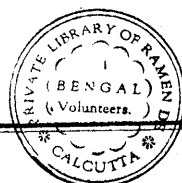


# FORWARD BLOC

A POLITICAL WEEKLY

Editor :—SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE



VOL I. No. 26

CALCUTTA, SATURDAY FEBRUARY 3, 1940

ONE ANNA

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 8

## The Bengal Congress

The representations made by and on behalf of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee have failed to induce the Congress President and his colleagues on the Congress Working Committee to admit the error of their ways. They say, in the manner of the most through-going totalitarian, they are "unable to alter their previous decision". So the ad hoc committee remains to function behind closed doors and will conduct Congress elections, possibly from behind closed doors. It was made clear to the Congress Working Committee that the appointment of the ad hoc committee was "entirely unconstitutional". Nowhere in the constitution of the Indian National Congress was any power given to the Working Committee to take the step they have done. The ad hoc committee was not justified either by the provisions of Article XIII of the constitution or by the powers given under Article XX. The former empowers the Working Committee to form a new provincial Congress Committee in case of "failure" on the part of the old committee to function in terms of the constitution. The latter only gives them general power of "superintendence, direction and control". In the latter case, it is obvious the provincial Congress Committee is to function normally, and the work for which 'superintendence' is desired has to be done by and through the provincial Congress Committee. The political supersession which the appointment of the ad hoc committee has effected and by virtue of which some of the most important functions of the provincial committee have been taken away, and vested in an outside body, is nowhere contemplated in the Articles of the Constitution of the Indian National Congress.

But the Working Committee are bent upon a certain course of conduct and action, and the consti-

tutional objections have not troubled them at all. The latest action of the Working Committee is quite in line with the remark of Mrs. Naidu at the Calcutta meeting of the A. I. C. C. that she would act "thoroughly unconstitutionally."

It was also shown to the Congress President and his colleagues on the Congress Working Committee that the "reasons" stated in defence of the appointment of the ad hoc committee had no foundation in fact. The facts were all against the Congress Working Committee. The B. P. C. C. had taken steps in accordance with the direction of the Congress Working Committee in the Rajshahi matter. And the B. P. C. C., though it held very strong views about the appointment of an Election Tribunal members of which were all drawn from the minority party, was giving cooperation and assistance to the Tribunal. The charge of "complete lack of cooperation" was absolutely baseless. The office of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee had forwarded to the Election Tribunal all papers relating to disputes. Emphasis has often been laid on the "tone and temper" of the resolutions of the B.P.C.C. and its Executive Council. Complaint has been made of the "attitude" of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. Did it ever occur to the members of the Congress Working Committee to examine the cause or causes of this "tone and temper"? Did the members of the Working Committee ever submit themselves to a close heart-searching? From the Presidential Election last year to the appointment of the ad hoc committee, the Working Committee have taken the offensive, and there has been a persistent drive against the majority party in the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. The B.P.C.C. has only reacted to the same, and acted in self-defence. "The Executive Council" let us quote from the Resolution it passed on the 31st January last, "in obedience to the will of the people feels that it cannot ask Congressmen to smother self-respect and violate the principles of democracy in the name of so-called discipline." The B.P.C.C. has stood for the ideals and principles

of the Congress and of democracy and has fought valiantly against the totalitarian tendencies and actions of the Congress High Command. When it has found that the Working Committee are bent upon undermining the majority party in the B. P. C. C., the Executive Council of the B.P.C.C. was compelled to adopt the following resolution:—

"In view of the fact that the appointment of the ad hoc committee is unfair, unconstitutional and is not justified by the reasons and circumstances stated in its defence, and in view further of the fact that the appointment of the ad hoc committee virtually supersedes the B.P.C.C. in respect of some of its most important functions and clearly aims at undermining the position of the majority now running the B.P.C.C. who have the fullest confidence of the rank and file of Congressmen and of the general public in this province, the Executive Council calls upon the district, sub-divisional and primary Congress Committees within the jurisdiction of the B.P.C.C. not to cooperate in any manner or degree with the said ad hoc committee."

The public meeting at the Sradhananda Park made it demonstrably clear that public opinion, and Congress opinion, in this province was totally behind the B. P. C. C. and its Executive Council.

It must be remembered that the drive is not against Bengal alone, the drive is against Leftists in general. In Bengal, in Delhi, in Kerala Karnatak and Orissa, in Bihar and in Andhra, there is the same story of determined persecution of Leftists and of an organisational vendetta against them. The ground is being diligently prepared for Ramgarh and a compromise—yes, an *honourable* compromise with British Imperialism. At Ramgarh there will be a splendid rally of "yes men" and non-conformists will be few and far between. Yet the ideal of Purna Swaraj will live, and neither Bengal nor the Leftists in general can be effaced from the map of the Congress. The Leftists will live down all persecutions and crown their efforts for Purna Swaraj with victory.

## RESIST IT

Whatever pretences the Working Committee may put up, to the discerning sections of people it is clear as noonday that by empowering Mahatmaji to negotiate a settlement with the Government on the basis of the Viceroy's Bombay Speech, it has most flagrantly betrayed the Congress Cause. Mahatmaji's 'crossing of t's and dotting of i's' can have only one meaning: it unmistakably betokens that the terms embodied in that speech afford, according to the High Patriarch of the Congress and his subservient nodders, a reasonable basis for compromise with the Government and only some details have to be settled for which a few more visits to the Viceregal Lodge may be necessary.

We are, however, not so credulous as to believe that even Dominion Status which the Viceroy has once more re-iterated to be the goal of India, will be granted to her, pure and undefiled, or within a specifically short time. There is the convenient question of the Minorities and the Princes and the Government with their bursting solicitude for them, will not easily agree to stand off the scene, leaving to the people of India the sole right and authority to frame their own Constitution; on the plea of diverse interests inhabiting the country, they will certainly seek to drive some wedges into the body politic and thus manoeuvre to retain a good deal of authority in their own hands which will take away much of the substance from that not supremely substantial thing, we mean Dominion Status. The Status and the internal Constitution are not one and the same thing and much of the prevailing misconception will be removed when the difference between the two will be clearly understood.

But supposing, for the sake of argument, that India gets a Constitution of the kind now existing in the British Dominions, will that satisfy the aspirations of the awakened masses of the country? Some prudent politicians, with knowledge of their own or borrowed from others, have begun to sing hellulejahs about Dominion Status, as

defined by the Statute of Westminster and are glibly declaring that it is virtual independence since it recognises the right of the components to secede. This argument has a tempting facade and therefore calls for a close scrutiny. It has to be clearly realised that the Statute of Westminster which has conferred the right of secession on the Dominions, is a gift of the British Parliament which can be withdrawn by it at its will. That is the reason why even Sri Rajagopalchariar has been constrained to declare that Dominion Status "depends upon the British interpretation of the British law and upon the British Constitution itself" and as such the difference between it and Complete Independence "is not unreal."

Further, it has also to be remembered that the people of the Dominions are immigrants from Britain and as such bound together by ties of common descent, language, tradition and culture with her. In the case of India, Britain, with her prickly consciousness of white supremacy, will not probably long put up with her membership of the British Commonwealth, although under the pressure of the present catastrophic war she may just consent to admit her for the time being. By another Statute the present one may be cancelled and India again landed into a quandary. And this feeling is bound to be reciprocal. If the Dutch section of the South African people under General Hertzog and the Irish people with their Gaelic pride have already begun to chafe at British association, is it not far more natural and probable that India, different from England in every respect, with a distinctive civilization and hoary past, will smart deeply under the cultural bondage of an alien power?

There is another consideration to reckon with. Although Dominions, as defined by the Statute of Westminster, mean "autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs" in reality, it has been seen that Britain holds the centre of the stage and the Dominions can not in any way shape the future of any

part of the Empire. In other words, the moral and political stewardship of Britain over the Dominions has not been affected by the Statute. Besides, the Empire being an organic whole as distinct from the rest of the world, and Britain being the supreme unit in the imperial partnership, it will still be possible for her, though probably in a lesser measure than at present, to drain off the wealth of India through various kinds of imperial preferences. As a matter of fact, this sinister motive may actuate British diplomacy to keep India welded to the Empire and accord her nothing more than the Status of a Dominion as long as it can hold out against Indian pressure.

But the most important reason why India should set her face against Dominion Status and strive to attain Complete Independence is that there is nothing to warrant the hope that Britain will shed her imperialist character, although her statesmen are now crying hoarse that the termination of the present war will usher in a New Order. The imperialism has got to be dissolved outright before that glorious consummation can be wished for. And India dreaming of full justice in the human affairs of the morrow, can hardly consent to remain tied to the imperial wheels of Britain. A Socialist India as she aspires to be, is bound to make an ill-assorted and incongruous combination with imperialist Britain. They can hardly pull together and shall be compelled, under the stress of circumstances, to part company. If this be the certainty that can be clearly visualised today, is there any justification for negotiating the Status of a Dominion for our country?

We are being told by persons here and there that this is only a mid-way arrangement, a matter of expediency and India's ultimate goal is Complete Independence. This, we are sure, is no more than a specious hoax. Expediency, after all, is an elastic term and it is often difficult to distinguish it from opportunism and base surrender of the ideal. Further, it is impossible to place credence in their tall professions with the sight before us of the rank demoralisation that such

a faked thing as the Provincial Autonomy has brought in its trail. If the High Command mean seriously to tear away from the Empire and strive to attain the full destiny of Indian nationhood, what can be a more opportune time than the present? We firmly believe that the vast masses of India, awakened and resurgent, will never be misled by these wily tricks of the crafty politicians. It is for them to declare unequivocally that nothing short of Complete Independence will satisfy them. It is for them to resist stoutly and frustrate all attempts of the prudent publicists to sabotage the National Cause. They must make themselves heard and prevent any compromise with imperialism. Nothing short will do.

