the amendments which give power and authority to officials of the Central Government by legislation and rules to over-ride if necessary the Provincial Governments. Are we to be seriously told today that they are not amendments made with a view to curb the powers of the Provincial Governments? ('Hear, hear' from the Opposition Benches). Sir, the war, so far as we are concerned, was not declared until, I think, the 3rd of September 1939. Two or three days thereafter we had in Bengal the result of the powers exercised by the Central Government in the shape of the Defence of India Ordinance. The instructions of the Government of India were meekly,

docilely followed by the Bengal Provincial lamb in their notifications and rules. ('Hear, hear' from the Opposition Benches). Sir, the Defence of India Ordinance and the notifications made thereunder were not promulgated for the defence of India's freedom. They were promulgated for the defence and perpetuation of India's slavery. Are we to hear, are we to be told today, that the provisions we find in the notifications do not deprive persons of their elementary rights—the right of free speech, the right of free association, the right of holding meetings, the right of leading processions? These are the elementary rights of the subject. And the notifications under the Ordinance which deprive the people of these rights, we are seriously told, are not measures which curb the liberty of the people!

Sir, the Defence of the Realm Act in England is not one-tenth as hard and stringent as the Defence of India Ordinance and yet what does Bernard Shaw say about them? Says he, "Meanwhile we are enduring all the vagaries, from mere discomfort to financial ruin and the

breaking up of our homes, of the ineptest Military Communism. Powers which no Plantagenet King or Fascist Dictator would dream of claiming have been granted to any unqualified person who offered to assume them, including an enterprising burglar." I repeat, Sir, that the Defence of India Ordinance was promulgated for the defence and perpetuation of India's slavery; and certainly we in this province had a right to expect that our Provincial Government would have raised its voice of protest against the taking away of powers which had been conferred on it under the Government of India Act.

Then, Sir, I come to the last portion of the resolution and the third paragraph of my amendment in connection therewith. Sir, we on this side have asked the House to support us in demanding that it is essential in order to secure the co-operation of the Indian people that the principles of democracy with adequate safeguards for the preservation of the rights and interests of the minorities, be immediately conceded. The Chief Minister in his resolution talks of the 'Statute of West-

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minister'. May I in all humility ask him whether he really took pains to read the Statute of Westminster? In his resolution he has said, "The accepted ideal of the British Empire as a Commonwealth of free nations, the attainment by India of the status of a Dominion as defined in the Statute of Westminster which is the declared policy of the British Government. Sir, I should have thought that anyone who was familiar with what went on at the Round Table Conferences and during the meetings of the Joint Select Committee well knew that the declared policy of the British Government was the very negation of what the Hon'ble the Chief Minister has put in his resolution. Dominion, may I tell the Hon'ble the Chief Minister, has been defined in that Statute to mean the following countries and the following countries only namely, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Irish Free State, and Newfoundland? When a suggestion was made by some India representatives that India should be classed as a Dominion within the meaning of the Statute of Westminster, the claim was abruptly negated. Where does the Chief Minister find that the declared policy of the British Government was that India should be classed as a Dominion within the meaning of the Statute of Westminster?

The bogey of minorities, the false bogey has been raised.....

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy: Oh, verily, verily.

Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerji: From this side of the House there was no interruption.

Mr. Speaker: You interrupted the Hon'ble the Chief Minister once.

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose: I know it is quite impossible for my friend, Mr. Suhrawardy, to understand or appreciate what I said, but those who have read.....

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy: I have uttered only two words 'Verily', 'verily'.

Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal: Go to the share market and you will have better business there.

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose: Those of us who have read English history, who know of the disputes between the Protestants and the Catholics in England, who knew how the Protestants and the Catholics quarrelled with one another, who knew how Protestants were burnt at the stake,

also knew how to assess at its proper value the false bogey of minorities. The Chief Minister added that their difference, of race, differences of religion, differences of culture, and so on. May I ask him to remember what is happening today in the eastern extremity of the Western world? The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, popularly known as the U.S.S.R. consists of at least 52 nationalities, 52 main languages apart from dialect, any number of religions, churches preaching Protestantism and Catholicism, the Greek Church, the Armenian Church and numerous other sects and sub-sects and also consist of Muslims and Buddhists. I should have thought that anyone who was conversant with the development of the western world would have hesitated before raising this bogey of difference of race, difference of religion, difference of language.

