

The Bengal Tangle

FORWARD BLOC

A POLITICAL WEEKLY

Editor : SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

VOL I. No. 28

CALCUTTA, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1940

ONE ANNA

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FORWARD BLOC

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 17

The Bengal Tangle

Friends who are not in intimate contact with Congress affairs are often bewildered at the recent developments inside the Congress. This is particularly the case with comrades in remote parts of the country. Common-sense logic argues as follows:—"The Congress stands for Independence. The members of the Congress Working Committee and of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee are all public servants who have set out to achieve independence for their country. Why then this family quarrel?"

Others speaking in quite a naive manner, appeal in the following terms:—"Please make up your differences with the Congress High Command and present a united front to the enemy." As if it is we who have picked up a quarrel with the Working Committee.

Public memory is proverbially short. Hence a brief recapitulation of past events is called for.

In April, 1939, when the All India Congress Committee met in Calcutta under my Presidentship and the question of the constitution of the new Working Committee came up, we were confronted with the Gandhian theory of a homogeneous Cabinet. We were told in effect that in future, the Rightists could not work in co-operation with the Leftists. In fact, this non-co-operation had begun in February, 1939, after my re-election as President, when the members of the Working Committee sent in their resignation.

Not only were we confronted with non-co-operation, but we were told by no less an authority than Mahatma Gandhi himself that a national struggle in the immediate future was out of the question.

In such a crisis, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru argued that in spite of all internal differences, I should neither resign nor start a new organisation within the Congress, in view of the international crisis that was looming

in the horizon. I argued that since an international crisis was unavoidable in the near future and there was no hope that the Congress High Command would rise to the occasion when it came, we should lose no time in setting up an organisation of our own. This organisation would enable us to face the international crisis boldly, even if the Working Committee then failed us.

So the Forward Bloc and the Left Consolidation Committee came into existence!

Let us next refer to the demonstrations of 9th July, 1939. Under the auspices of the Left Consolidation Committee, public meetings were held all over India in order to protest against two obnoxious resolutions of the All India Congress Committee passed at its Bombay meeting in June, 1939. One of these resolutions virtually robbed individual Congressmen of the right to offer civil disobedience. The other resolution sought to make Provincial Ministries more powerful than the Provincial Congress Committees concerned. Following my lead, the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee participated in the 9th July demonstrations.

This was the signal for the onslaught on the B.P.C.C. I was removed from the Presidentship of the B.P.C.C. by a fiat of the Working Committee. The B.P.C.C. did not take this lying down and a long controversy ensued. During this controversy it became clear that a solid majority in the B.P.C.C. would adhere to me despite the frowns of the High Command. And this majority was a Leftist majority!

The above developments since June, 1939, demonstrated that even if the A.I.C.C. passed by a majority a resolution which was objectionable on grounds of principle, the minority would not hesitate to revolt against it. In other words, there would not be smooth sailing for the Rightists as in the case of office-acceptance in the provinces, when the oppositionist minority silenced itself as soon as the All India Congress Committee decided on office-acceptance by a majority.

The Rightists leaders, looking far ahead, decided that the minority should from now be forced into loyalty and discipline—so that

when ultimately a compromise with British Imperialism was arrived at by a majority—no discordant voices would be raised by dissenting Leftists. As a matter of fact, the same consideration was responsible for strenuously opposing my re-election as President.

There was another source of anxiety for the Rightists. They wanted to have an easy time at the next Congress at Ramgarh in Bihar and were eager to avoid the uncertain atmosphere which had prevailed at the Tripuri Congress in March, 1939. It was clear to them that Bengal would send a strong contingent of Leftist delegates to the Ramgarh Congress—perhaps 450 in number. This had to be frustrated at any cost.

People who are not acquainted with Congress affairs in other provinces are under the impression that it is only the Provincial Congress Committee of Bengal that is fighting the Congress High Command. The contrary is, however, the case. The Forward Bloc being an All India organisation, we are in touch with what is happening in every corner of the country. We are, therefore, in a position to state authoritatively that the Leftists in general, and the Forward Bloc in particular, have been the target of attack on the part of the Working Committee in every province. The attack has been harder where the position of the Leftists and of the Forward Bloc is comparatively stronger. And because our position is the strongest in Bengal, the Bengal P.C.C. has incurred the maximum wrath of the High Command.

Successive steps have been taken by the Working Committee to curb and humiliate the B.P.C.C., but to no avail. On a flimsy ground, a partisan Election Tribunal was foisted on the Bengal P.C.C. The rules for the Tribunal framed by the B.P.C.C. came in for special attention and interference at the hands of the Working Committee, unlike what happened in the case of other provinces. It was then discovered by the High Command that these devices would not help to reduce our majority in the new P.C.C. Then the Working Committee adopted the drastic and desperate step of virtually superse-

ding the B.P.C.C. by handing over to a partisan *ad hoc* Committee the entire responsibility of running the election of delegates for the Ramgarh session of the Congress to be held in March, 1940. Once Leftist Bengal was out of the way, the Rightists would have an easy time at the Presidential election and at the Ramgarh Congress.

As an interesting interlude, an Auditor was sent by the Working Committee to examine the accounts of the B.P.C.C. But his Herculean efforts ended in smoke. The Working Committee had been misinformed by its agents in Bengal who had reported that the All-India Forward Bloc was being financed by the funds of the B.P.C.C. and of the Bengal Parliamentary Party.

We have no doubt in our mind that the drive and the vendetta against the Leftists and the Forward Bloc will continue so long as the Rightists entertain hopes of a compromise with British Imperialism or of getting back to power in the provinces. At present we are witnessing an exhibition of Power Politics and no one need be surprised at what is happening.

Whatever steps we take in self-defence or as a reply to the onslaught from the Right, must be on an All-India Front. The Forward Bloc offers an All-India front, if no other organisation will. Let everybody rest assured that Leftist Bengal is not going to be isolated from Leftist India.

The conflict in Bengal is thus a conflict on an All-India plane—a conflict between the forces of Reaction and of Progress—a conflict between the Right and the Left—a conflict between the policy of compromise and of no-compromise. The ultimate solution of such a conflict cannot take place in the local or the provincial sphere. The solution will come only when Reaction is overthrown—and when the policy of compromise is discarded in favour of an uncompromising struggle with imperialism. Till then, let us go on fighting bravely and boldly on a double-front, with the firm conviction that we are going to win and to win soon.

Sudhanu Chandra Bose

BENGAL BUDGET

Even a cursory perusal of the statement made by the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrwardy, Finance Minister, in presenting the Budget for 1940-41 is liable to fill anyone with legitimate apprehensions about the future prospects of this province. The cause of misgiving is not so much in the actual economic and financial condition of Bengal, nor in the special circumstances created by the War, but in the calibre and quality of the august persons who are in charge of the administration of this province. One feels some natural reluctance in critically examining the statement of the new Finance Minister; for, his innocence of even simple financial principles is probably equalled only by his lack of appreciation of the real needs of the masses of this province. In fact, Mr. Suhrwardy is less than modest when he says that he has not had enough time to appraise the situation sufficiently to suggest concrete remedies. Mr. Suhrwardy has been a very important and active member of the present Govt. ever since its inception. He would only be condemning himself if he even naively suggested that after nearly three years in office, he has no full appreciation of the situation in this province. In truth, the one problem which faces Bengal, viz, that of bringing prosperity to its teeming millions, is well-known. The fact of the matter is that the present Govt. is willing neither to acknowledge the implications of this problem nor to institute measures for adequately tackling it.

What Bengal may expect from the present Govt., let the public judge from the financial precepts enunciated by the Finance Minister, precepts in which an Anglo-Indian contemporary has detected much wisdom. "In my opinion", says the Finance Minister, "it would be fatal to the finances of the province if, deceived by an artificial prosperity, we permitted ourselves to undertake new commitments that we cannot hope to be able to maintain." And he approvingly quotes the warning

contained in the report of the Reserve Bank against the dangers of a 'slump which all previous experience suggests must inevitably follow'. Nobody would deny the possibility of a depression after the War. But it is even more true that if and when a slump follows after the War, a Govt. will find its revenue contracting and will be even more reluctant to undertake new expenditure. We are thus reduced to this position. No developmental project can be undertaken now even though times are prosperous because we may in all probability be visited by a depression after the War. And if this fear really materialises after the War the Govt. will then plead their inability to extend or launch reconstruction measures owing to the paucity of funds. Bengal thus knows where she stands under the peculiar financial principles enunciated by the present Govt. But the desire to dupe the gullible public is a characteristic trait of the Bengal Govt. and Mr. Suhrwardy is no exception to this general rule, although logic and consistency may have to be sacrificed. Let the Finance Minister again speak for himself. "We must aim at being in a position to lighten the severity of the inevitable slump by undertaking large scale schemes of civil works, irrigation and drainage." It is not clear whether it is Mr. Suhrwardy's intention to initiate the schemes now or only after the War. And, further, how can he undertake large scale schemes of expenditure in view of his self-imposed warning that it would be fatal to undertake new commitments now? In fact, it would be hard to beat Mr. Suhrwardy's Budget statement in point of either muddle-headed reasonings or ignorance of financial principles. If the Finance Minister and the Govt. of which he is member wish to help the people of this province, it should be realised that the present is the proper time to give a stimulus to industrial and commercial ventures of all kinds under, as far as possible, private auspices, and that, if a slump should follow the cessation of hostilities, public works to be financed, if necessary by floating a loan, should be undertaken to combat its ravages.