## CURRENT COMMENTS

### Empty Sound

Pandit Jawaharlal continues to deliver orations full of thunderous words but no substance. Speaking to Congressmen at Benares he declared that "nothing short of complete freedom for India could be acceptable to India." Why then, a bewildered public might enquire, the pilgrimage of the Mahatma to the Capital? The Pandit has a ready answer. "The Congress was always prepared," he says, "to come to a settlement." One only wishes sufficient emphasis were laid on this aspect of the attitude of the High Command so that the public might assess its high-sounding, albeit empty, professions at their true worth. For, the High Command of the Congress today is anxious not so much to win independence for India and its poverty-stricken masses as to come to a compromise with British imperialism. Hence the necessity of confused arguments, long-winded explanations, and the 'Congress' bulls. Fortunately, the country has so far advanced that it is not likely to be hoodwinked any longer by the specious pleas and platitudes that emanate from Wardha.

### A Poser To Jawaharlal

A pertinent question that may be put to Jawaharlal is, "What

settlement does he expect with the British Government?" The Government have made their intentions quite clear in the speech the Viceroy had delivered at the Orient Club in Bombay. Dominion Status of the Statute of Westminster variety is the final objective of the British policy in India. No definite time is set as to when even this objective would be realised, although platitudes about attaining the goal in the shortest possible time are repeated as usual. Even apart from the question of time, which, by the way is of vital importance, the goal of British policy is Dominion Status of a sort. Are we to understand that this is regarded by the Congress as equivalent of Complete Independence? The leading lights of the Congress are conveniently silent on this point, although there are no dearth of ardent champions anxious to carry favour both with the Congress and the Government, who are engaged in intellectual gymnastic to show that some odd variety of Dominion Status means practically Complete Independence. Does Pandit Jawaharlal also entertain the same opinion? Let him unequivocally state whether the Westminster variety of Dominion Status will satisfy him. If not, let him explain the *raison d'être* of Mahatma's pilgrimage with a begging bowl to the Viceregal Lodge in New Delhi.

### Darbars and Darshanas

It has pained Gandhiji to learn, thanks to Pearylal's good offices, how people have to bow thrice—or is it more?—when attending the Darbars of our present day satraps. He asks on behalf of these "darbaris" that they should be spared the humiliations. But is it really a humiliation? How to judge that? The criterion for the purpose should be how the persons concerned take it. We believe, some people do enjoy it. How many titled soul would fain have the Darbar of His Excellency or of His District Excellency with such elaborate ceremonials cut off? It would turn the whole affairs into a very poor show—almost into a "business deal"—with no feudal fragrance and

traditional pomp to cover up this very, very prosaic world of the bourgeois existence. As they bow, the intelligent few console themselves with romantic illusion of breathing in the atmosphere of grace and glory that is no more. They know that behind the apparent nonsense is the tradition, which, they prove to themselves, is not without beauty or grace. Life and social conventions proclaim that formalities cannot be dismissed so easily. And the Darbar formalities, if democratised, would reduce the Darbar to a Darshan. Certainly—Gandhiji knows, even then it is not democratised; on the contrary it is thereby spiritualised. And Gandhiji is also familiar with people who consider the *darshanas* and *pranamas*, etc. to be the rarest of raptures. There is a kinship between those who crowd for *darshanas* and who pray for darbars to attend. Gandhiji should understand the essentially tonic effect that is produced by the so-called darbar-humiliations on the people who attend them. They look so happy when they come back from His Excellency's Darbar—almost as if they are directly coming back from the prayer hall.

### A Relief for Chiang-Kai-Shek

The failure of the Soviet-Japanese negotiations on the Outer-Mongolia-Manchukuo border question may not be without effect in the politics of the Far East. A truce was hurriedly arranged on September 15 last when Japan had been too much shaken diplomatically by the sudden German-Soviet understanding of August 23, and by the defeats of the Japanese forces at Nomonhan offensive against the Comintern. Disillusioned of the 'Axis' on anti-Comintern principles at that hour, Japan was in a mood to make up with the Soviet. A truce was agreed in the Outer-Mongolian borders 'over a tea cup.' Since then Japan has been at pains to settle the 'China Incident' first, and, to be friendly with the Soviet. The friendliness was necessary. If it 'matured' it would, they might expect, mean a stoppage of supplies from the Soviet to Chiang-Kai-Shek, and of inspiration to the Chinese Reds! Then the

'China Incident' would yield to easy solution. Friendliness, however, has not run the desired course—even though Mr. Arita and Admiral Yonai are Japan's pilots. This is any way good news for the Chungking Government. The Soviet has not left them.

### Defence Against Propaganda

Modern war has many instruments added to its stock. The most dreadful of them is propaganda. But the defensive armaments are said to be more powerful than the weapons of attack. So, nations defend themselves against propaganda by closing the news border from outside. They hear themselves and their own voices are so assuring to their ears. So, Herr Hitler talks of the might of Germany. Mr. Chamberlain tells Britain how pure and noble are her aims. Moscow, has been silenced by the News services; yet, for aught we know this is not the virtue that Molotov or Kremlin cultivates, Copenhagen appears to have replaced Riga in respect of the value of the reports that are cooked up there. For any sensible man to live through a war—and every sensible man has sense enough to live outside its pale—is an experience. He comes to acquire that rare gift which is said to be the virtue of the most read intellectuals—that after all truth is the most elusive of all pursuits. In a world in which we hear Hitler speaking of the lamb-like innocence of Germany, Chamberlain proclaiming Britain's crusade on behalf of freedom and democracy, men slowly come to acquire the best defence against all falsehood—*Not to believe in anything.*

### A case for Satyagraha

War, they say, is this time being waged in our Stock Exchanges. For five months it gladdened our hearts to see that these 'are still avenues open for the men at the Top. They could still grow. But bad times are said to be ahead for them. The Government are about to impose an excess profit tax on their 'hard-earned' money. So protests, legitimate and loud, are going up from the high quarters of high finance and good

speculators against this measure. Really, war does not come so often, and the money they got by could not be gathered always. So, their grievance is fair—this is their war bonus. But if we were not to be

accused of anti-war activity, we would advise our speculators to approach the High Command with a proposal for Satyagraha on this. Their voice, we are told, would count.

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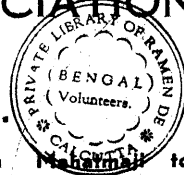
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## CONGRESS TURNING INTO A SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION

## Correspondence Between Mahatma Gandhi and Sj. Kamath.



Bombay.

4th January, 1940

Mahatmaji,

I submit for your kind consideration the copy of a resolution recently adopted by the Khandwa District Congress Committee in the Central Provinces :—

“Every Mandal President should send to the District office every month 1,000 yards of yarn spun either by himself or anyone else from the Mandal.” That is how a Congressman, an office-bearer to boot, will spin regularly in order to prepare himself for the coming struggle. Is this not typical of the way in which impurity and corruption have crept into the Congress? Look Mahatmaji, how your instructions and advice are translated into practice. Such are the men who will take the new Independence Pledge on January 26. Can hypocrisy go further? If daily plying of the Charkha is the *sine qua non* of preparation for Satyagraha, then at the rate the Khandwa D. C. C. is going, Congressmen and Congress office-bearers in particular, will never be ready for fight. Rather than such rank hypocrisy, it was better they never span at all, don't you think? I appeal to you, in the interests of Truth, to denounce such false adherents who masquerade as pure Gandhians, such wolves in sheep's clothing. With pranams,

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) H. V. Kamath

## II. Letter from Mahatmaji to Sj. Kamath

Segaon  
6. 1. 40

Dear Kamath,

You are in a hurry—you are hard. Hurry because you have not read the pledge carefully. It is regular spinning that is wanted, not daily. Hard because there is nothing wrong in others spinning. This time the real test is to see whether Khadi has become a current coin.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) M. K. Gandhi.

## III. Letter from Sj. Kamath to Mahatmaji.

Bombay

7th January 40

Mahatmaji,

Many thanks for your reply. I submit however that you have overlooked the vital point I raised in my letter. The resolution of the Khandwa D. C. C. can be implemented by the office-bearer concerned without himself being obliged to spin regularly, whereas the pledge requires every Congressman to do so. The resolution of the Khandwa D. C. C. merely asks for 1,000 yards of yarn monthly from every Mandal President, no matter who from the Mandal spins it. After all, one single spinner can produce that much or even more yarn in the given period. I cannot believe that is the spirit of the pledge or of the instructions and advice given by you to Congressmen. That is why I consider the resolution hypocritical.

One other point and I have done. If, as you yourself say, in spite of Congressmen having so far merely toyed with your constructive programme you could launch a struggle in the past, why do you now insist upon its fulfilment as a pre-condition to Satyagraha? As regards fear of communal rioting following in the wake of Civil Disobedience, Sardar Patel recently declared at Bombay that Congressmen are not frightened by such a bogey. And Pandit Nehru asserts that there is no longer any hope of a settlement with the British Government and that the masses are ready for direct action. Then why this hesitation and why this delay in calling the nation to battle?

With pranams,

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) H. V. Kamath

## IV. Letter from Mahatmaji to Sj. Kamath.

Segaon  
17. 1. 40.

Dear Shri Kamath,

Gandhiji has your two letters which he desires me to reply on his behalf.

1. The Khandwa D. C. C.'s resolution does not exonerate the members from their duty of spinning daily.
2. As for your second point Gandhiji would refer you to his articles in Harijan.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) Amrit Kaur

## Sj. Kamath's Note

Mahatmaji, it will be seen, says that Congressmen have to spin regularly not daily. The regularity of intervals is nowhere specified. In his second letter Gandhiji refers to *daily* spinning. It would appear therefore that he himself is not clear on the point when he further says that there is nothing wrong in others spinning for you. In his second letter Gandhiji dogmatically asserts that the Khandwa D. C. C.'s resolution does not exonerate the members from their duty of spinning daily, but does not explain it. I cannot read any such meaning in the resolution.