As regards minorities, the Hon'ble the Chief Minister referred to Canada. Has he read Lord Durham's report on the Canadian Constitution? The same arguments were trotted out by Great Britain regarding Canada—disputes between the English and the French, between Protestants and the Catholics, differences in language, and so on. But eventually when that great statesman Lord Durham submitted his report, the statesmen in Great Britain felt that the game was up and conceded Self-Government to Canada.

Now, as regards the Constituent Assembly—I propose to finish the subject in five minutes and shall leave it to other members on my side to develop it—may I only say this, that the experiment was tried in Canada where there was difference of race, difference of religion, difference of nationalities. That experiment was also tried in South Africa and in the Irish Free State where the dispute between the Protestants and the Catholics was very great indeed, and that experiment succeeded! From what we know and what we can judge today, that experiment is bound to succeed in this country if it is attempted.

As regards the minorities, we on this side of House, following the Congress decision, have attached the greatest importance to the rights and interests of the minorities. We have declared more than once that their voice will prevail in all matters affecting them. What more can be said at this stage when there is no offer

from the British Government to concede to us our rights?

Sir, in 1914 hopes were raised of self-government if Indians shed their life blood on the battle-fields of Europe, Asia and Africa. It was said that if Indians went by thousands and tens of thousands to die in the battle-fields, they would be winning self-government for their country. Sir, it is unnecessary to review the long list of British promises made only to be broken, the long list of Indian hopes raised only to be dashed to the ground. We will refuse, sir, to listen to the voice of those well-known sirens any more. We refuse to beg with bated breath and whispering humbleness to subsist in our own land. Self-government is our right—a right not to be granted to us by a foreign power. Self-government is our birth-right—the right to feel the Indian sun, the right to smell Indian flowers, the right to think our own thoughts, to sing our own songs, and to love our kind. It is a right which we are not prepared to barter away in exchange for any false promise on the part of Great Britain or any other nation. Demand our birth-right is to be a rebel in act and deed. I shall say on behalf of myself and the party which I have the honour to represent—if to demand our birthright is to be a rebel in act and deed, quoting the words of a great Irishman I shall say, "I am proud to be a rebel and shall cling to my rebellion with the last drop of my blood.....(aplause) I would appeal to this House to rise to the height of its stature, to remember that the fate of India is in their hands at this moment, to remember that by what we do today we shall be judged, to remember that it is our duty to do something effective, something noble, something great by which we can earn the blessings of our children, our children's children, the blessings of remote posterity.

Mr. Speaker, I have done.

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CRISIS IN CULTURE

—By BENOY GHOSE

It is high time that we should realise the full significance and implications of the chasm of cultural and intellectual crisis yawning before us today. The intellectuals and literateurs who bear the brunt of capitalism and imperialism, being unable, rather unwilling, to see the underlying causes eye to eye, fail to find out any solution and see everywhere, in every sphere, Science, Education, Art, Literature, a tragic frustration of their intellect, talent or genius. The intellectual workers have been outwitted, cheated, discredited and frustrated. This is the considered opinion of one of the big intellectuals of England, Mr. H. G. Wells, who in his *Experiment in Autobiography* says that the intellectuals are reconditioning human life, that they do not merely wish to remodel the world, but are actually doing so, and the final upshot of his fascinating story so ingeniously woven round two massive volumes is the impotence, the utter helplessness of the intellectuals. Professor Julian Huxley in his *Science and Social Needs* came to the conclusion that the total spent on medicine and public health research in Great Britain, by private and public initiative, was only the quarter of the amount spent on research for war preparations. In his *Scientific Research and Social Needs* the learned Professor admits that "a large section of the population is suffering from at least a slight deficiency in one or other of these food factors, and therefore, falls short (in energy, physique, and freedom from sickness) of its birthright of possible health." But the Professor, thanks to his learning and laborious research, finally jumps upon the solution by adding to the food of the working masses very small quantities of mineral salts and other chemicals, just necessary to disease resistance and not for the enrichment of palatability, and this too, it should be noted by a dictator who is benevolent. He says:

"It is safe to say that a benevolent dictator could double the level of general health merely by means of applying what is now known about diet.... On the whole, the right kind of food stuffs cost more; and it is all but impossible for

many people to eat healthily on the wages of the unemployment allowance which they receive; both in quantity and still more in quality their food, in present conditions, is bound to be near the danger-line. On the other hand, it would be possible, at no great expense, to supplement inadequate diet by adding the vitamins and mineral salts that are likely to be deficient, they might, for instance, be put in bread. This is where the benevolent dictator would come in."