Unfortunately, Mr. Suhrwardy's Budget statement does not reveal even the slightest comprehension of these financial principles.

The details of the Budget are as disappointing as are the general principles which the Finance Minister has elaborated in his statement. How very unsatisfactory the Budget is will become evident from the following figures. Out of a total estimated expenditure of about 14,54 lakhs, only about 3,35 lakhs (vide heads of expenditure 37 to 43) are made available to what may be described as nation-building departments. While General Administration, Police, and the Administration of Justice account for 1,80 lakhs, 2,31 lakhs, and 100 lakhs respectively, or between them about 5,11 lakhs. Expressed in percentage of the total estimated expenditure, Police alone is responsible for about 15%, General Administration 12%, Administration of Justice over 6%, while all the nation-building departments put together only 23%. These figures are a far more eloquent commentary than words could ever be on the claims of the present Government to be a People's Government. That Police should absorb over 15% of the total expenditure is a revealing comment on the popular support vouchsafed to the Government. That the cost of administration is much too heavy is also a widely-recognised fact. And the Govt. would be well-advised to bestow much more of its thought and energy on how to reduce this expenditure than on devising measures for the purpose of encroaching on the civil rights and liberties of the people of this province. Instead of waging war against the starving masses and those who champion their cause, why do not the Govt. carry on an incessant struggle with New Delhi

and Whitehall to reduce the expenditures under the 'charged' heads.

We have neither had the time nor have we the space to essay an elaborate and detailed criticism of the Budget. Enough has been said to show that the Bengal Ministry do not intend to attack the most crucial problem that confronts us. The Govt. evince no desire to ameliorate the condition of the masses. While Mr. Suhrwardy cannot find money to finance developmental or nation-building projects, he has provided funds for expenditures incurred as a direct result of the war. What we need Air Raid precautions for is more than the masses of the province will comprehend when they hardly get even one square meal a day. And to speak of "the glorious destiny of our motherland" ill befits a person with such an abjectly poor appreciation of her real needs as the Finance Minister of Bengal.

CURRENT COMMENTS

War Ordinance in Bengal

Has the scene of the war shifted from Europe to Bengal? Otherwise what has driven the Ministry of the province into a frenzy of panic? Why this concerted drive against the Labour, Kisan and student leaders and workers? The War Ordinance has been put to a virulent operation, although the atmosphere all around seems to be quite peaceful yet. The relevant fact should not, however, be forgotten that those who have been caught in the expansive net of the Ordinance are all avowed Congressmen and the Congress is still pursuing a sitting

-on-the-fence policy, so far as the war is concerned. At any rate, no section of it has yet thrown itself into active opposition to the war policies of the Government. Why then, we repeat, this panicky operations on their part? The Government must have been labouring under a fond illusion if they think that by setting the War Ordinance in motion they shall be able to cow down Bengal. Already two well-known Labour leaders have defied the externment orders and cheerfully walked into the prison. Others too, will certainly come forward to fall in line with them. Is it, we ask Lord Linlithgow, the signal of a country-wide repression, that will begin in full orgy very soon? We call upon Mahatma Gandhi and the High Command to take note of the situation in Bengal before deciding on the next step of the Congress. We need not address any appeal to the Government of Bengal for restoring civil liberties in the province for we can hardly believe that they have launched on this insane course at this critical time without the sanction of the higher authorities.

Let them Beware

Mahatma Gandhi's latest negotiations with the Viceroy have fallen through. The subsequent pronouncements on both sides have revealed fundamental differences. The matter has not even rested there but has been followed by an exchange of biting taunts. Lord Zetland has characterised the Congress demand as "long-range bombardment from platform and press" and has twitted the Congress leaders as suffering from "tyranny of phrases". Mahatma Gandhi, in his turn, has replied him suitably

by saying that he is "wandering in a forest of unrealities". To common people it appears that the curtain should have been rung down for good by this time; but that is not to be. For both sides are pathetically eager to keep the door of settlement ajar. In the meantime, the Government will think hard if they can move but a few paces from their wanted imperialist position; and the High Command, too, will water down their demand to a certain extent to reciprocate the good graces of Whitehall and Simla. The *Wayfarer* of *Roy's Weekly* has astutely pointed out in this connection how "Real independence" has displaced "Complete independence" and "National Assembly" has been substituted for "Constituent Assembly" by the Congress stalwarts. It is naturally believed that phrase-hunting will go on for sometime more to cover up any compromise that may soon be struck up. Dame Rumour has it that Ramgarh will authorise Gandhiji to negotiate it on behalf of the Congress. If that be so, then the consummation that the High Command have been devoutly wishing for, seems to be quite near at hand. But let neither the Government nor the Congress authorities think that everything will be smooth sailing for them. Their apple-cart is sure to be turned down. And the anti-Compromise Conference that is being organised should serve out this warning to them.

The World War

It is quite natural that the Scandinavian countries will view with increasing concern the gradual defeat of the Finnish ruling class and the consequences attendant upon the victory of the Soviet Union and the Finnish people. Latest Moscow *Communique* states that the Red Army has successfully carried out the fight on the Karelian Isthmus and occupied sixteen enemy defensive fortifications. Meanwhile Great Britain, France, Italy and the United States are contributing their men and money to Helsinki, and Mannerheim is expecting that his leading-strings will keep his kettle boiling. Finland is not Spain, or Manchuria,

or Abyssinia. The halcyon days of non-Intervention are over. This, indeed, is the time when defiance must be made more shamelessly and overtly and deterrents against the Bolshevik devil must be accumulated in right earnest. The Scandinavian police is therefore raiding the communist centres and myths of atrocities and conspiracies are being spun out for throwing them in gaol. The business of "War against Hitlerism" is scrapped, and though the French Premier has threatened Germany with a fresh offensive in spring, he has not refrained, at least for the time being, from pursuing cheerfully his anti-Communist drive. Thus the mists around the war aim of the Allies are clearing out. The principal issue is looming larger. And it will not be presumptuous, in the light of these facts, to do a bit of foretelling that Mr. Sumner Welles will return from Europe with the conviction that the Angel of Peace is not necessarily unshubbable.

Not to be Silenced

The doughty Sri Kriplani, like Goldsmith's memorable Schoolmaster (and he had been one before) is not the man to own defeat. For obvious reasons, he does not dare face the Bengal public on behalf of the Ad Hoc Committee, but being a Congress dignitary he can hardly admit it. Hence the necessity of evasions, subterfuges and make-believes. He had recently some jeer to make at the lawyers. What a sad irony! He himself is possessed of a fine legal talent which remains hidden under a bushel in him; only he has been unconscious of it, which made him stray into a mistaken profession formerly. Look, with what dexterity he has made out a case for not visiting Bengal! In the wordy duel in which he has been engaged sometime with S. J. Sarat Chandra Bose, he should have been silenced long before but the itch in him has continued with strange persistence. Once bitten, twice shy is a maxim of common application. But there are men of uncommon mould, too. They would not be shy at any time, under any circumstances.

Editors Disqualified.

The Bill that was recently brought forward in the Central Assembly forbidding non-matriculants to occupy the editorial chair, has met with its expected fate. Owing to stubborn opposition it could not get a move on and so it was dropped. The arguments that were advanced against the Bill were quite cogent. It was rightly pointed out, for instance, that if non-matriculants could adorn the legislatures, why should they be prevented from occupying the editorial chairs? As a matter of fact, experience has shown that persons without any dazzling university degrees, have made quite competent editors. The vocation calls more for a general cultural outlook and more particularly a "nose" for news and not so much merely academic distinctions. As regards gift of expression, it can be safely said that degrees provide no sure guarantee for it. We are not, however, blind to the fact that journalism in our country has not yet been able to attract very many talents and occasionally editors have proved themselves to be thorough misfits in their dignified position. But the reason thereof is obvious. In spite of the romance and intoxication of the newspaper office, the pecuniary prospects of the profession here are yet far from attractive. And even those who have fallen to its enchantment, tender, in sober moments, the same crisp advice to aspiring entrants to it that was given some time ago by the *Punch* to the tempted seekers of matrimony—Don't. Yet there is no reason why really qualified and ardent spirits should be kept away from the profession by the creation of some artificial barriers. That certainly does not hold to reason.