According to Mahatmaji, the real test is khadi and not spinning. Why then enjoin a regular plying of the Charkha on Congressmen who wear khadi habitually? As regards the issue of struggle raised by me, Mahatmaji very kindly refers me to his articles in Harijan. I have read them carefully and so far as I can understand them, they do not satisfactorily answer the points raised by me in my second letter.

Congress as a whole is fast transforming itself, is degenerating into an All-India Spinners' Association. Let us stop the rot before it is too late.

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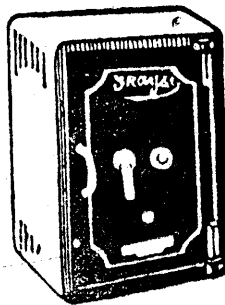
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## A LETTER FROM A MUSLIM WORKER TO MR. JINNAH (3)

[ This is the third letter of the series, the first and the second having been published on the 13th and the 20th January respectively. The fourth and the last letter of the series will be published next week.—Ed. F.B. ]

DEAR MR. LEADER,

In my last letter I was telling you how caste and creed have lost their objective significance and have ceased to function as a basis for social relationships. In fact, I have come to the conclusion that we have definitely passed out of the caste and creed stage of our social evolution and have entered upon a higher stage where castes and creeds give place to economic classes. At all events, I have lost my illusions about equality and fraternity unrelated to parity of income. And then one day I happened to attend a public meeting which the ministers of the new autonomous government were pleased to address.

It was a December evening and the meeting was held under a large *shamiana*. There was the usual raised platform for the higher deities of the social Pantheon, then a number of chairs below the platform for the lesser gods, and the rest of the floor was covered with dirty *durries* which had seen many a wedding feast and bore unmistakable marks of their festive associations. This was for the worshippers, I mean for us, the canaille.

As I had nothing to do that day I arrived at the meeting rather early. Very few people had yet assembled and almost all the chairs were empty. Now a workman though I am, I prefer a chair to squatting on the floor, especially on a dirty *durree* spread over a garden turf, on a December evening. But I knew my social place; and then there were the watchful keepers of the Pantheon. So I went and seated myself where I belonged.

Gradually the whole space filled up. And at long last the principal deities, I mean, the ministers, arrived. The whole crowd scrambled to their feet, and some one, according to programme, shouted, "Sir Jupiter," (he is the chief of the gods, i.e. the ministers) "Zindabad." It seems that in a crowd a man's imitative instinct is, as it were, surcharged and goes off at the lightest touch. Thus there was a concerted full-throated echo, "Sir Jupiter Zindabad." And I was a little abashed to notice that I too, though I know I have not the slightest interest in the life or death of Sir Jupiter, was

shouting myself hoarse, as if my own life depended on it.

While we were shouting our hearts out, the principal gods, with Sir Jupiter in the centre stood in a row with their hands folded and their heads bent, as it were in humility. And humility, you know, is so rare. Each one of us regards himself as the hub of the universe. As Anatole France says, "what living being, but, deems himself the end and aim of the universe and acts as if he were so. The crossing sweeper, as he looks around him, sees the vault of heaven rounding him about on every side, making him the very centre of heaven and earth." This sight which must have shaken the self-assurance of the gods in heaven, seemed to madden the crowd who sent up volley after volley of "Zindabad."

And when the gods—the greater and the lesser—seated themselves, the crowd of worshippers also exhausted by their frenzied hosannas sank on the floor. Then one of the ministers rose, and with folded hands told us that he was our humble servant. Now I have my share of the average Indian's credulity. But this was too much for me. And I asked my neighbour what was the Honourable minister's income. He said that he did not know his income, but his salary was three thousand rupees a month, plus substantial allowances. I said, "then that is rank nonsense. A man with an income of three thousand a month cannot be any body's servant, much less the servant of ragamuffins like us." This gentleman gave us a rigmarole about education. He said that education was what we badly needed, and that he would educate all-men, women, children, even the newborn babes, before he had done with us. He spoke with great feeling, but it fell flat on us. For we knew, and he didn't, that the hungry need bread and not education.

Then rose another minister. He too with folded hands stated that he was our most devoted servant. He talked about industries. He said that he was going to industrialise his province, and then every one would have work, and food, and clothing, and there would be universal

peace, plenty and happiness. Now this was a message after every one's heart and we all shouted, "Sir Vulcan Zindabad." This, it seems, warmed him up a bit, and he went on to say that he would raise the prices of food-stuffs and make every peasant also as rich as Croesus. Now this was rather disconcerting for the audience who were largely urban workers, and who very naturally thought that if prices were raised before work was created, and wages enhanced, their occasional scarcity of food would be transformed into a regular famine. And then I thought what would a peasant himself say to this—a peasant with a five acre farm, or a tenant cultivator or an agricultural farmer, who between them form more than 90 per cent of the agricultural workers in the country and who do not produce enough for their own consumption. Thus it seemed to me that increased prices of agricultural products will benefit not the primary producer, but his parasites, the landlord, the speculator and the dealer in grain.

Anyhow, there was a loud murmur of disapproval among the audience. And Sir Vulcan, whom only a few minutes before we had all wished to live for ever, would have now pleased us better if he were dead, buried and forgotten. Here is food for reflection for leaders, great and small; they all live on popularity, and popularity is a sorry Jade. "There she is," says Anatole France, "and you can mount her. But when you are on her back she will quietly lie down by the side of the road and will pitch you off. There hasn't been a rider of Popularity who hadn't his back broken by her. In time of peril, the people have never been able to offer the least assistance to their idols."

This speaker was followed by another minister who too with folded hands began by telling us that he was our most loyal servant. This gentleman recited many Urdu and Persian verses of which the purport was that poverty was not a curse but a blessing. It casts out the dross from a man's nature and makes life unspeakably sweet and joyous for ever. It is poverty that has endeared Christ and

Buddha and Mohamad to the world for ever and immortalised them as few have ever been immortalised. This was indeed an inspiring speech and the whole crowd of tatterdemalions felt a tremor of joy and a halo of glory round their unwashed heads. This, however, reminded me of a more realistic observation by an Eskimo who says; "God is very good to the rich and very bad to the poor. This is because he loves the rich and he does not love the poor. And inasmuch as he loves the rich he will welcome them in paradise, and as he does not love the poor, he will put them in hell." This is certainly not very poetical, but sounds more convincing. At all events, the rich cannot be too thankful to the prophets that they extolled poverty, otherwise the poor wouldnt have so resignedly and patiently borne a veritable hell in their present existence in the illusory hope of a nebulous paradise at the other end of eternity.

Then rose another minister who also with folded hands told us that he was our most obedient servant. Now the sight of folded hands accompanied by an humble, meek, slightly mournful look (as if the speakers were already feeling the burden of their servitude), and the words "your humble servant," "Your devoted servant" and the like have had their effect, and my scepticism about the sincerity of these great men, who according to Mahatma Gandhi have criminally inordinate incomes (that is a thought which one, like Mahatmajji cannot get over, though at times I wonder why Mahatmajji does not tell his devoted disciples like Seth Birla, Mr. Jamna Lal Bajaj and others to stop their more criminal accumulation, and at least like Lord Nuffield give a small slice of their ill-begotten wealth to the miserable wretches who have produced it), was considerably shaken. And I thought that after all, those ministers were not pulling our legs when they said they were our servants. Of course, none of them could be expected to come and massage my legs, but that they would willingly help me to obtain honest work, and thereby enable me to get for myself and my family two square meals a day, and some medicine and milk for my ailing daughter, and a pair of shoes for the boy who goes to school, and to pay off at least a part of my debts and the arrears of rent to the landlord who constantly threatens to throw us out bag and baggage on to the street.

So when the great Sir Jupiter got up and with folded hands and a bewitching smile repeated the same irresistible formula of humble service, I simply could not restrain myself and shouted, "Sir Jupiter Zindabad." I verily believed at the moment that the great days of Islam, the days when a great Caliph like Omar, going on a long journey insisted that his slave should ride part of the way, while he himself walked, the days of true Islamic brotherhood had returned. And I returned home in a buoyant mood and told my wife of the great speeches I had heard and how our miserable lives were going to be changed. There would be no more unemployment, no shortage of food, no debts, no importunate creditors, no dunning landlords, no sickness, no quarrels, no tears.....

Now my wife is a semi-literate rustic and has what the English call horse sense. I wonder why they call it so. Perhaps because the horse never misses the route to his destination, which man often does. For instance, twenty years ago the most highly civilised nations of the world fought so as to be at perfect peace with one another ever afterwards. And then they are again shooting, and bombing and drowning one another in order to restore and strengthen their friendly relations. And their holy men, who presumably know the ways of Providence, tell them to wage war pacifically. They cry, "Peace Peace," and smite the while. This town is destroyed, that ship has been sunk. Peace, Peace, we have slain thousands. And then our own great leaders are riding to freedom on a spinning wheel. To a horse it would perhaps look like reaching to winning post on a broomstick.

Well, I was saying that my wife has strong common sense. And when I told her of the cheerful hopes I had built upon the

ministers' declarations of devoted service, she smiled and said, she was surprised at the naivete of the rich who expected to deceive the poor by such outrageously puerile statements. The man in the street whose native intelligence has not been blunted by an unnatural system of education (she considers all education in a foreign language unnatural) cannot be cajoled into the belief that a man who has an income of three or four thousand rupees a month, every pice of which, in the final analysis, is the congealed life-blood and tears and agonies of the workers and peasants and their starving children, is his servant. These self-deluded wiseacres do not know that an unlettered person has no use for metaphors and similes.