Thus a reputed scientist speaks. Let us now turn to the literateurs and artists. There we will find Yeats, Eliot, and others. The artists are today "like a bed of dahlias whose sticks have been removed." The sticks are beliefs. Yeats says:

Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold!
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world.

And Eliot, standing on the marginal line of a mental state of complete unbelief, groans in a sense of desolation, of uncertainty, of futility, of the groundlessness of aspirations, of the vanity of effort, and cries out:

Where is the life we have lost in living?
Where is the wisdom we have lost in knowledge?
Where is the knowledge we have lost in
information?

But the most important and significant fact is that it is realised. It is realised in Yeats's mythology and in Eliot's retreat to the Anglo-Catholic Church. And thus the crisis is breaking upon us like an avalanche.

Why all this? Why this frustration of the intellectuals, the illusion of the rule of the directive elite, these vapourings of "benevolent dictatorship" of the scientists, this desolation and retreat of the artists? The answer is that the social environments and the social class in which the intellectual, the scientist and the artist have been reared up, have exercised an enormous influence upon the moulding of their minds. In analysis, it would be found that most of them came from the middle class of the society and particularly at a time when this middle-class in England had a very important role to play in giving the final shape of capitalism to finance capitalism and imperialism. Here it is not possible to go through the stages in detail within the allotted space. This much would be helpful to remember that while the

bourgeoisie proper merely foster the logical growth of capitalism for their own interests, the actual work of running the entire complicated machinery is largely carried out by intellectual workers. The intellectuals of the middle classes are not an independent class, have no power whatsoever, but are trusted functionaries of the profit-making minority in whose interests we have pestilence, hunger and war. Here lies the root of the belief in the power of intellect of the middle classes, the cause of Wells's delusion of the control of directive elite, and the dream of intellectuals floating on the top of the society like a sort of coagulated cream. This is the reason why Mr. Wells asserted to Stalin that the primary requirement is "a captain and a navigator," that he is ready to work for the proletariat but not with the proletariat. There's the rub.

The middle class intellectuals forget that the proletariat is pre-eminently the class opposed to the anti-social barriers of imperialist capitalism; that the proletariat is also pre-eminently the exploited class, the one class completely and essentially opposed to the handful of bourgeoisie at the apex of the capitalistic society; that the service of the proletariat is a service of being exploited. But the serving of the intellectual middle class is a serving for which they have privileges from the bourgeoisie in the form of larger monetary incomes, upliftment of social stratum, wooing, patting and such other things. Like dogs, the intellectuals of middle classes may wag their tails before bourgeois masters, but the proletariat must bear the brunt and revolt. In short, the middle classes and their intellectuals do definitely serve the bourgeoisie, and higher the level, or the more necessary their service is to the bourgeoisie, the greater the fervour of the illusion of control with which they serve. But the proletariat does not serve the bourgeoisie at all, but is callously and rigidly exploited by them. This middle class persona, the middle class must eradicate on the pain of its own destruction in inaction. The intellectuals of the middle classes must give up the illusory middle class stand-

point and place their store of knowledge and wisdom at the service of the proletariat, of the proletarian conception of the new, coming society. To that effect the intellectuals must shun their *benevolence* to work for the proletariat, and should step in to work *with* the proletariat. The Bolshevik Party was a *proletarian party* which contained a number of members of the middle class, but the revolution led by the party was successful because a new standpoint was taken by the intellectuals and middle-class members. The intellectuals should remember this.