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Briefed for Chamberlain

By Hirendra Nath Mukerjee

[This rejoinder reached us in time for our last issue. But owing to unavoidable reasons we could not put it in last time—Ed. F.B.]

In last week's number of *Forward Bloc*, Mr. Nirad C. Chaudhury delivered, in five languages including Latin, a defence of Pandit Nehru's criticisms of Soviet foreign policy and an attack upon the article in which we put a contrary view. The importance of the issue to both India and the world is our only excuse for prolonging the controversy.

It will be noted at once that Mr. Chaudhury has not disputed any of our facts. But, though we should have thought that those facts spoke for themselves, he disputes our conclusions. His article merely repeats, more or less crudely, the stock anti-Soviet arguments: that the Soviet Union is cynical in its pretence of anti-Fascism; that strategic considerations do not justify the present conflict with Finland; that the Finns did not attack or plan to attack the Soviet Union; and that the present conflict is at best a "preventive war", at worst a piece of naked aggression.

To deal with these arguments in order.

First, the alleged insincerity of Soviet hatred for Fascism. Mr. Chaudhury declares that the Soviet Union has not hesitated to form pacts of friendship with Fascists when the "national interests of Russia" demanded. If he had instead written "the safety of the Soviet Union", we should have agreed with him. But, why on earth not? Mr. Chaudhury appears to dislike the Finnish conflict, but yet to expect the U.S.S.R. to attack the whole world at once. Leon Trotsky shares Mr. Chaudhury's consistency on this point. But Kremlin, we hope, does not have to take lessons from Mr. Chaudhury as to when, how and where to strike the Fascist-Capitalist ring.

Mr. Chaudhury further remarks that the Soviet Government has on occasion "undertaken in treaties and agreements to refrain from propaganda against the internal regime of capitalist states." He omits to mention that such agreements are only binding on the Soviet Government. They do not apply to the free Soviet press or

to the *Comintern*. As the *Times* gleefully pointed out the Soviet-German Pact has not prevented the *Comintern* and the Communist Party of Germany from calling on the German people to overthrow Hitler. (Not, for that matter, has his professed zeal for Indian freedom prevented Mr. Chaudhury from writing to the *Statesman* and calling upon his fellow countrymen to support the British).

Secondly, the strategic position. Mr. Chaudhury has some local reputation as an amateur strategist, which he attempts to justify with a learned disquisition on "forward positions" and a little potted history. Strategy, he declares with a knowing wag of the head, is an excellent appetiser for other people's territory, and no bounds will be put to that appetite until the whole world comes under one sway. He neglects, however, to draw the elementary distinction between offensive and defensive strategy. To a defensive strategist, forward positions which you are not sure of holding are an unmitigated nuisance. Mr. Chaudhury has given no reason to suppose that Soviet strategy is offensive. To assume, without any evidence adduced, that it is offensive would be what logicians call a *petitio principii*—in good plain English, begging the question.

In fact, all the evidence goes to show that the Soviet demands were dictated by immediate defensive requirements, the security of Leningrad and the Gulf. It is no good for Mr. Chaudhury to ridicule the menace of heavy artillery on the ground that bombers constitute an equal menace, because they obviously do not. A bomber can perhaps be intercepted, while heavy artillery does its work instantly, at the mere pressing of a button. Moreover, as the war in the West has shown, fortified heavy artillery positions may be made practically impregnable. It is therefore hardly surprising that the Soviet Government views with apprehension a Finnish

frontier just outside the suburbs of Leningrad.

Perhaps we can make the point clear even to Mr. Chaudhury. Suppose that Mr. Syed Latif was to put across his famous plan for dividing India into Hindu and Moslem sections. The Moslems would naturally take Calcutta, magnanimously presenting the Hindus with Howrah. Would Mr. Chaudhury be able to take so detached a strategic view when faced with heavy guns across the Hooghly?

Nevertheless we freely admit that strategic requirements *alone* would not justify the present fighting. The justification of the Soviet demands lies in the world situation. The war has inaugurated a new phase of revolutionary change, and both sides are manoeuvring for position. In the course of that manoeuvring, British financial interests first managed to "noble" the Turkish governing class and then set about playing the same game with those in Scandinavia and Finland. At present there is a world war raging in Finland, financed with British and American money, and fought by wretched Italian unemployed, Finnish conscripts and Swedish reactionaries.

Mr. Chaudhury's declaration that the Finns did not attack or plan to attack the Soviet Union shows a ludicrous failure to grasp the present political situation. We gave evidence in plenty to refute it in our article, and will not repeat it here. We shall merely appeal to Mr. Chaudhury's "strategic" intellect. Does he seriously believe that Chamberlain and Daladier will allow a defeated Germany, or a Germany at civil war, to go Bolshevik without attempting to prevent it by force? Or that this could be prevented without war with the Soviet Union? Or that in that case one of the spearheads of the attack would not have been a Finnish advance into Karelia, continued with naval action in the Baltic?

(Continued on page 10)

COUNTRYWIDE CELEBRATION OF "BENGAL CONGRESS DAY"

Sj. SARAT BOSE'S DECISION TO SEEK THE VERDICT OF THE ELECTORATE

That he had decided to tender resignation of his membership of the Bengal Legislative Assembly and seek re-election from South Calcutta or any other constituency, was announced by Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose when on Sunday evening he presided over a crowded public meeting held at the Sraddhananda Park on the observance of the "Bengal Congress Day."

These are the issues on which he would seek the verdict of the electorate :

The policy of struggle against the policy of compromise of the Congress Working Committee :

Congress Working Committee versus the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee : and

Immediate release of all political prisoners all over India.

In the fight waged by the Provincial Congress Committee against the High Command of the Indian National Congress he would, Sj. Bose declared, take part as a volunteer. To that end he was ready to resign, if necessary, any office he held, however high and dignified that might be.

It was indeed a revolt, he added, and they had no reason to be ashamed to call themselves rebels. Rather, it would be a matter of eternal shame and humiliation for every patriotic Indian if he failed to raise at this stage the standard of rebellion.

The policy of the High Command was quite clear. They must have at Ramgarh the majority who would agree with them on all questions. It was with a view to effecting an increase in the number of Rightist delegates from Bengal that the tactic had been adopted.

Both at Wardha and in the letters he had addressed to the Congress President Sj. Bose had invited him to suggest a single reason in support of their action. But Dr. Prasad had not as yet succeeded to cite a single reason in defence of their arbitrary move. In his letter received by Sj. Bose the previous day the Congress President had stated that he had never suggested that there was increase of violence or corruption in Bengal. What

earthly reasons then, Sj. Bose enquired, led the Congress Working Committee to cripple and usurp the powers and functions of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.

Violence and Corruption

Instances of violence and corruption had been witnessed in Bihar; but the High Command did not think it worth while to appoint an "Ad Hoc" Committee in that province. Nor were the suggestions of the Violence Enquiry Committee accepted. But why in the case of Bengal such a drastic step was taken ?

The Forward Bloc was formed and rapidly attained popularity in every province of India. That was too much for the High Command and that spurred them to action. The "Ad Hoc" Committee was appointed with a view to undermine the strength of the Leftists in Bengal. But the High Command, Sj. Bose said, had yet to know of what stuff the Bengalees were made. Bengal would refuse to be jockeyed into surrender.

B. P. C. C.'s Stand

Sj. Bose would refrain from speaking much on the stand the B.P.C.C. had taken in regard to the question of the appointment of the 'Ad Hoc' Committee. He maintained that the Working Committee were in no way entitled to take that step. They might have the right in future if in the Ramgarh session of the Indian National Congress they succeeded in changing the constitution. But till then, they had no right to appoint the 'Ad Hoc' Committee and interfere with the election of Congress delegates.

People of every Bengal District, the speaker supposed, was present at the meeting. He would appeal to them to return to their own towns and villages and carry on the propaganda recommending non-co-operation with the 'Ad Hoc' Committee.

NAGPUR

The Congress High Command's action in foisting an *Ad Hoc* committee on the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee was strongly criticized at a public meeting held here last evening at Chitnavis Park in celebration of the 'Bengal Congress Day'.