This, I thought, was a direct hit at my pretensions to education. But for a workman I have an uncommonly serene temperament. In fact I have been many a fellow-worker flare up at almost nothing. And I have frequently reflected why the poor are so short-tempered and lacking in honesty and refinement. Is it because honesty and delicacy are infinitely easier to practise when one lacks nothing than when one is destitute of everything? Perhaps I and my fellow-workers should be altogether different men if our circumstances were different. As a botanist says, "If a hawthorn be transplanted from a stony to a fruitful soil its thorns will change into flowers."

Mr. Leader, I must apologise to you, and to the kind Editor for not being able to finish my story in this letter. Therefore, with your permission and the indulgence of the Editor, I shall give the rest of it in another letter.

Yours Admiringly,  
A Muslim Worker,

ESTB : 1913

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# Briefed for Stalin



By Nirode C. Chaudhuri

[ Note—In this article, unless there is anything repugnant in the context, 'Russia' means the State formally styling itself (according to one method of transliterating the Russian into the Roman alphabet) 'Soyuz Sotsialisticheskikh Sovetskikh Republic; translated variously as the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics, Union des Republiques Socialistes Sovietiques, Union der Sozialistischen Sowjetrepubliken, etc., abbreviated variously as SSSR, USSR, URSS, UdSSR, etc., else popularly or semi-popularly known as the Soviet Union, Soviet Russia, etc.

The writer apologises for the insufferable pedantry of this explanation. But he could not help it. There seem to be innocents abroad who find it difficult to recognize Russia under her ancient name. Mr. Hirendra Nath Mukerji, one of whose articles is referred to below, for example, writes: "The Pandit"—meaning Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—"is very annoyed with Russia (by which we suppose he means the Soviet Union)....." Mr. Mukerji is guileless and pure, but not quite immaculately so, for he himself calls Russia by a name not too inaccessible to the uninitiated. We have, however, no quarrel with Mr. Mukerji on this account. We understand the frame of mind which has prompted his purist's dig at Pandit Nehru. There are devout adherents of *Guruvada* in our own country who are deeply hurt if less reverent people refer to their *Guru* by the name of their *Purvasrama*. After all, there is very little to choose between the different brands of idolatry, religious or political.]

In the last number of *Forward Bloc* Mr. Hirendra Nath Mukerji attempted a defence of Stalin's Russia in reply to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's condemnation of her attack on Finland. I shall not say that this defence is a fair specimen of Communist propaganda, for that would not be doing justice to Communist literary and controversial skill. But I may say that Mr. Mukerji's article repeats, more or less crudely, the stock arguments of those who have become sentimentally so tied to Stalin's Russia that they cannot shake off their chains even when she is wrong. Intrinsicly there is nothing in these arguments which could justify international aggression, nor in normal circumstances would the Indian public have taken them seriously. But the reaction of Indian opinion to the Russo-Finnish war is by no means straight and simple. It has become entangled, so to say, in the emotional complex of the Indo-British relationship. Although the Russo-Finnish

war has not yet merged into the bigger European war, there is no mistaking its position in the general alignment of forces. In spite of being so at a few removes, Finland is now to all intents and purposes in the anti-German camp and to the same extent inside the Allied orbit. This fact colours India's attitude towards Finland and deprives her of a part of the sympathy and understanding which her plight might well have evoked from us. It is owing to this psychological background, which gives it a certain amount of superficial plausibility and appeal, that the pro-Stalinist argument must be given some attention. Otherwise it could be left to wither way of its own inanition.

Pretty little this argument amounts to though. No one can make out that Finland actually attacked or planned to attack Russia. At best Russia's attack on Finland is a *preventive war* against a distant and hypothetical contingency. Whether this contingency would actually have arisen is a question of fact, for which the *ex parte* contentions of neither of the two parties concerned can be taken at their face value. Our Kremlinians would, however, take nobody else's word for it except that of Kremlin. This is uncritical, but for the moment the point may be waived, for even on their own showing the case for attack on Finland is based on very dubious assumptions.

Boiled down to essentials, they amount to two: (1) that the internal government of Finland is Fascist, pro-Fascist, or undemocratic; (2) that the strategic interests of Russia demand it. It is unnecessary to say anything more on the first count than this that the character of the internal regime of a sovereign state has never been admitted as a valid excuse for an attack on it by another sovereign state with a different kind of internal government. Soviet statesmen have themselves declared that the internal government of another state did not interest them. The Soviet Government has also, when the national interests of Russia demanded it, expressly undertaken in treaties and agreements to

refrain from propaganda against the internal regime of capitalist states, to which they were committed by their revolutionary principles. At all events, if the Fascist complexion of the Finnish Government has been an incentive to the present war, one could expect the anti-Fascist drive of Russia to have begun long ago on German soil. There is on contrary—to paraphrase the picturesque Muscovite description of the relationship—a golden chain of friendship between Communistic Russia and Nazi Germany. Not only this, Signor Mussolini the Fascist had the grit to see his Spanish adventure through. Everybody knows what Kremlin's support for the Spanish Republicans amounted to. Chinese Communists have also a story to tell about Russian help. Kremlin, in fact, is nothing if it is not discreet in its anti-Fascist crusade.

Let us now see where the strategical argument leads us. Mr. Mukerji is very naive in his reference to the range of modern guns, threatening Leningrad from only twenty miles away. Finland has not become the cockpit of northern Europe nor has Russia cast her eyes on that country for the first time after the advent of the modern gun. For more than a hundred years down to the beginning of the nineteenth century Sweden and Russia fought each other for the possession of Finland. If Stalin looks upon Russian control of Finland as necessary in the strategic interests of Russia, so did Peter the Great, Catherine II, and Alexander I. In fact, after defeating Charles XII of Sweden at Poltava in 1709, Peter wrote to Apraksin: "Now, by God's help, are the foundations of Petersburg securely laid for all time." By the peace of Nystad which was signed on August 30, 1721, Russia secured for herself the fortress of Viborg and the portion of Finland east of that city. Truly there is no new thing under the sun.

Secondly, if the range of modern guns be an argument, why should not the range of modern bombers be an argument stronger still? The Russian T. B. 3 (A.

N. T. 6) heavy bomber, for instance, has a range of 1,000 km. (620 miles), that is to say, an effective outward range of about 300 miles. Would it be blasphemous to expect Russia to cede a strip of territory of that width to Finland in order to make the Finns feel safe that they were not going to be bombed across the frontier?

Thirdly, the strategical argument has a way of expanding itself like the story of the house that Jack built. Anyone who knows anything about strategy knows this also that for strategical policy to be fully effective it is necessary to create as many forward positions as possible in order to bring the enemy in as battered a condition as possible before the main line of defence. On this principle strategy in the abstract is an excellent appetizer for other people's territory. Thus it happens that unless checked by political wisdom and political justice, strategical demands go forward in an infinite spiral till the whole world comes under *ein Reich, ein Volk, ein Fuehrer*; it is even ready to flaunt the proud motto of the old Spanish empire-builders—*non sufficit orbis* (the world will not suffice).

Long and short of the matter is this. Even apart from the tragic fact that Russia's attack on Finland has cost her the respect and affection in which she was held by all the progressive elements of the world for her social, economic and political achievements and for her former championship of peace and non-aggression in international affairs, we Indians stand nowhere if we begin to admit the validity of aggression on strategical grounds or on the score of the internal condition of a people. By so doing, not only do we knock the bottom off our own case for independence, but we cannot also logically withhold our support from the following instances of international encroachment: British occupation of Egypt, Palestine and Cyprus and the British expedition to Tibet; Japanese annexation of Korea, Japanese occupation of Manchuria, and the present war in China; the Italian occupation of Albania; and American intervention in Nicaragua, to give only the examples which come off-hand into my mind. I do not think anybody will expect me to develop these parallels in this article. All who are familiar with the history of international relations will, however, see the analogy between these cases and the Russian aggression in

Finland. But I cannot suppress the temptation to dilate on one analogy. Kremlin pleads strategical necessity and foreign intrigues in Finland in support of her action. So did the Japanese statesmen when they annexed Korea. Viscount Katsura, the Prime Minister of Japan from 1901 to 1906, for example, brought the same charges against the Korean Government in course of a conversation with the British Ambassador in July 1905. The British Ambassador reported:—

"Count Katsura speaking with great earnestness through Mr. Matsui, Chief of the Political Bureau, who, on this occasion, as on the last, was interpreter, said that though the Japanese Government had no intention whatever of infringing the rights of any Power, yet there was a point upon which they must insist. One of the chief causes of the present war was the habit of the Emperor of Korea, and of high Korean officials, of intriguing with Foreign Powers, and of making arrangements and agreements in the most irresponsible manner. This could not be permitted to continue; otherwise all the blood and treasure which Japan had poured out, would have been poured out in vain, for at any moment fresh intrigues would take place, fresh troubles would arise, and the peace of the Far East would never be assured. Not only, said His Excellency, do the Korean Government intrigue with Russia, but he would inform me confidentially that, within the past few weeks, they had been intriguing with Japan:—a deputation of high officials, members of the Korean Government, having secretly approached Marquis Ito, inviting him to become Governor-General, or, as Mr. Matsui translated it, 'Dictator of Korea.' Count Katsura said that, but for the fact that Japan was united and Marquis Ito was entirely in accord with the Government, an awkward situation might have been created, whereas it was only amusing, but it showed to what lengths the Korean Government could go. It was, therefore, absolutely essential, added His Excellency, for the peace of the Far East and the future good Government of Korea, that the Emperor and the Korean Ministers should be deprived of their power of causing serious mischief." (Italics mine).