As regards science and scientists, it may be said with Prof. Bernal that the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake has the same value as the solution of crossword puzzles. Modern science is already in a state of transition. But the present organisation of science is not yet free and democratic, it is still in form authoritarian and hierarchical. Any new organisation of science must base itself far more on voluntary association and to work for such organisation as part of the struggle of our time for order and freedom is not to forget the more individual and subjective values of science, but accepting them, to break down the barriers that make those values an exclusive and

barren possession of a few, so that they may form part of a far wider and more conscious civilisation.

And the artists? All the artists cannot be made to feel, what I feel or you feel. If they could, I would have entreated them to be inspired, to realise like Faust, that "In the beginning was the Deed" and "The Deed is all". I would have called them like Goethe that *Care*, which may be paraphrased as pessimism, is only to be combated by action. Like Prometheus, artists are put in the dungeon of a vicious system—capitalism, but how much happier humanity would have been and would be if they could and can steal the fire and give it for the enlightenment of common man. Rolland's Christophe tried to hide himself some where "above the battle", but the great artist in Rolland could not rest in peace there, because the Artist is a Man. And Annette, "the soul enchanted", threw herself into the maelstrom, for the sake of her dead son. Her spirit, the spirit of the Artist, recognised the necessity of struggle. In the same spirit, and with the same realisation, Gorky said: "To me man is always the conqueror, even when he is mortally wounded and dying". And the same spirit made Goethe's Faust to declare ;—

"Could I but from my path all magic banish,
Bid every spell into oblivion vanish,
And stand mere man before thee, Nature ! Then
'T were worth the while to be a man with men"

So, finally I would say, borrowing the words from an essay on the *Poetry of Socialism* by A. Selivenavsky in *Literature of the people of the U. S. S. R.*—

"To become an artist of socialism means, if you come from the intelligentsia, that not only must you be convinced that the ideas of socialism are correct, but that you must alter your previously-formed poetic style. It means that you must change your way of looking at the world. But this alternation does not imply, of course, that subject-matter, imagery, and style of the poet of socialism is made to lose all individuality, is reduced to complete uniformity. This is far from the case. The fact is that it is socialism that ensures the all-round development and growth of the human individual".

"This seems to me excellent", says Stephen Spender. To me *it does not seem*, but *it is* splendid. The individuality of the artist finds its fullest expression in socialist society, and Socialist Art becomes Great Art, being the expression of the feelings of an undying Faust, of a "Prometheus unbound."

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BOOK REVIEWS

When England Arose—by Salme A. Dutt. Published by Fore Publications Ltd. London.

Merely a hundred years ago the common people of Great Britain were in the midst of a heroic democratic movement round six simple points of Parliamentary reform. It was not yet a Socialist movement, though behind the political aim, social aims were throughout implicit. Though its simple programme might not only have transferred political power into the hands of the common people, but would have also meant the transference of economic control into their hands, the struggle for the people's charter was a pioneering struggle—the first united political movement of the working class in any country, leading all the oppressed sections of the people to win democracy and freedom, to end the rule of wealth and privilege and transform the organisation of society. Besides, powerful political parties, instruments of future struggles, were built up on the foundations laid by Chartism.

"Better to die by this Sword than perish with Hunger"—such was the spirit of the people that gave rise to Chartism. For decades previously the echoes of the great French Revolution had stirred the people. Waves of struggle and governmental repression, through the Combination Acts of 1800, through the desperate endeavours of the Luddites, the agitation of Cobbet and Hunt, Peterloo and the six Acts of 1819, this revolutionary Trade Unionism of the late twenties and early thirties, the great reform struggle culminating in the Reform Act of 1832, had succeeded one another in an unbroken series.

The Reform Act of 1832 enfranchised the industrial capitalists but the left the masses outside. In the old Reform agitation the new industrial bourgeoisie had appeared as leaders of the people. Now that they had secured power for themselves, they showed themselves in their true colour as harsh masters. Established in power they set about enforcing the subjection of their former allies—the people. Attacks were made on Trade Unionism. And a new Poor Law was passed, which tore out the last roots which united the workers with their old life.