Dr. N. B. Khare presided over the meeting. Messrs. Ruikar, Harkere, W. A. Khare and other speakers severely condemned the Congress High Command's attitude of compromise with British Imperialism.

They added that in order to facilitate the passage of a resolution of compromise at the Ramgarh session of the Congress, the Bengal delegates were being kept out. Gandhiji's recent statement was regarded

as a mere eye-wash to hoodwink the delegates to blindly vote for Mahatma Gandhi's leadership.

RAJSHAHI

Under the auspices of the Sadar Sub-Divisional Congress Committee, "Bengal Congress Day" was observed yesterday befittingly. Sj. Surendra Mohan Moitra, ex-Member, Congress Working Committee, presided over the public meeting at Bhuban Mohan Park. Students, Ladies and Moslems attended.

The Resolution as circularised by the Bengal P. C. C. was passed unanimously. Speeches upholding the Leftists cause and denouncing the Rightists' tactics were made by speakers. A procession shouting slogans paraded the streets.

TIPPERAH

Under the auspices of the Tippera District Congress Committee a huge public meeting was held yesterday evening at the Town Hall in observance of "Bengal Congress Day." Sj. Ashutosh Sinha, Assistant Secretary, Tippera D. C. C. presided. The president and Sj. Haralal Saha, Member, B. P. C. C., addressed the meeting strongly criticising the autocratic undemocratic action of the Working Committee in foisting an "Ad Hoc" Committee on B. P. C. C. The statement issued by the B. P. C. C. was accepted.

KHULNA

The Khulna District Congress Committee observed "Bengal Congress Day" in a befitting manner. A huge public meeting was held at the Gandhi Park with Sj. Birendra Nat. Datta, Pleader, in the chair. A good number of ladies attended the meeting. Sjts. Kishori Mohon Chattopadhyaya, Member, B. P. C. C., Narayan Chattopadhyaya, Secretary District Congress Committee, Santi Saran Ray Choudhury, Member, B. P. C. C., and Pramatha Bhowmick, Member, A. I. C. C. addressed the meeting explaining the real cause of conflict between the B. P. C. C., and the Working Committee. The conflict, the speakers explained, was one of principle between the Left and the Right—the policy of uncompromising anti-imperialist struggle and the policy of compromise with the British Imperialism. The statement of the B. P. C. C. was read and endorsed in the meeting.

DACCA

In observance of Bengal Congress Day a public meeting attended by about 3000 persons was held yesterday at Coronation Park. Mr. Ganendra Chandra Bhattacharji, President of the Dacca District Congress Committee presided. A resolution endorsing the statement of the secretary of the B. P. C. C. was moved by Mr. Narendra Bose. It was supported by Mr. Pratul Ganguly M. L. A., Mr. Atul Chandra Sen M. L. A., Mrs. Leelabaty Roy, Mr. Nalini Guha and Mr. Nalindra Sen.

A Muslim Nationalist Writes on—

THE MUSLIM NATIONALISTS AND THEIR TASKS

It has again been announced that the Muslim Nationalists are once more contemplating the holding of a conference. This implies that the Congress, of which the Muslim Nationalists are commonly considered to be a part or an appendage, has at long last despaired of an early settlement with the Muslim League, and has therefore permitted its Muslim followers and sympathisers to come out and play at politics; with, of course, a proper observance of the rules and regulations of the game—from the kick off by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, through all the interminable rolling of the ball of discussion in the Subjects Committee and then in the open session, down to the closing whistle of "Long live the Muslim Nationalists"; followed by "home, sweet home."

Who are the Muslim Nationalists ?

The Muslim Leaguers, perhaps with some justification, jeeringly ask, who are these Muslim Nationalists? What is their creed? And whom do they represent? It is indeed true that the Muslim Nationalists are not a united, properly constituted political party, with a distinct political creed or programme. And it may even be difficult to define a Muslim Nationalist except as a Muslim who does not confuse religion with politics and who, like the Muslims of the predominantly Muslim countries, e.g., Turkey, Iran, Egypt, Morocco, etc., does not subscribe to the dogma that in Islam religion and politics are one, but bases his conception of nationality on a sense of social homogeneity and common political and economic interests. In this sense every Indian Muslim who has begun to take a rational view of things, (including religion), and who does not look upon the holy books of Islam as scientific treatises on physics, politics or the social sciences, can be called a "Muslim Nationalist." Specifically however, the term Muslim Nationalist is a sort of common appellation applied to the members of certain political and quasi-political organisations among Muslims, such as, the Muslim Congressites, Jamiatul-Ulma, the Ahrars, and others who are more or less dissatisfied with things as they are and desire a change.

Differences between the Muslim Nationalists and the Muslim Leaguers.

These more or less heterogeneous groups who wear the common label of "Muslim Nationalists" have one thing in common that they are all professed Non or even anti-Muslim Leaguers. And their differences are fundamental. Economically and socially the Leaguers and the Nationalists belong to two different classes of which the borders are naturally more or less blurred, i.e., while the Leaguers (leaving out their paid agents and dupes from the lower classes), mainly hail from the landlord and the capitalist or bourgeois classes, the Nationalists come from the lower-middle or petty-bourgeois classes. And the political ideologies and aims of the two groups are necessarily coloured by their respective positions in the socio-economic structure.

The Muslim Leaguers generally have reason to be amply satisfied with their present material condition and therefore are not anxious or impatient for any change in the existing political order except to the extent to which the proposed change would help to improve their economic position still further. In fact, like all the Non-Muslim members of their class, i.e. the Non-Muslim Landlords and capitalists, they are definitely opposed to any radical reform in politics, such as might lead to a serious disturbance of the existing economic relationships. It is no doubt true that they advocate full independence. And so do all the capitalist members of the Congress and the other political and quasi-political Non-Muslim organisations. But their common conception of independence is some diluted form of "Dominion Status," something corresponding to the present provincial autonomy, which would give them, in their phraseology, the substance of independence without in the least jeopardising or diminishing their economic privileges or impairing their unrestricted freedom to exploit the intellectuals and the workers and peasants.

Here, however, in passing, one may notice a striking difference between the Muslim capitalists, and the non-Muslim

capitalists, that is, that while the latter, as a class, are not only conserving their capital, but are steadily and rapidly increasing it, the former are as steadily and rapidly consuming their capital and decreasing it. And this is due to the Islamic economic creed which prohibits usury and to the inexorable laws of capitalist economy over which neither the Muslim nor the Non-Muslim has any control. Thus, change or no change, the Muslim Landlords' and capitalists' hopes to keep their substance, much less to increase it, are, under the existing economic system, as illusory and unreal as their dream of attaining and retaining real political power without economic competence and independence. This, however, they either fail to see or confirmed egoists as they are, they live in the immediate present and do not allow any thoughts of the future to disturb their beauty or interfere with their present enjoyment of life.

The Political Creed of the Muslim Nationalists

The Muslim Nationalist, on the other hand, not only finds his present state more and more intolerable, but with increasing unemployment, a hopeless, impossible future stares him in the face. His hope therefore, lies in a change and a speedy change in the existing politico-economic order, and it was chiefly to hoodwink him and the other dissatisfied elements in the lower-middle classes that the Muslim League passed the resolution on "full independence" at its historic Lucknow session. But what the League meant by this independence and how far it was serious about it, has been brought out by the recent political developments in the country, especially by the unabashed welcome which it has accorded to the revival of the old unadulterated bureaucratic rule in the so-called Congress provinces.

The economic condition of the Leaguers and of the Nationalists i.e. the comparative economic sufficiency and security of the one and the indigence and insecurity of the other with their consequent political tendencies, also explains their respective political alliances. Thus the former, who

are definitely in favour of the *status quo* are, as it were, instinctively loyal to the present government, while the latter have overtly or covertly allied themselves with the Congress, which is supposed to stand for a radical change, even to the extent of an absolute subversion of the existing regime.

Whom do the Muslim Nationalists represent ?