Perhaps not even the "bright boys" of Stalin (tropical variety) will claim that the diplomatic pronouncements of Kremlin are a patch on the Japanese performance. The gentlemen (or is it only comrades) of the Kremlin accuse the Finnish Government of intriguing merely with the Fascist and Capitalist Powers. Have they yet been able to accuse it of intriguing with M. Stalin, M. Molotov, or Marshal Voroshilov?

to the resolutions. The meeting also unanimously expressed the opinion that they were all ready for fight and they would not agree to any compromise which might be decided by the Congress.

## SJ. SUBHAS BOSE'S SPEECH

(Continued from page 14)

who inspected B. P. C. C. accounts was meant for Behar, but he missed his way and went to Calcutta (laughter). They in Behar had been crying for auditing the P. C. C. account for the last six years in vain. They also knew how the Violence Enquiry Committee report was shelved.

### Rightists and Leftists

The Ramgarh Congress would clearly show which way the Congress was going. A Leftist was he who would not compromise. A Rightist was he who shrank from fight and was anxious for compromise. There might be so-called Leftists who wanted to avoid fight, but who were in essence Rightists. There might be so-called Rightists, who might have faith at present in the leadership of Gandhiji, but might soon be disillusioned and plunge into fight, they were really Leftists. The real difference between Rightists and Leftists was while the former would not fight, but were anxious for compromise, the latter stood for complete independence and would on no account compromise on this issue.

Gandhiji talked of honourable compromise. But there could not be any compromise between independence and dependence. They wanted full independence how there could be any compromise with honour on this issue? The talk of honourable compromise seemed to him a hoax, though this was a rather strong word with regard to Gandhiji.

### Moslem Attitude

Sj. Bose believed that if the fight was started the Moslem would join them. Even now 400 leaders of the Ahrar party in the Punjab were in jail. The fact was that the Moslems distrusted the present Congress High Command and they had lost faith in Mahatma Gandhi also. In meetings addressed by him, said Sj. Bose, Moslems attended in large number. It was not a fact that the Moslems would not fight for independence of India.

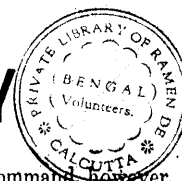
If compromise was effected as Ramgarh, Sj. Bose feared that there might be two Congresses. There were people who would not tolerate the Congress sidetracked from the path of full independence.

Finally Sj. Bose appealed to all to support the candidates whom they would set up in the next municipal election. He thought that very soon the order would come that the Congress should not set up any candidate in the municipal election. But whatever might be the order, they would not withdraw from the field, said Sj. Bose.

Finally Sj. Bose put to the meeting if they supported the stand they had taken that they would not recognise the 'Ad Hoc' committee, that if as a result of this stand they were driven out of the Ramgarh Congress they would be prepared to face all consequences. The meeting without any opposition agreed

By *Hirendra Nath Mukerjee*

## ON A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY



When certain people glibly embellish their utterances with left phraseology, it is necessary to be on guard. When those in the Congress—and especially at the top—whose position is analogous to that of Social Democrats functioning as “labour lieutenants of the capitalist class,” indulge in talks about a Constituent Assembly, it is imperative to try to find out if, under cover of brave words, they are not after cleverly staving off our struggle for freedom. Most Congress spokesmen, however, have willingly or unwillingly, let the cat out of the bag. What they mean by a Constituent Assembly for India, is a misnomer—and indeed, an innocent-looking ruse to expedite a compromise with imperialism.

Responsible Congress leaders, among them some who have held Cabinet rank in different provinces, have suggested that members of the provincial and central legislatures can form a body which will be as good as a Constituent Assembly. This is, of course, to presuppose that the Constituent Assembly will be summoned under the aegis of imperialism. That aspect of the matter, however, does not worry the Congress High Command. And when a liberal leader, remembering that the Congress has always demanded a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage, expresses his fear that the body so formed will be unwieldy, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru hastens to reassure all concerned that the assembly anyhow, will work through small sub-committees, and all will be well.

Of course, one feels, all will be well. At the outside, there will be an enjoyable, and not too strenuous, election campaign. A glorified All Parties' Conference will meet, and will become—why not—a comfortable battleground for communal forces. Photographs of celebrities,—and surely quite a number to show Pandit Nehru dispensing or receiving hospitality,—will regale the readers of newspapers. The British Government will function benevolently as the guardian angel. For, it will interfere, graciously, to prevent the Conference breaking up in disorder over, conceivably, the communal issue. And

there will emerge, in the fulness of time, a scheme that would give India “the substance of independence”, with only those few safeguards which are “demonstrably in the interests of India.”

This latest stunt is, indeed, a bright idea. But perhaps our people will ask some uncomfortable question and also like to know what happened in other countries.

A Constituent Assembly is called to frame a constitution. And when that is done, there must be no one to veto or modify its provisions. During discussion, again, there must be no interference by any foreign authority. Did not the members of the National Assembly in France, which turned itself into the Constituent Assembly in 1789, take the famous Tennis Court oath, swearing not to go back to their constituencies till the constitution was framed, whatever the king's agents might do to disperse them? Did not Mirabeau, in a famous scene, shout at the King's messenger who brought the royal order for dissolution: “Go, tell your master that we are here by the will of people, and here we remain even at the point of the bayonet”? A Constituent Assembly for India must, then, (a) represent the entire people, (b) work unhindered by the agents of imperialism, and (c) have the guarantee that not a comma nor a syllable of the constitution framed will be changed by anybody. Such a Constituent Assembly—which alone is worth its name—can come into existence *only after the seizure of power* by the popular forces. As Subhas Bose said in this paper lately, “It does not strike our leaders that before they could sit down to frame a constitution, they should win the right to do so.”

If the Congress means business, it must first come out victorious in the struggle against imperialism and then call a Constituent Assembly. It is inconceivable in the context of imperialism. The Americans did not draw up a constitution and send it up for sanction by the British Government. The Irish negotiated a treaty on equal terms with the British Government before their Free State was ushered in.

The Congress High Command, however, is so enamoured of the silken glove which imperialism dangles before its eyes that they remain blind, surely with full consciousness, to the iron fist beneath.

The experience of Russia in regard to a Constituent Assembly is full of lesson for our freedom movement. In 1905, after “Bloody Sunday”, Lenin wrote, “The demand of the rebellious St. Petersburg workers—the immediate convocation of a Constituent Assembly on the basis of *universal, direct and secret suffrage*—must become the demand of all workers”. The Constituent Assembly was to be the organ of democratic power based on universal suffrage. This remained the chief democratic slogan and for a decade and a half tinged with its colour the heroic struggle of the masses. But, as Lenin himself said, “life and the revolution pushed the Constituent Assembly to the background”. Till the eve of the last battle in the deep historic crisis of 1917, the slogan continued to be in vogue. But in that struggle—the struggle for power between the bourgeoisie dominating the various successive Provisional Governments, and the working class organised in the Soviets—the Constituent Assembly became a mere pawn in the game played by the bourgeoisie. When the Constituent Assembly with its petty-bourgeois majority, finally met in January 1918, the dualism had already been resolved, and the cry of ‘All Power to the Soviets’ had become a fact. When, true to its formal democratic pretensions, it refused to recognise the fact, the Assembly was promptly dissolved. In May 1918, there even emerged a so-called “Constituent Assembly Government,” financed by interventionists, along part of the Volga and in the Urals, which became a principal anti-Soviet nucleus. Who knows that, in our country, too, “life and the revolution” will not “push the Constituent Assembly into the background”? There is, at any rate, no dearth of people to play the role of Avksentieff, leader of the anti-Soviet “Constituent Assembly Government.”

It is essential, however, to broadcast in opposition to the line of imperialism the demand for a Constituent Assembly freely elected on the basis of universal suffrage. That demand cannot be fulfilled—unless, of course, all history is wrong—till imperialism is defeated and our people come into their own. How those who, like Gandhiji, openly disavow struggle and yet talk about the Constituent Assembly, are ably playing the imperialists' game, knowingly or unknowingly, must be clearly understood by all anti-imperialists in the country.

# Fight Between Forces of Reaction and Progress

## High Command Eager for Compromise : Drive Against Leftists



### SJ. SUBHAS BOSE'S SPEECH AT SRADHANANDA PARK

The following is a summary of the speech that Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose delivered at a mammoth meeting at the Sradhananda Park on Wednesday last.

Sj. Bose said that he believed that if the Rightists had not been bent on compromise to which they knew the other side would never be a party, there would have been a settlement of the differences between the two parties and they would not have heard the talk of homogeneous cabinet. When it was found that they would not have plain sailing, the need for having one as Congress President who would follow their lead and submit to their decision was felt. That was why it was said "His (Subhas Babu's) re-election is harmful to the cause of the country." This was, said Sj. Bose, the genesis of the fight over the Presidential election last year.

In a statement in July 1938 when he was President, Sj. Bose said, he gave a public statement that he had heard reports that there were attempts at compromise over the question of Federation which the British Government were anxious to introduce at an early date. Sj. Bose in his statement said that if there was compromise on the issue of Federation and even if the majority of the Congressmen accepted it, they would not take it as a national verdict but would carry on agitation against it, resigning from office, if necessary. The Rightists were alarmed at the declaration that he (Sj. Bose) and men of his way of thinking would not abide by majority decision. From that moment they started the movement for the consolidation of the Rightists. Another point which gave offence to the Gandhites was the constitution of the National Planning Committee. They felt an apprehension that if the work of the Committee was successful, the life work of Gandhiji would be undone. What was the reason for this apprehension was not known, though it was made clear that the main duty of the Committee would be to find out which industries were capa-

ble of best development as home industry and which as large-scale machine industry.