A vehement agitation developed all over the country and the work-houses began to be stormed. This was one of the main currents of Chartism. Since the repeal of the Combination Laws in 1824 workers had been hungrily devouring socialist ideas and new forms of working class movement and organisation had begun to develop. When the betrayal of the bourgeoisie and the failure of the worker's economic organisations had taught the workers the necessity of winning political power, they began to organise for the purpose and in this manner chartist organisations began to spring up. The first of such organisations the London Workingman's Association drew up the manifesto in 1838 calling for a struggle in the People's 'Charter.' And they started the historic movement. The people resolved to war to the knip for children and wife, 'for thoughts of labour', and the class-war continued for several years through many vicissitudes.

In its immediate outcome Chartism failed, the working class was still immature; capitalism was too strong for it. But its achievements was never lost. Its unions provided a good test of the foundation of modern scientific socialism and it has bequeathed an unfailing inspiration for the present day struggle for freedom.

The book under review is a short history of this great working class movement, well-written, and well-documented.

Rashigyan—Darpan by Pandit Ram Pran Sharma. Published by Howrah Kustha Kutir, Howrah. Price Rs 2/8/-

In addition to an interesting study of Astrology, the book gives a lucid description about the origin and treatment of Leprosy, Leucoderma and all sorts of skin diseases. The author of the book is an erudite physician and palmist and his book may be utilised by the persons concerned for good.

Indian Review—(Annual Number)
G. A. Natesan & Co. Madras Re 1

The Annual Number of the well-known monthly journal is before us. Besides the usual features, some very interesting additional articles of topical interest have found place in this issue. We have gone through the contents and have found

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them quite pleasant and profitable reading. The contributors are mostly well-known names in journalism and the subjects they have dealt with spread over a wide range of interests. The number is profusely illustrated and very moderately priced. We hope it will meet with the appreciation it so richly deserves.

BENGALI

Ekada—(A Bengali Novel) by Gopal Halder. Published from Ranjan Publishing House, 25/2 Mohanbagan Row, Calcutta Rs. 2.

The author has already made a name as an erudite and thoughtful writer in Bengali. The book under review is his first venture in novel-writing and we have no hesitation in saying that he has come off the test with flying colours.

The technique that the author has employed in the book has not been widely experimented with as yet in Bengali, although in English and continental litera-

ture it has already found a vogue. The incidents, however meagre they may be, have been pressed within the compass of a single day. The characters that have been set on the stage are varied and numerous for a fiction. They fit across the readers vision, but leave their indelible marks on his mind as distinct individualities. Indeed, the characters have acquired flesh and blood through the deft touches of the author. This is certainly no mean artistic achievement, specially in view of the fact that it is the first venture of the author at novel-writing.

I have said before that the book does not crowd with incidents.

That sums up, though in an implied way, the whole character of the book. Its interest is psychological. The intellectual chaos that has seized the modern youths due to the sheer lack of steady verities in life and has sent them drifting down the current, has cast its vicious influence on the hopefuls of Bengal as well. The book has held up the mirror to these

moth-eaten, weather-beaten minds of modern Bengal. There are not many here who can cry halt to this rushing current. One who dares do it, is fated to undergo unlimited sufferings, as the central character Amit here illustrates.

The hectic hurry that has left its stamp on the pages of the book may quite naturally grate on the uncritical readers. But that has been quite in keeping with the "sick, hurry and divided aims" of the modern times of which the characters are true products. The book is interesting and valuable as a literary performance, but it is far more valuable for the inspiring message that it embodies—the message of surging activism. The author has brought to bear on the book a keen intellect specially to demolish the prevalent creeds that are hopelessly out of touch with life. The style is quick and tremulous with emotion, occasionally rising to poetic heights. We hope the book will receive well-merited appreciation from discerning readers.

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FORWARD BLOC NEWS

DACCA FORWARD BLOC

The executive committee of the Dacca District Forward Bloc has been constituted at a meeting of the members of the Forward Bloc. It has been formed with representatives from all different political groups who have upto now joined the Forward Bloc. The subdivisional committees are also being formed and they will be released for publication very soon.