Perhaps the most telling taunt of the Muslim Leaguers against the Muslim Nationalists is that the latter represent no one except themselves. But this is equally true of the Muslim Leaguers themselves. In fact, both, at best, can claim to represent their respective classes—the former, the landlords and the capitalists; and the latter, the more or less impecunious lower-middle classes. It may be objected that these class are not water-tight compartments and that the members of one are constantly passing into the other. That is indeed true. But while in the other communities, which are economically growing, this interpenetration of classes is more in the upward than in the downward direction, in the Muslim community which is economically decadent it is more downward than upward. So while the landlord-cum-capitalist League can claim to represent a relatively small and declining section of the Muslim community, the lower-middle class Muslim Nationalists can speak on behalf of a larger and growing section. Besides, as the Nationalists are economically and socially much nearer the starving masses into whom they themselves are gradually merging, they can also claim to have a more realistic appreciation of and a more genuine sympathy with the miserable condition of the manual workers and peasants, and have therefore a better right to speak on their behalf than the landlords and capitalists who thrive on the heartless exploitation and consequent misery of these poor wretches. Still the fact remains that outside these relatively small and steadily dwindling groups which are gradually merging and disappearing in the broad mass of the population, the Muslim peasants and workers who practically constitute the community, for they form, at a modest estimate, 99% of the Muslim population in India are drowned in a sea of misery and have no political or even economic sense beyond a dull benumbing feeling of overwhelming physical desolation and exhaustion. Therefore it would be wrong to say that

the Muslim League or the Muslim Nationalists represent even a considerable section of the Muslim community.

Mention may, however, be made of the fact that the Muslim League, in imitation of the Congress, has established a number of primary organisations in some provinces, especially in the minority provinces, where the Congress victories at the last assembly elections deprived some of the old Muslim Leaders of their ministerial *gadis* which they had begun to look upon as their rightful preserves, and thus roused their unquenchable rancour. And it may be that some of the two anna members of these primary organs are peasants and workers. But if any of these have joined the League voluntarily, that is without any coercion or pressure from their landlords or employers and have paid the two anna fee out of their own scanty resources, they must have been induced to do so by the usual slogans "Islam in Danger" and "the Muslim League, the sole bulwark against Hindu Raj in the country." Similar slogan and pleas are employed by the Non-Muslim communal organisations in the provinces in which the Muslims are in a majority whenever occasion demands, and their force lies not in their logic or reasonableness, but in the psychology of the people to whom they are addressed. And this psychology, in its last analysis, is the psychology of the slave who would bear the worst tyranny of the master rather than willingly submit to the most sympathetic and humane rule of a fellow slave.

Why the proposed conference ?

"What for are the Muslim Nationalists holding this conference"? Ask the curious. Ostensibly it is to deliberate over the present political situation. And this deliberation will take the usual form of addresses, speeches, long-drawn out discussions, gandelquent statements and bombastic resolutions, of which the main theme will be an emphatic repudiation of the Muslim League's claim to be the sole representative of the Muslim community and an unequivocal condemnation of it as a most reactionary body. On the other hand, the Congress will be unstintedly praised for its selfless efforts for the attainment of Swaraj, which it would have received as a New Year Gift on the 1st January, 1940, only if the Muslim League had not misbehaved and stood in its way. The all-embracing representative character of the Congress will also be testified and its demand for a Constituent Assembly whole-heartedly supported. But all this will lead to nothing. At best it will only add to the din and tumult which has converted this tattling country, at a most critical moment of its history, into a veritable tower of political Babel. The most urgent need of the moment is the clearing of the political atmosphere from the ideological vapours and mists that are gathering thick and obscuring and confounding the vital issues.

(To be continued)

BRIEFED FOR CHAMBERLAIN

(Continued from Page 7)

It is perfectly true that Manner and Co., did not originally plan to a the Soviet Union just yet. They of course, like the ruling classes Turkey, hoped for time to consolidate their secret alliance with the m powers and to arm to the teeth. plan was foiled by the prompt S action to safeguard its position in Baltic, by acquiring naval and air b This threw out Mannerheim's time-t After Molotov's speech of October revealing the Soviet terms for a (which the Finnish governing still did their best to keep dark), time was running short, for he could count on his own people. Innoc popular pressure for acceptance of Soviet terms was inevitable, directly news trickled through. Therefore, November 14, occurred the first "for incidents," and on November 27, the g provocation at Manila, where Fin artillery murdered men of a Red Front outpost at peaceful exercises.

If his is Soviet aggression, we und tand terms differently from Mr. Chaudh If he calls it a "preventive war", we not quarrel with the term, provided grants that world war on a colossal s was otherwise inevitable. Perhaps i inevitable still; we do not claim to kr. We can at least see the urgency, if i even barely possible to save millions lives, of rendering the positions of workers' republic impregnable to att And we may spare a regret that am the most strident anti-Soviet jingoes today, are many so-called "progressiv who, no matter if they like it or not, briefed for Chamberlain and capit reaction. Whether they will get their however, is another matter entirely.

[Note. Mr. Chaudhury cannot und tand why we object to the use of the w "Russia" to describe the Soviet Uni The Union of Soviet Socialist Repub is a federated state, of which the Russ Socialist Federated Soviet Repul R.S.F.S.R. or "Russia" is merely a part. use the term, Soviet Union, to emphas the distinction between the U.S.S.R. a nationalist states of the old type, such Tsarist Russia. The necessity for s emphasis is clear from Mr. Chaudhur own article, where the word "Russ appears to be deliberately used to insinu without having to justify that the Sov Union is an imperialist power—as, example, in the phrase "the natio interests of Russia." This glib insinuat is, indeed, behind Mr. Chaudhur unashamed gibe at Soviet assistance Republican Spain and the Peoples' Front China, and the unspeakably ignor comparison of Soviet operations in Finla with imperialist depredations in differ parts of the world.]

By Sukumar Mukherjee

SOVIET PHILOSOPHY OF WAR

The Soviet viewpoint as to war has gone through a very complicated evolution. In some respects, the professions and practices of today are diametrically opposed to those held in the early years of the existence of the Soviet State, and one has really to deal not with a single viewpoint, but with the evolution of viewpoints.

The Marxists adopted the definition of war as "a continuation of State policy by other means," and considered this a basis for the study of the significance of any war. This was amplified, in conformity with the philosophy of historical materialism, to mean that war between States is the continuation of the struggle between their respective ruling classes.

The wars of our days, according to the Communist theory, will be of several kinds. On one hand there will be imperialist wars, aimed at the acquisition of areas productive of raw materials; on the other hand, the Soviet is firmly convinced that in accordance with the dialectical law of history another armed intervention of capitalistic countries in the affairs of the U. S. S. R. will occur. Communists foresee also another category of wars: struggles for freedom on the part of the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa, and elsewhere, where one race is kept in subjection by another. They believe, however, that such wars have a tendency to evolve into revolutionary wars of the proletariat. The final stage of capitalist war will burst forth in a series of civil wars.

There is not a jot of sentimentalism in the Soviet attitude towards war. They claim that wars are conducted for material reasons, which constitute, according to Lenin's terminology, "the objective content of hostilities." The struggle for political independence also is only an expression of aspirations for a greater share in the material resources of the country.

Communists do not agree with the extreme view that wars will continue as long as men will live on earth. They are firmly convinced, however, that wars will cease only with the complete downfall

of the capitalist system and the final victory of socialism. Wars will cease then, because class-struggle, the chief reason for wars will disappear with the formation of a classless society throughout the world. In other words, capitalist war which endangers civilisation today, will vanish with the advent of world revolution, with the complete abolition of private property and of the monopolisation of the means of production by Capital.

According to the Soviet philosophers of war, any large war brings with it changes in the economic as well as in the social structure, and becomes a turning point of the human history. War, they admit, expedites the unfolding of processes which already were developing at a much slower rate. Marx, the founder of modern Communism, called war the midwife helping the birth of a new society from the loins of the old order. Soviet theoreticians think that, under these circumstances war has a positive useful function to perform by tearing down senile institutions and forms of human relations, which are impeding the development of living forces of humanity. They believe that war accelerates the growth of the revolutionary forces and paves the way for a revolution.

It is only fair to say here that while the Communists admit that revolutionary wars and wars for national liberation should be regarded as desirable phenomena, they do not make any attempt to idealize war. Their viewpoint is very aptly expressed by one of the younger generation of the Russian Communists. "A knife is an instrument of crime in the hands of a robber and a tool of healing and liberation in the hands of a surgeon," says he. This statement raises of course the question as to who is a "robber" and who a "surgeon" in so far as wars are concerned.

Lenin gives a very definite answer to this query. He says that if the real meaning of the war consists in the overthrowing of a foreign domination, this war should be considered a "progressive" war in so far as the oppressed nationality is concerned. And a war of the proletarian Soviet state against an imperialistic state would be a "just" and "defensive" war. Thus the problem is solved in a very simple and, from the Communist viewpoint, a quite logical way. The capitalistic countries will always be in the wrong—should they be attacked by the oppressed nations or should Soviet Russia declare war on them; justice will be on the side of the aggressors and not of the attacked.