#### Ultimatum to Britain

There was another episode which gave offence to the Rightists. During his tour in the U. P. and the Punjab that year he told people that the Federation might not come owing to the development of the international situation. But they must be ready. The time might come when they would be in a position to give an ultimatum to the British Government to fulfil their demands. When he had taken up that attitude it was decided that he must not be re-elected as Congress President. The Jalpaiguri Conference unanimously accepted the decision to give an ultimatum to the British Government. When this resolution was put before the Tripuri session of the Congress, it was laughed at by some. What would have been the position now, asked Sj. Bose, if that resolution had been accepted by the Congress. They would not have been caught unprepared as they were when the war broke out in September. That the war was imminent was known to all. Ever since 1927 the Congress had been passing resolutions on war. But the only political organisation which had been caught unprepared by the war in the whole of the civilised world was the Congress. The responsibility for this must go to the men who ran the Congress. If timely action had been taken, the Congress would not have been brought to the pass in which it was now found.

The responsibility for quarrels in the ranks of the Congress was now laid at the doors of the Leftists. But the Rightists had started consolidating their position long before the Leftists thought of their own consolidation. Now if the Rightists had started consolidation only to lead the country to fight, there would not have

been any quarrel. But how could they sit idle when they saw the Congress being led away from the path of fight?

#### Forward Bloc

Proceeding Sj. Bose said that when he saw Gandhiji at Wardah on February 15 last year after the Presidential election, Gandhiji plainly told him that as the country was weak there could not be any 'satyagraha' at this stage. There would be bloodshed, disorder if they started it in the present condition of the country. Gandhiji told Sj. Bose plainly that there could not be any fight. During the last session of the A. I. C. C. in Calcutta it was stated plainly that they would not engage in any struggle. Pandit Jawaharlal told him not to form a separate organisation, the Forward Bloc. But he could not agree with Pandit Jawaharlal. He could not see Congress reduced to an effete organisation, a National Liberal Federation. They wanted that they should infuse new life into the Congress, that was how the Forward Bloc came into existence.

He did not know, proceeded Sj. Bose, what would happen at Ramgarh. But he believed that a compromise would be arrived at before Ramgarh and the Congress would be asked to endorse it, or it might be a mandate which would be taken from the Ramgarh Congress to come to some settlement shortly after. If Bengal and other provinces would send a large contingent of Leftists, this plan might be upset.

#### Obstacles to Leftists

Sj. Bose referred to instances in Andhra, Delhi, Karnatak, Frontier Province and Bombay where obstacles were put in way of Leftists' gaining the power.

Referring to Behar, Sj. Bose said when he visited Patna last time one gentleman humourously told him that the auditor

( See page 12 )



# THE MYSORE STRUGGLE

—Shri K. T. BHASHYAM, Bangalore

[ This article may conveniently be read as a continuation of the article on the same subject by the same author appearing in our paper on January 6 ]

The Committee on reforms in Mysore suggested that there should be a declaration of the goal of Responsible Government. The Government have turned a deaf ear to it. It is surprising and significant that the words "Responsible Government" are not to be found even so much as mentioned in the lengthy government order. Responsible government is a legitimate demand. The Mysore Congress has asked for it 'under the aegis of His Highness the Maharaja' meaning thereby that the Maharaja shall be a constitutional monarch occupying in Mysore a position similar to that of the King in England. It is an easily understandable position and the Committee have well appreciated it. But the government are averse to it. They forget that Responsible Government is the avowed goal of the reforms in British India, and that the Government of India Act of 1919 says so in express terms. If the British Parliament is prepared to concede responsible government to India and holds it consistent with the sovereignty of the King, I cannot understand why the government of Mysore should hold back and give room to the natural apprehension that they are inclined to perpetuate autocracy in some form or other. The suggestion that the Paramount Power is an obstacle to such declaration cannot be accepted since it has been repeatedly declared in the Parliament and by successive Viceroy's that the Paramount power, while disinclined to force the pace, will have no objection to the grant of such reforms as a ruler may like so long as the treaty obligations are respected. The Congress demands the immediate establishment of full responsible government. This means that the franchise should be based on adult suffrage, the legislature composed almost wholly, if not entirely, of members elected by the people and representing general interests and a Cabinet appointed by His Highness from among the elected members who command the confidence of the majority in the House.

The Committee considered that adult franchise is too unwieldy. It is difficult to agree. The population in Mysore is about 70 lakhs. Of these about 40 lakhs are adults. It should not be difficult to arrange for balloting by about 3 million odd voters. Adult franchise already exists in respect of village panchayats and minor municipalities which together number several thousands. The plea that the voting would become unmanageable is not sound. It is said that most of them are illiterate. That again is not good ground. Even the illiterate man is a citizen who pays tax; and as for intelligent voting, he understands who is who and what his interests are. Illiteracy is no bar to the intelligent exercise of the vote. It is again said, many have no property and stake in the country. That is again an erroneous plea. Even the landless man pays tax indirectly to the State, and many graduates who

are classed as voters have also no property and could not be voters if that ground prevailed. A man does not acquire a stake in the country by education. The objections to adult franchise are unsound. At present about 2 lakhs of people are enfranchised. Under the reforms about 4 lakhs will have the power to vote. Out of 70 lakhs only 4 lakhs will vote. That is very unsatisfactory. The larger the number of voters, the less chances of corruption, caucus or personal influences and the greater the chances of real representation of the people. The Committee's recommendation to enfranchise all those who pay Rs. 10 and more per annum has not been accepted and only those paying Rs. 15 and more per annum are enfranchised. That makes it worse indeed.

The introduction of separate electorates for Muslims is a disaster to the welfare of the country. Hitherto Hindus and Muslims relied on the goodwill of each other for elections to the Legislature. Naturally, therefore, candidates were anxious to serve the interests of all communities and cultivate friendship with all of them. Hereafter such inter-dependence would be wanting and Muslim candidates need not cultivate the friendship of Hindu voters nor gain their goodwill. So, too, Hindu candidates need not serve Muslim interests or seek the goodwill of their community; attain success at the polls the candidate so to shall have to be above suspicion. And this naturally leads to playing to the gallery till eventually the fanatics on both sides wield the destiny of the country—the genuine nationalists being left powerless. That would be a calamity which is certain to overtake us if separate electorates are worked. The Muslims themselves have much to suffer by such electorates. Their representatives can never rise to the height of national representatives and cannot speak in the name of Mysore. The life of a minority community is happy only in so far as it gains the goodwill of the majority and separate electorates tend to create conflicts and communal bitterness.

The observations regarding separate electorates apply to Indian Christians, Europeans and Anglo-Indians all alike. The evil in their case will not be less because of the insignificance of their numbers. The composition of the legislatures is about the worst feature of the reforms. Everything depends upon the legislature being able to speak clearly the mind of the people. It requires that the Legislature must be a body very largely, if not entirely of popularly elected representatives. I would emphasise the word 'popularly'. It is no good asking the planters to elect a man and call him the people's representative. Neither in theory nor in practice is he the people's representative. He is the representative of the planters and planters only. So too the members representing Trade or Co-operation and Bank-

ing or Gold Mining or Labour. They represent the interests and not the people.

In the Representative Assembly at present there are 274 members of whom 210 are elected from general constituencies. Under the new reforms the House will consist of 325 members of whom 211 will be from general constituencies and the remaining 114 will be from minorities special interests and by nominations. It is impossible for any Nationalist party to function as a majority. The nomination takes away 25 seats.

The special interests occupy as follows:—

|                                 |    |
|---------------------------------|----|
| University ... ..               | 1  |
| Planting ... ..                 | 2  |
| Trade ... ..                    | 1  |
| Industries ... ..               | 2  |
| Women ... ..                    | 11 |
| Labour ... ..                   | 3  |
| Co-operation and Banking ... .. | 1  |
| Gold Mining ... ..              | 1  |
| Total ... ..                    | 22 |

Out of these a Nationalist party cannot get more than half a dozen seats, if at all they get any. The minorities have 67 seats as follows:—

|                          |    |
|--------------------------|----|
| Mohamodans ... ..        | 30 |
| Harijans ... ..          | 30 |
| Indian Christians ... .. | 5  |
| Europeans ... ..         | 1  |
| Anglo-Indians ... ..     | 1  |
| Total ... ..             | 67 |

Out of these owing to the introduction of separate electorates it is difficult to get more than about 10 or 15 seats for a Nationalist party, if it gets any. Thus barring general constituencies a Nationalist party cannot get more than about 20 seats out of 114. Out of the 211 general seats let us hope it secures as many as 180 which is about the utmost possible by any party. The total number of seats available to a Nationalist party is thus 200 out of 325. That is bad enough but not discouraging.

But the Committee have recommended and the govt. have agreed that Patels and Shanbhogs can get themselves elected as members. They are govt. servants doing govt. duty in the villages, drawing remuneration from govt. and having intimate contact with the people in their daily lives. Naturally their influence is enormous and most of them get elected. They may or may not stand on party ticket. In either case they are a handicap. If they stand on party ticket in the Assembly they cannot and dare not vote against govt. or participate in any manner with the party. They will be easily sixty or more strong—even in last Assembly they were more than 40—and this time more of them will be encouraged to stand. Thus out of 200, deducting the number of Patels and Shanbhogs, the party strength will only be 140 or less, a minority.



Let us suppose they do not stand on party ticket. Opposition to them in their own places is a terrible handicap. Through the thin end of the wedge will the govt. influence and pressure be brought to bear on the elections which will therefore not be fair and free but again with the dice all loaded in favour of these govt. officers. If the Party candidate wins, the village is ruined with a Patel or Shanbhog. If the Patel or Shanbhog wins, the people's voice through the people's Party fails and the party strength in the Assembly can never rise beyond ineffective minority. The Assembly is so much a honey-comb and elections in general constituencies so much a handicap against the people that a Nationalist political party has no chance of capturing a majority of seats.