The following constitute the executive committee of the Dacca District Forward Bloc :

President—Sj. Chandra Kanta Bose
 Vice Presidents—1. Sj. Nil Kamal Chakravarty. (Pleader) 2. Sj. Rajani Das. (Pleader) 3. Mrs. Kiran Bala Rudra.
 Organiser and General Secretary—Sj. Bhabesh Chandra Nandi
 Secretary—Sj. Nikunja Lal Sen
 Assistant Secretaries—1. Sj. Rabindra Pal 2. Sj. Madhusudan Bhattacharjee 3. Sj. Mrityunjoy Roy

Among the members of the executive committee are Sj. Rajendra Roy, Sj. Gour Chand Chanda, Sj. Bankim Shaha, Sj. Manindra Datta Gupta, Sj. Jnan Mitra, Dr. Durgadas Banerjee, Md. Ashgar Ali and others.

HOBIGANJ FORWARD BLOC

Sj. Kusum Ranjan Bhattacharyya, Organising Secretary of the sub-divisional Forward Bloc made an extensive tour throughout the subdivision and organised several meetings in villages. Meetings were attended by peasants and national demands were explained to them.

C. P. AND BERAR FORWARD BLOC

Conference at Betul

A meeting of the Left Consolidation Committee was held under the presidentship of Mr H. V. Kamath.

The meeting supported the move to convene a Forward Bloc Conference of the C. P. and Berar at Betul.

The meeting also decided to set up candidates for the ensuing Congress elections to the Provincial District and Tahsil Congress Committees. A Sub-Committee to select candidates was formed.

Mr S P. Chaupuria was appointed Joint Secretary to assist Mr B. P. Tiwari, Secretary.

SINGBHAM FORWARD BLOC

Office-bearers elected

A general meeting of 51 members of the Singbhum District Congress Committee who have joined the Forward Bloc, was held a few days ago in the local Tilak Pustakalaya Hall under the presidentship of Sj. Sheel Bhadra Yajee, M.L.A., General Secretary of the Bihar Provincial Forward Bloc to elect office-bearers for the next year.

By the first resolution the Provisional District Forward Bloc was dissolved.

According to the constitution, 15 persons were co-opted in the District Forward Bloc.

The following office-bearers were elected :—

President—Sjt. S. B. Kar ; Vice-president—Sardar Harnam Singh Malli, Sj. Tarapada Sarangi ; General Secretary, Ganga Govinda Paggey, President, of the Singbhum Distret C. C ; Secretaries—Sjt. Dilip Bose. Sjt. Shree Narayan Jha ; Sjt. Dhwajadhari Benerji, Sjt. Davendra Nath Sahu. Treasurer—Sjt. Narayan Krishna Sane.

Besides the office bearers, the following persons were elected members of the Executive Committee of the Singbhum District Forward Bloc :—

Sjts. Kishori Mohan Upadhaya, Atul Krishna Dutta; N. K. Bose, B. B. Sinha, M.L. Sur, Ishwar Gyan, Mahesh Chandra

Sahu, Pulin Bihari Mukherji, Kamal Lochan Bhagat, Dasrathi Lala, Lalit Mohan Ghatak.

JAMSHEDPUR TOWN

Forward Bloc

A general meeting of the members of the Jamshepur Town Forward Bloc was held recently under the presidentship of Sjt. Sheel Bhadra Yajee, M.L.A., General Secretary of the Bihar Forward Bloc in the local Tilak Pustakalaya to elect office-bearers for the next year.

The following were elected as office-bearers :—

President—Sardar Harnam Singh Malli. Vice-president—Sjt. B. B. Sinha. General Secretary—Makhan Lal Sur. Asst. Secretary—Nakuleswar Guha. Treasurer—N. K. Sane. Members of the Jamshepur Forward Bloc Executive Committee :— Sjts. Narayan Chandra Banerji. N. K. Bose, S. B. Kar, G. G. Paggey, and Shree Narayan Jha.

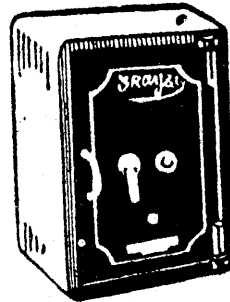
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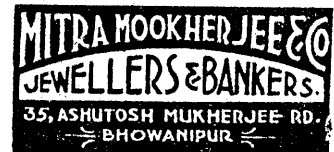
Interest on Savings Bank A/c. paid a 3% per annum
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Interest of Fixed Deposits paid at the rate of 4 to 6% per annum.
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