Lenin thought that Socialists could not oppose war in general. He considered that civil wars of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie were inevitable, and he envisaged the possibility of a war waged by a socialist country against the bourgeoisie of reactionary countries. He stated that there was not a grain of Marxism in a programme of disarmament. "We never said," writes Lenin, "that the socialist republic can exist without an armed force." He did not mince matters. "Peace pacts lay the foundation of wars," commented Lenin. He also made reference to dreams about peace and said that without the propaganda of revolutionary activity, such dreams expressed merely fear and had nothing in common with socialism. This judgment, however, should not be considered as a condemnation of certain measures which may easily be mistaken for pacifism. The proletariat in the capitalistic countries is urged to clamour for the abolition of regular troops, and in the same breath, to agitate for increase in the pay of the soldier for the improvement in their living conditions. The latter two aims are set with a view to building up and strengthening class antagonism within the army. All this is, of course, advocated not in the interest of preventing wars, but to facilitate the advent of the proletarian revolution.

It would be out of place here to go into the detailed criticism of the socio-philosophical theory of war evolved by the Soviets. This would mean a thorough discussion of the Marxian conception of history.

One could sum up the Soviet theory of war as follows. A great war between Western nations would expedite the latent social processes and would hasten the unavoidable world revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat on a world scale. As all wars between capitalistic states are "robber" wars according to the Marxian-Leninist theory, it does not matter who is the aggressor or who the victim of aggression. All that interests the Soviet thinkers is the question of the evolution of such a war between capitalist countries into civil wars or into wars of liberation of the oppressed colonial races against their imperialistic oppressors. They recommend that the communists in their revolutionary work should use every effort to change imperialistic wars into civil wars. The present policy of the Soviet Union is, in the light of the foregoing Marxian analysis of war, not unnatural. The apparent contradictions are due to a lack of proper understanding of the fundamental Marxo-Leninist theory of war.

ON THE EVE OF THE FOURTH LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

—By **BISWANATH DUBEY**

(*Act. Gen. Secy. Labour Party, Bengal*)

I am making this humble attempt to enlighten the readers of the "Forward Bloc" about the growth of the Labour Party, Bengal, and its activities during recent years, and about the aims it upholds, with the help of some short sketches. This sketch does not claim to be exhaustive but will at least help the sympathisers and supporters of the party to understand its real political and organisational position in the struggle for freedom and socialism.

The Labour Party stands exclusively for the interest of Indian workers, Indian peasants and all the other exploited elements in Indian society. It stands to defend the exploited of India against the attack of capitalists and imperialists, of landlords and money-lenders. (Vide page 5, the Manifesto of Labour Party, Bengal issued by the Provisional Committee on 29th April, 1933).

The Labour Party arose out of the most urgent and specific needs for an open legal mass political party of the working class to organise the workers, peasants and all sections of the toiling masses on their own economic and political programme, away from the influence of the Mahatmas, the capitalists, landlords, reformists and the like. The Labour Party organised the toiling masses (1) on a class basis (2) under the leadership of working class for their struggle for socialism and (3) by the method of class struggle.

The Party emerged at a time when the collapse of the Congress left the people in a political vacuum. This was an objective situation pre-eminently suited to the formation of a party of the working class, dislodged from the big bourgeois leadership and other reformist moorings and reactionary influences which were beginning to rope in the class. The later formation of the Congress Socialist Party to bring the workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie under reformist "socialism," to make them tail behind the big bourgeoisie of India, proved not only the correctness but also

the urgent necessity of the existence of an open legal mass party of the working class.

The almost complete proletarianisation of the social content of the Labour Party in a comparatively short period i.e. by the beginning of 1936 was a further proof of the fact that the workers felt the necessity of the Labour Party. And "it is what the workers feel and want, even if subconsciously, which must determine the line of a true Marxist Policy."

The Labour Party supplied an open platform for the political education of the working class, for the propagation of the basic idea that the working class, by its very nature, is the only class that is capable of leading the movement of both national and social emancipation to their final stage; that the working class must lead the peasant and other exploited elements of society as also the impoverished petty bourgeoisie, the students, the youths, the intellectuals and all who value liberty; and that the leadership of the working class alone can save the movement from dangerous betrayals and lead it on to its success.

The Labour Party has provided an open forum for the disillusioned petty bourgeoisie. It has imbued them with proletarian and socialist ideology.

To strike deep roots into the working class, the party began work in 1933 with the slogan "All to the workers". By the end of 1934, it had organised the Railway workers (E. I. R.), the Metal Engineering workers (Metiabruz) the Rice Mill workers in Tollygunge, the Iron and Steel workers, led the biggest and most organised strike, the strike of the Calcutta Dock Workers and was able to lay the foundation of a mass working class party, for the first time, led by the working class.

By April 1936, it was helping the formation of the All-India Kisan Sabha and by the middle of that year it had organised the Bengal section of the same. From 1936 onwards, the party rallied its entire strength in organising the Jute

workers on the Barrackpore belt and inculcating in them the working class spirit of emerging as an independent political force in the national arena. The party has been successful to a great extent in the achievement of this mission. And through the building up of party organisations in this sector of Bengal, the proletarianisation of the party has advanced another step further.

In its thesis at the Second Party conference, the party stressed the importance of bringing the students under socialist influence. It is up to the credit of our party that to-day 90% of the organised students are under socialist influence—to the credit of our party, because it was our party that not only initiated the idea of a student organisation on a national scale, away from the reformist influence, but actually built it up in Bengal in co-operation with other left elements in the country in the fire of Andaman Prisoners' struggle. Even recently, while the "National Front" group is tailing behind the bourgeoisie and helping to throw back to the feet of the bourgeoisie the radicalised students of India through its vicious slogan of "united leadership", through its indirect support to "Charkhane Satyagraha" and through its opposition to the discussion of left politics in the student movement and to the building up of a revolutionary leadership. Our party rallied all the left elements in the ranks of the students against the combined attack of "Gandhism-cum-National Front pseudo-Communism" in the Delhi Convention of the A.I.S.F. and helped in giving a shape to the ideas that are throbbing in the minds of the progressive section of the intelligentsia. It was only a few days back that our party spokesman in the Bengal Provincial Student Federation was charged with adventurism for suggesting a struggle for the restoration of civil liberties. But despite the opposition of National Front comrades, the party has been able to rouse the students for the same and has been

(Continued on page 14)

INSIDE STORY OF DELHI STUDENTS' CONVENTION

—By NANDALAL BOSE

(Secy, Labour Party Students' Bureau)

In the period of a crisis the role of every class, every party, is un-masked. The Delhi Convention, quite significantly un-masked the role of different parties and groups within the Students' Federation.

The student delegates, who were present in the Convention, could be classified into the following *basic* groups :

1. The "National Front" Group.
2. The Labour Party Group,
3. The Left Nationalist Group.
4. The Gandhian Group,
5. The unattached revolutionary elements who had no clear mind, no clear line,
6. The Ganabani Group,
7. The Royist Group, and
8. "The Socialist" Group of Bengal.

All these groups were classified into two main camps according to the political issues which arose from time to time. The two main camps were (1) The Camp of "National Front"; (2) The Camp of the Forward Bloc. The Labour Party and its sympathisers fought each single issue according to its own political line. Strange it is to say that more often than not it had to face the N. F. Comrades as opponents.

Controversies arose, apart from some sectional organisational questions, on the following issues of great political importance : 1. Support to the Soviet Foreign policy ; 2. Condemnation of the undue stress given on *charkha khadi*, etc., in the independence pledge ; 3. Demand for a new leadership ; 4. Exposure of the Right-wingers for vulgarising the slogan of Constituent Assembly ; 5. On the slogan of Peace.

Controversies centred mainly between the "National Front" Group on the one hand and Forward Bloc on the other. The The Labour Party Group, except on the last question, could not find any common ground for joint action with the N. F. Comrades.

Soviet Foreign Policy

The original resolution on war, nearly three closely typed pages in length, omitted the question of Soviet Foreign Policy. We took up the stand that the present war situation could not be correctly appraised without taking into account the Soviet Foreign Policy. We were of the opinion that the U. S. S. R., consistent with her revolutionary peace policy, was absolutely justified in Sovietising a portion of Poland and in conducting a war of liberation in Finland. We thought that it would be a calamity if we had not warned the students about the anti-Soviet propaganda carried on by the imperialist organs and even some nationalist papers on the issue of Finnish war. Therefore to the original resolution we put forward our amendment representing the above standpoint. There was a long and serious debate in the meeting of the Subjects Committee on that amendment. We were astounded to find that it was *only* the "National Front" (N. F.) group together with one C. S. P. Comrade who stood in *opposition* to our amendment.

The N. F. group explained to us that the reason for their opposition was that they did not like to popularise the Soviet policy from the A. I. S. F. platform which might *scare* away the students ! !