I may refer to what happened in 1938. The Patels and Shanbhogs as members of the Assembly—which they are not present—felt free to join the Congress party and did join. They came to grief. Recent orders have also been issued to the effect that they should not join the activities of any political party. They will join forces with the govt. or such pro-govt parties as may come to exist, which again is a danger to the people. It is absurd on principle and totally unjustifiable that govt. officers should be allowed to compete with non-officials for the capture of legislative seats. It can never be too strongly condemned.

The composition of the Assembly is much better as it is to-day. Out of 274 the general constituencies seats are 210. If we capture 180 general seats and about 20 seats from others which we can owing to joint electorates, we shall have 200 seats out of which even if 40 or 50 seats are occupied by Patels and Shanbhogs, we are left with 150—a clear majority.

That is exactly the case with the composition of the Legislative Council also. At present the Council consists of 50 members of whom 21 are directly elected from special constituencies and 29 are either elected from special constituencies or come under minorities. Under the new scheme the strength will be 68 out of which only 24 will be general seats. The percentage of general seats has thus gone down. 24 seats are for nominations, 16 officials and 8 non-officials, and 24 are for minorities and special interests.

Out of these a Nationalist party cannot hope to secure more than 3 or 4. Even if all the general seats are captured the nationalist party cannot hope to be more than about 28 strong—a decided minority. It is obvious that the reforms place us in a worse position than at present.

Special interest and minorities need protection but not so as to strangle the people's voice. But what is attempted in the reforms is to still the people's voice amidst the shouts of minorities and special interests. The reforms are retrograde and the people will be no better under it than at present.

It is said that the govt. are not bound to nominate all the 24. No doubt they are not. It is a deceitful hope on which to enter the Council, and the Chairman of the Committee who emphasises this aspect, would do better to satisfy himself first before asking the people to believe

in the fair-mindedness of an administration which has repeatedly acted to the contrary.

The composition of the legislatures is calculated to crib, cabin and confine the Congress in a network of minorities, special interests and nominations so as to be rounded up and humiliated on all sides. The President of the Assembly will be the Dewan with his powers of disallowance and his decisions are unquestionable. We may be certain that just as hitherto so also in future, nothing inconvenient to the administration, will be allowed to be discussed or even referred to in the Assembly. We have been helpless all these years and we will continue to be so. We may get worse. The infuriated Dewan can easily get his henchman to abuse the Nationalist party roundly to its face in the Assembly itself and refuse to allow the latter to reply effectively. It would no doubt be unscrupulous—but "all is fair in love and war" is a motto which some observe though we may not. It has happened several times already and may happen frequently in future.


The plea of joint responsibility is commended as a contrast to Dyarchy. Dyarchy is bad enough but it has the merit of a part of the Executive being responsible to the legislatures. Here in the

name of joint responsibility the entire Cabinet is placed beyond the control of the legislatures.

It is said that if a cut motion is carried it will amount to a vote of no-confidence and His Highness can act on it. In the first place, there is no chance for a cut motion being passed. In the second, how can His Highness act on it? If it is joint responsibility a cut motion affects all the cabinet and all of them have to be removed! How about the officials? They can not be dismissed from service and what is to be done with them? Can one minister be dismissed where the responsibility is joint? What is to happen where a cut motion relating to one minister is passed? The combination of official and non-official ministers necessarily calls for dyarchy and joint responsibility is only one evil in place of another, the effect of which will be to keep the Executive safe above legislative control. It will be worse, people's voice will not prevail and what the present bureaucracy does openly with odium to itself will hereafter be got done by the chosen ministers and the odium will attach to the people themselves, whose representatives they will be proclaimed to be. From the present system to the new, it is a jump from the frying pan into the fire.

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And the Dewan is all supreme. He may be an official, he may be a non-official. No one has any control on him. His Highness is the only authority. We may get furious with him, disgusted with him, even revolt against him; but if only he has the ears of His Highness he reigns supreme. Such a state of affairs is rank autocracy and an insult to the demand of the people. Under the new reforms with his powers of certification, the Dewan becomes a great. Mughul whose word is law and whose dissatisfaction is to be dreaded. We wanted a change for the better and king log has yielded place to king stork.

The reforms in respect of the Executive and the Legislatures are thus hollow and even mischievous. The Committee suggested that the judiciary must be rendered independent. They recommended that the pay and tenure of office of judges should be fixed by statute, that no extensions should be given nor government appointment given to them before or after appointment as judges. The government would have none of it, brushing it aside with the glib remark that there is independence already.

The Committee are at pains to convince us that in Mysore there is no need for importing the British system of responsible government. They say tradition plays a large part and we should not break from it. One might have agreed if the tradition were intact. If, for instance, the traditional method of people expressing a desire for a change of ruler was permissible. That has been removed and even a whisper not only against the King but even against his adviser is sedition and even if all people braved to do so, the British bayonet is there to protect the Prince. Where is tradition behind all this? It suits these people to talk of tradition to stifle our demand for people's rights. But where people's rights are suppressed and taken away by an alien protection of the administration, tradition is forgotten. The fact is whether we will or not, the systems obtaining in other countries are on us and we have to adapt ourselves. If the traditional system does not adjust itself to the need of the times, the people will pass through untold suffering and in all such cases it is the people ultimately who have their own way. Are we not already hearing incessant demands for the abolition of States and the Princely order? It is wisdom for the Princes not to encourage it by obstinate resistance but to befriend and overcome it by suitable adjustment. Those who advise old traditional methods are doing no service to the Rulers whereas those who plead for adjustment and grant of responsible government are the real friends of the Rulers.

The Mysore Congress with its immense backing of the people demands the establishment of Responsible Government in the States.

The Government have proposed a most inadequate and retrograde scheme of reforms; and in spite of the open declaration of the Congress rejecting it the Government expect the people to welcome it. They still believe that the Congress is a mere political party and not a powerful national institution. They should have known better.

When in 1937 the Government began to imprison Congress leaders, the entire country

became so indignant at the repression that the Government had to release the leaders unconditionally. That should have imprisoned them with the popularity of the Congress.

When again in 1938 the Government began to round up Congressmen on the Flag question, hundreds poured into the jail and even children in street corners were uncontrollable, waving the Congress flag. The blunder of overzealous officers opening fire on an innocent crowd at the pilgrim centre of Vidurawatham roused the people in fury against the Government; and the entire population stood as one man behind the Congress with whom the Government had to come to an understanding, the main terms of which were embodied in a Government Order issued on 17-5-1938. Their terms had been proposed by the Congress at their Shivpur Session and even prior to it; but the Government rode the high horse and would not care to deal with a mere association of disgruntled individual as they thought. The sequel was disastrous to their illusion and they had to eat humble pie by accepting all those terms and releasing all the prisoners. But it was a bitter pill they swallowed and they never liked it. Nevertheless they should have known the strength of the Congress then at least.

Meantime eleven members of the Legislative Council resigned their seats in protest against the repressive attitude of the Government; and at the bye-elections all the eleven seats were given by the country to the Congress candidates without a single exception, many of them being not even contested. The Government must have understood the strength and influence of the

Congress from this circumstance alone. But they would not, They learnt it a Vidurawatham.

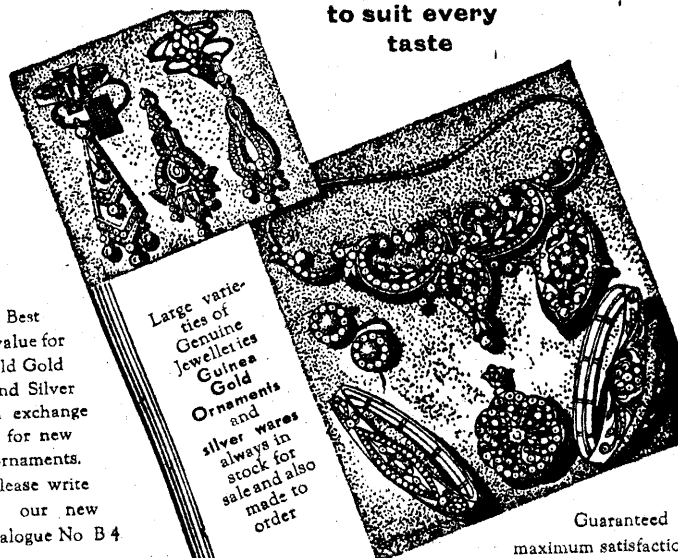
The agreement then reached with the Congress was rankling and the earliest opportunity was taken to tear it to pieces. Refusal to withdraw deportation orders, reimposition of prohibitory orders, reckless and irrelevant accusations against Congress before the Ramesam Committee, a campaign of vile abuse of the Congress through newspapers set up and subsidised under Government auspices, and every conceivable form of humiliating the Congress was adopted until out of sheer self-respect, the Congress refused to co-operate any longer with Government and withdrew its members from the Reforms Committee and the Legislatures. That was an indication of the coming struggle; but the Government thought they could stifle the Congress both from within and also from outside. When one or two among those who were in the Reforms Committee, and who were all along suspect, inclined towards continuing to co-operate, the Government felt that the Congress was done for. When therefore, the Congress decided to give a last trial for negotiation before launching on a struggle the Government refused the change and challenged a fight, fondly hoping to crush the Congress.

The whole country is in a state of revolt; and in the history of Mysore there is no parallel to it. The Congress demand for Responsible Government is echoing through the length and breadth of the land and a valiant people are bearing all sufferings and sacrifices in its cause. And yet you find the Government openly seeking comfort in the false and flattering words of praise uttered by a few reactionary individuals.