Our position was that if a resolution on war condemning the capitalist war and asking the people to struggle for their independence was not enough to frighten the students, then it was stupid to consider that our support to Soviet foreign policy would frighten the students away. We further considered that the student community of to-day was different from that of, says, 1935. To-day the war and the crisis in our national movement have made the student community more conscious politically, and the Soviet Union has become more popular with them. And if any section of the students were ignorant about the Soviet policy, it was our bounden duty to make them conscious about that and to help them to develop as true citizen to take their due share in the struggle for our complete independence for

a new social order in the world which is impossible of attainment without the revolutionary nature of the Soviet Foreign Policy being clarified.

But our N. F. Comrades would not pay heed to that. Most obstinately they stuck to their gun and *opposed* our amendment in the Subjects Committee. The whole of the Forward Bloc, the Ganabani, the Royists and Socialists of Bengal supported *us* in that. N. F. comrades got the support of one Congress Socialist, Comrade M. L. Shaw and perhaps some Gandhi-ites. Comrade Subhas Bose gave his *complete* support to our amendment, in his presidential speech, in which he most energetically justified the Soviet action in Finland as a war of liberation of the Finnish People from the bondage of her own reactionary bourgeoisie who are the vassals of foreign imperialists. For want of time the resolution on the Soviet Foreign Policy could not be brought before the open conference and therefore, it was referred to the Students' Council. We hope that in the meantime our N. F. Comrades will come back to their sense.

Undue and suspicious stress on Charka, Khadi, etc., etc. in the pledge for Independence Day

A resolution was drafted for observing the Independence Day in a 'fitting manner', which had an 'added significance' this year. We thought that it was useless for the students to 'observe' the Independence Day in a 'fitting manner', if on that occasion we could not : (1) popularise what we mean by independence, (2) popularise the method of attaining Swaraj and (3) counteract the vulgar and counter-revolutionary ideology and method of winning Swaraj by spinning etc. None of these things could be done honestly if the original resolution was supported. We therefore, introduced an amendment which, while congratulating the Congress Working Committee for giving a call for observing Independence Day, vigorously criticised its undue stress on Charka, Khadi etc. in the Congress pledge for Independence. The N. F. Comrades stood in our way. They opposed our amendment on the ground that such amendment would *narrow down* (!) the Federation and would scare away the "Student masses" ! They were, further, of the opinion that *politics of controversial nature* should not have been brought before the Students' Convention. Therefore, while they had no objection to our attitude to Charka, they objected to our attempts at "introducing our opinion" in the Convention, which

was bound to raise controversies! Naturally we could come to no agreement on this point. And they openly opposed our amendment. The alignment of forces in voting was the same as before. The N. F. together with the Gandhi-ites and the C. S. Comrades voted against (167 votes) and we together with others voted for (151 votes) the amendment. In this connection it is interesting to note that while the debate was going on, some delegates belonging to the camp of the Forward Bloc shouted: "Down with Charka". But some N. F. Comrades and their sympathisers shouted: "Long live Charka"! Obviously we cannot take this seriously!! Can we?

New Leadership

The same set of arguments were put by the N. F. Comrades in this respect:

- (1) It will narrow down the Federation!
- (2) Students will be scared away!
- (3) "Controversial" politics should be avoided!
- (4) It will "divide" the nation.

In the original resolution students were asked to join the movement and to carry on the struggle. The original resolution was proposed and supported by two N. F. Comrades. That was neither "controversial" politics nor enough to "scare away" the students and "narrow down" the Federation but the issue of leadership would do those things!

Our opinion, along with that of all our allies, was that when we ask the students to join the struggle it would be criminal for us to evade the issue of leadership. We denounced the reactionary nature of the present Congress leadership and advocated the necessity of a new leadership. We refused to mince matters, to evade, blur and confuse the issue of leadership. Our purpose was to make the students conscious about the necessity of choosing an uncompromising leadership if they are to take their due share in the struggle for our national liberation.

The original resolution, while calling upon the students to join struggle, kept the issue of leadership vague. It meant that students were to join the struggle without knowing who would lead them and whether would they be led. It was a dangerous resolution. It became all the more dangerous when its exponents deliberately opposed our amendment; because it left the students a prey in the hands of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie who were shouting "revolutionary" phrases and acting in a counter-revolutionary manner by their attitude of compromise. In a later stage of discussion they advocated "one nation" and "united leadership"! The alignment of forces was as before: N. F. Gandhi-ites and the C. S. P. Comrades voting against and L. P., F. B., G. V., and the Royists etc., etc., voting for the amendment. Our case was defeated, the proportion of voting being the same as in the case of Charka and Khadi.

(To be Continued)

THE FOURTH LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

(Continued from page 12)

successful to a great extent. On the 25th January, 1940, when our comrades brought out a demonstration in the streets of Calcutta successfully in protest against their leaders' arrest, the cause was already half-won.

Throughout the growth of the party it carried on an effective campaign against Gandhism through "League Against Gandhism", a ceaseless struggle for the restoration of civil liberties through the Trade Union Rights' Defence Committee, and helped the radicalisation and crystallisation of the Left through the formation of People's Front against War, Fascism and Imperialism, away from the influence of the big capitalists of India.

With the emergence of the tactics of United Front, the party united its own Trade Unions with the All-India Trade Union Congress and helped in uniting the two wings inside the Trade Union movement under the A.I.T.U.C. Towards the middle of 1936, the party had consolidated its own ranks and entered the Indian National Congress to evolve a common Front of the Indian people against Imperialism on the basis supplied by the Lucknow resolutions of Indian National Congress. While in the Congress, it has always carried on its campaign of exposing the Rightists' deviation, of their attempts at compromise with the enemies of the exploited millions of India, compromise with Imperialism against Indian struggle for freedom, compromise with zamindars against the interests of Indian peasantry, and compromise with the Native Princes against the struggle of States' people for their democratic rights.

From the very beginning of the entry into the Congress, the party initiated the line of crystallising the revolutionary wing of the Indian National Congress in a Left organisation. Although its attempt to build up a Left bloc in Bengal in 1937 was frustrated by interested elements in the Left, the party never lost hopes in building up an organisation of the Left on a national scale. So when the formation of Forward Bloc was initiated by comrade Subhas Chandra Bose in 1939, the party rallied its entire strength to the Bloc to join and develop it. The party always came to the rescue of the Left whenever attack was launched on them by the Right to weaken and disrupt its ranks. It was for attacking the Right and supporting the Left in Tripuri in clean and unequivocal terms that our spokesman comrade N. Dutt Mazumdar was vilified by the National Front group.

The party strongly feels the absence of any revolutionary leadership in India which is able to lead the entire anti-imperialist section of the Indian people against Imperialism. The party realises that it has got to be built up by Indian revolutionaries themselves, no longer through a common agreement amongst the

Left leaders like the L.C.C. but through an anti-imperialist organisation built up with the representatives of the actual fighters at different fronts in India. With this object in view the party advances the slogan of an Anti-Imperialist Conference to be held at Ramgarh because to our party it is crystal clear that the Indian bourgeoisie is definitely going to compromise with imperialism, that the Congress is going to be utilised as a party of the bourgeoisie for its own aims of bargaining with imperialism, that the effective revolutionaries have already been thrown out of the Congress and the rest will be thrown out in future if they mean revolution seriously, in word as well as in deed and if they want to liquidate their position as self-satisfied group of mere parliamentary opposition within the Indian National Congress. The party wants the nation to realise this position and act accordingly. The party expects the working class.....the harbinger of International Revolution—to realise this position of the struggle for national emancipation and to emerge in the national arena as an indomitable political force uniting the revolutionaries of India under one national revolutionary organisation, combining the forces that are inside and outside the Indian National Congress and building up a revolutionary national leadership with the working class as its leading corps to launch the final struggle against imperialism.

On this historical background and with this object in view the Fourth Party Conference of the Labour Party, Bengal, is going to meet on the 25th February, 1940. We expect in this attempt of ours to get the support of the working class, the peasantry and the impoverished petty-bourgeoisie and all who cherish the cause of India's teeming millions, the cause of Indian national freedom, the cause of the social emancipation of the Indian people—the cause of socialism.

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By C. R. Kunhanni

TRAVANCORE—HUSTLED TOWARDS FURNACE

The so-called moral State of Travancore has now become a paradox in terms and it has of late degenerated into an immoral State in various aspects. High in literacy and culture, the State has a good reputation in the ranks of the Indian States. Its ex-Rajas were saintly rulers who had dedicated their lives for the welfare and progress of the subjects. Travancore was then contented and serene. It was then really a moral State.