The struggle yet with the country, though for the moment, at the instance of Mahatma Gandhi, there is a lull in active civil disobedience. But they cannot continue indefinitely; and at the word of the Congress thousands are ready once again to offer non-violent resistance to authority, not a desirable or pleasant prospect for a Government to face.

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## FORWARD BLOC NEWS

### THE INDEPENDENCE DAY Celebrations Organised By The Mymensingh Forward Bloc

The Independence Day Celebration at Mymensingh organised by the local Forward Bloc was a great success. In the morning Maulana Mujibar Rahman Fulpuri, the Kisan leader and a member of the District Forward Bloc executive raised the national flag with short but beautiful speech. At 3 P. M. a huge procession paraded the principal streets of the town and at 5 P. M. it gathered at the Town Hall maidan. A large number of kisans and labourers, organised by Dr. Kumud Ch. Sirkar, even from a distance of thirty-five miles from the town came all the way on foot to join the procession. On account of the unavoidable absence of the chosen president S. J. Satya Bhusan Gupta, the chair was taken by S. J. Pramatha Nath Bose who read the wire sent by the previously elected president. S. J. Gupta sent his written address which was read by S. J. Naresh Shome. Some suitable speeches were made on the occasion. The meeting terminated with the singing of a national song.

### S. J. S. SHUKLA ARRESTED U. P. Forward Bloc Leader

S. J. Shankar Shukla, M. L. A., and President of the U. P. Forward Bloc was arrested on 27th January on a warrant under Section 103 of the Cr. P. C. issued by the Sub-divisional Magistrate. He was ordered to furnish two securities of Rs. 1,000 each and a personal bond for the like amount to be of good behaviour for one year.

### ELECTION AT CHHINDWARA Forward Bloc Candidate Defeats Gandhian Rival

The Chhindwara Forward Bloc had nominated com Abdul Mazid Khan Azad as a delegate for election at Ramgarh against Mr. Arjun Singh Sisodia, the official Congress candidate. The Forward Bloc candidate has won by polling 136

votes as against his rival who got only 94 votes. Mr. H. C. Soni, pleader, Amarwara, who vigorously canvassed on behalf of the Gandhian candidate, was placed in charge of the ballot boxes. It is being openly talked about here that some foul manoeuvrings were practised in regard to them.

### VIZIGAPATAM FORWARD BLOC Organising Committee Formed

Members of the Vizagapatam District Congress Forward Bloc met a few days ago under the presidency of Mr. M. Annapurnaiah and discussed many matters regarding the present political situation. Then the members of the Bloc passed some important resolutions. A strong organising committee was formed with five members as follows:—S. J. M. Ramaraju Garu, G. Suryauarayana, P. Sabbarao Garu, D. Sambamurti and P. Jaggarao.

### KURNOOL DISTRICT CONGRESS FORWARD BLOC

#### Organising Committee Formed

At a general meeting of the above-mentioned Forward Bloc an organising Committee was formed with the following members:—(1) Mr. Y. Swamireddy.

- Nandikoykur  
(2) " D. V. Subbaiah,  
Velugodu  
(3) " G. Satyan, office  
Secretary, Dt Ryots  
Association, Cumbum.  
(4) Mrs. G. Leelavati, Bogole

It was notified that people willing to get themselves enlisted as members of the Forward Bloc may do so with one of the members of the organising committee. Further, it was notified for general information that membership books could be had on application from C. Balireddy, organising Secretary, Dt. Forward Bloc.

*Just out !*                      *Just out !!*

*Mind in*

**= মুখর বন্দী =**

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# Book Reviews

**Democracy for India** By H. N. Brailsford. Published by the Fabian Society, London.

Since the outbreak of the war the British Premier has been parading his love of democracy and determination to fight out Nazim. But his dealings with the Indian people show the complete lack of sympathy and reveal the deep-laid plan to get the Indian people duped into the false myth of democracy. This booklet of Mr. Brailsford is wel-timed and can rightly be called commentary upon the present British policy. Mr. Brailsford's relation with India old and intimate; his earlier Work—*Rebel India* did much to explain the true state of things in 1932 and the basic causes that had sent the entire nation in revolt. Mr. Brailsford, though no believer in Britain's avowed profession of democratic principles has counselled moderation and caution in tackling the Indian situation or the entire nation may be found pitted against Britain at this critical juncture:—

*Rightly or wrongly, the majority of Indians have no confidence in our professions that our purpose is to create a new world-order based on democracy. We have failed in our dealings with their country to convince them of our sincerity. They have not resorted as yet to any of the forms of mass action that they have used on former occasions, and have begged their followers to avoid them. But Sir Samuel Hoare's threat, in his speech in the Commons, that he holds in reserve the weapon of repression, has reminded us that the future may confront us with an even uglier spectacle.*

Declaration of the war was marked by intense activities in India. Leaders rushed to the imperial city and parlayed with the King's representative. Mahatma Gandhi stood for unconditional support to Britain for the prospect of the West minster's destruction unnerved him. The Congress defined its attitude towards the war and disapproved the ideology of Fascism and glorification of war and demanded declaration of Britain's war aims and establishment of democracy through the *Constituent Assembly*. But the Viceroy's declaration the shocked Congress and the Liberals far he wanted to form a consultative body with various groups, communities and the Princes.

Mr. Brailsford wants Britain to startle the world by the sincerity of purpose and form a democratic cabinet at the centre. Would India reconcile herself to it? To Mr. Brailsford India's isolation from the dominion is revolting and he would have Britain date the vague promise of the *Dominion Status*. Can this end the quandary?

**Dialectical and Historical Materialism**  
By Joseph Stalin, New Thought Series, (National Book Agency 72 Harrison Road) Price -/8/-.

Here we have in 44 pages a booklet which will naturally command respectful study by thousands and, in this country too, sale by as many number. Nothing repels a non-Maxist so much as the Marxist doctrine of dialectical materialism; nothing is so baffling again in that body of science as its philosophy. Its interpreters are many and learned,—some of them foremost among modern scientists. But to present it simply to the beginner is a highly difficult task. Stalin does it eminently and successfully. For the leader of the Soviet is nothing if he does not know how to speak to the people. Nobody will complain that he is unintelligible. And with such a practical master to guide him a student can march farther in the field if he is more inquisitive.

## BENGALI

**Dharma O Bignan (Religion And Science)**—By Anil Chandra Roy; Price 8 as.

Ours is the age of rank atheism sapping up the fountain of spiritual life. And a leading philosopher has termed it 'conflict between religion and no-religion', but he has failed to take note of the forces that have precipitated such a crisis. His reading is partially true, and the conflict between religion and no-religion springs from causes that are deep-seated in the society. In their effort to end this lamentable state of things, philosophers have tried to evolve a synthetic philosophy based upon the bed-rock of scientific truths. Instead of discovering elements of atheism or scepticism they have established closer harmony between religion and science and have spiritualised the latter. In the early part of the present century some philosophers, though varying in method and approach, addressed themselves to the task of reclaiming the straying Humanity. And in the list of the

saviour philosophers. Eucken, James, Bergson, Haldane and Radha Krishnan figure very prominent. Of the contemporary Indian philosophers only Radha Krishnan, it must be said in all fairness, has tried to study life in its entirety with a remarkable degree of success and his can be said to be the true idealist view of life, though his premises are open to criticism and controversy.

The same difficult task has been essayed by the author and the booklet under review is an attempt to acquaint the Bengali readers with the main currents of philosophies that stand opposed to materialism. The author is an idealist insofar he believes in the primacy of mind over matter. For the guidance of inner life, according to the author, intuition is essential and intellect, with the help of sense perception, offers the explanation of the external world and cannot see into the heart of things. This is only re-echoing Bergson and Radha Krishnan. Intuitionism or subjectivism knows no limits and gladly indulges in the flight of phantasy. The subjective method has been questioned by numerous brain physiologists and the author would do well to turn to Bechterov, Kornilov and others. Briefly speaking, the author has summed up the philosophy as outlined by Whitehead, Jeans and Eddington.

## SHORT NOTICES

**National Front.** (Finland special number.) 64E, Girgaon, Bombay.

We heartily welcome the enterprising publishers of this Marxist weekly of India which has happily presented within, on cover some of the salient and essential facts and features of the struggle that rages in Finland. For obvious reasons, our Press and public have to live on news supplied from the opposite sources. Let us have the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. The National Front is a distinct contribution towards that.


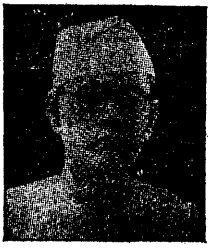
## The Indian Messenger.

The Maghotsava number of the weekly of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj will be read with interest by all who desire to know something more than the news and views that make our daily food. Here many who seek food for thought may be attracted.

**Samajer Vikas** (Bengali) by Kamakhya Bhoumik. National Book Agency.

We have pleasure in recommending this booklet to the Bengali readers who are thus not privileged to read in their vernacular Com. Revati Burman's original 'Development of Society' by the same publishers.

**DESHA-GAURAB**  
**Subhas Chandra Bose**  
 at  
**ADHYAKSHA MATHUR BABU'S**  
**SAKTI OUSHADHALAYA**  
**DACCA.**

—\*—

"I visited the Sakri Oushadhalaya Dacca, to-day and was very kindly shown round the premises. Indegenous medicines are prepared here on a large scale and in accordance with Ayurvedic principles. The institution reflects great credit on Babu Mathura Mohan Chakravarty, whose enterprise has brought Ayurvedic medicines within the reach of the poor. I wish all success to the institution which he has built up after so much enterprise and hard labour for a long period. The success of Sakri Oushadhalaya, Dacca, means the popularity of Ayurveda throughout the country and this in its turn means the relief of suffering humanity."

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