But conditions now have thoroughly changed and the State now has become a lamentable centre of miseries and discontentment. The enthronement of the present Raja, who was supposed to be an incarnation of higher instincts and civilized ideals and the appointment of the talented administrator Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer as Dewan, had caused much expectations in the minds of the people. But contrary to their expectations, things have become worse in the administrative field of Travancore. Today the State has turned into an arena of many pitiable tragedies committed by the Government in the name of "peace and order."

No civilized government in the world will be bold enough in this twentieth century to resort to such severe repressions and persecutions as the Travancore Government. The world will wonder when it hears that even elementary civil liberties are not granted in the State. The autocratic ruler and the Dictator-like Dewan have succeeded in suppressing the political agitations, to some extent, by brute force.

When the struggle for Responsible Government reached the boiling point, Gandhiji asked the State Congress to unlaunch the struggle and begin peaceful negotiations with the ruling authorities. This was most detrimental to their cause as was evidenced in the negotiations which took place between the Dewan and State Congress leaders. Not only the Government could not concede the demands of the State Congress their very cause, sanctified with blood and broken limbs, was cast on deck by the Government in the course of the negotiations.

If the last struggle of the people had

lasted a week more, the Government would have been forced to grant the demands of the people. The peaceful negotiations as advised by Gandhiji could not bear any fruit as that had to be discontinued "owing to the conditions caused by the outbreak of the European war." How silly an argument! Is Travancore situated somewhere between Germany and France? This insane and unreasonable excuse of the Government itself denotes their unpreparedness to grant any kind of constitutional reforms in the State.

The State Congress did not want to Sovietize Travancore. They only wanted full responsible Government under the aegis of the Maharaja. But now the very word Responsible Government is quite enough for the Government to resort to any inhuman repression.

When normal political activities are not allowed, how can one expect "revolutionary" Labour and Kisan movements in Travancore? The Labour and Kisan movements there are in a pitiable plight. The labourers are not even allowed to use the Red flag and call the slogan *Inquilab Jindabad*. Most of the labour leaders are under arrest or prohibited from making public speeches in the State. They are always watched and molested by the C.I.D., and live constantly under their menace.

Outsiders, especially political workers are watched by the Government and are seldom allowed to move free in the State. C. I. D's are permanently put up in hotels to watch the entry of outsiders to the State. Khadi-clad people are sometimes arrested and detained by the Police at their discretion.

Nowadays, it is very difficult to hold State Congress meetings. Whenever and wherever public meeting is held, the "five rupee police" recruited from the choicest rowdies (these people have no official uniforms) come and create pandemonium in the meeting to the utter disappointment and confusion of the people.

If a man of Travancore is asked by a coming foreigner about the State Congress, its activities and so on, the former turns perplexed and consternation over-

takes him. Before giving an answer the man will be looking around to ascertain whether there is any, police or C. I. D. near by and then go on answering. On the whole, the people of Travancore are even afraid of uttering the very name of State Congress much less Responsible Government. Though the economic condition is not flourishing the Government have not failed in strengthening the number of police, temporary five rupee police and C. I. D's. Truly speaking, Travancore at present is verily under a Police Raj.

Sir C. P. is an expert in propaganda. He has brought the News Agencies in Travancore under his control and a good sum is being paid for them from the treasury to sing the praises of the Dewan and his Government. So people outside can seldom know what is really taking place in Travancore. Sir C. P. in a recent speech at Delhi tried to hoodwink the political circles there. He said that there was no agitation in Travancore and the State Congress was dead. This is absolutely incorrect. Though the Government have partially succeeded in suppressing the movement for Responsible Government with brute force, the agitation of the people is still going on and let Sir C. P. and his Imperialistic friends know that the present lull and inaction in the political field, if any, is a "calm before the storm".

The Dewan also said that there were fifty newspapers prevalent in Travancore which could freely express their views and the Govt. were not in any way interfering in their liberties. This also is not true. Of course there are some papers which are wholly intended for simply landing up the Dewan and his Government. These papers have no definite policy and programme and they are deadly against any forward move in the State. They are only existing to maintain the *Status quo* of their patrons and well-wishers.

The Dewan once said that discontentment in Travancore was due to poor economic conditions of the people. This also cannot be justified. Of course, Travancore as other countries, has been affected by poor economic conditions.

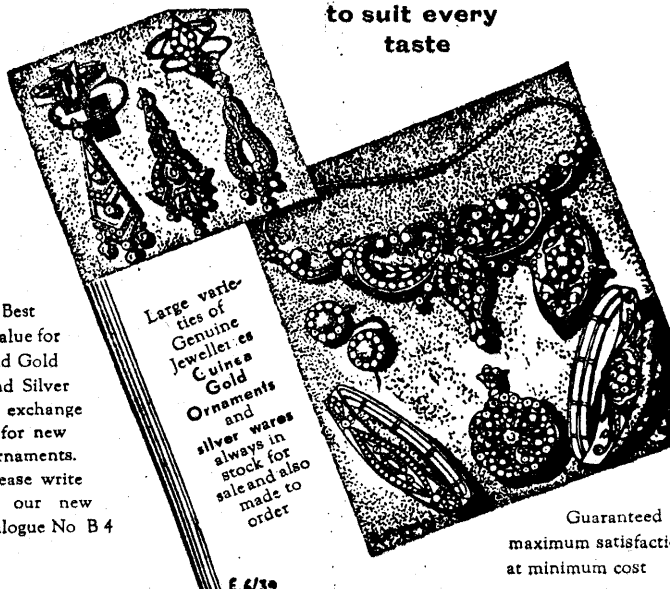
But that should not be counted as the sole reason for discontentment in the State. The complete irresponsibility of the Government to the people and unemployment among the educated classes are, along with other disabilities, the twofold main reasons for unrest in Travancore. Unemployment in the State on the whole is growing by leaps and bounds. The State Transport scheme and such other schemes of the Government, instead of solving the unemployment problem, have materially added to miseries and stiffened the unemployment problem. If such concerns were conducted by the State for the betterment of the people as in Russia it would be advantageous. But Travancore Government's undertaking of such schemes is beneficial only to the henchmen, the Dewan and his underlings.

The present franchise system and the distribution of electorates have severely affected the communal harmony of the State. The Government, instead of striving to canalize and sublimate the instincts of strife among different committees, are pursuing a policy of divide and rule. The S. N. D. P. Yogam, a strong communal organisation till now actively partaking in politics, was threatened and induced to sever its connections with the State Congress, the only political organisation striving for the social, political and economic emancipation of the State. Accordingly, many of the S. N. D. P. leaders are now keeping aloof from the State Congress activities.

Today the political atmosphere of Travancore has darkened beyond measure and the freedom-loving people there are in a state of chaos and misery. About seven hundred people including almost all the leaders of the State Congress and other forward associations are now in the gloomy cells of prisons. The State Congress M. L. A's and M. L. C's are unseated and the *sanads* of many advocates are cancelled on the very reason that they are the members of the State Congress, which has been declared by the Government an illegal organisation. The bewildered and politically unconscious masses in the State are in a state of dilemma. The absence of their leaders and Government's severe persecution of political agitators have, to some extent, caused lull and inaction in the State. In this crisis if outward help is not rendered to our suffering brethren in States like Travancore and a collective struggle is not launched, the goal of our motherland will still remain remote, to the bitter disappointment and distress of the millions of freedom-loving people in India.

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Book Reviews

The Baiga—By Verrier Elwin. Murray, London, 30s.

India swarms with Christian missionaries and in their zeal for proselytising the heathen they outbid the militarists. But impact of imperialism upon the life of Indian people has raised questionings and doubtings amongst them and some have disowned the Church and dedicated themselves to the services of the Indian masses. Father Verrier Elwin is one of the rare souls and his love of Indian people, particularly the disinherited children of the land, has compelled our admiration. He has spent long years in India and his earlier work on India incurred the wrath of British Government and he was threatened with the loss of visa to India. For years he has been living in Central India amongst the aboriginal tribes and his colony nestles in the deep forest away from the city. Father Verrier, though born in England, has adjusted himself to the forest life and is free from the inhibitions of the missionary and has a sense of life and love of humanity. The book under review is an attempt to represent the Baiga life in all its simplicity. During the last eight years he has entered into the mind of the Baiga and got under his skins and his knowledge of the Baiga language has enabled him to open up a new branch of anthropology hitherto neglected. Far from helping the disinherited children buried away in the deep forest the present society has worked their annihilation. And in India the aboriginal tribes are dying out and Government's indifference to their problems has speeded up the process. The Baiga is thinning down and the sad plight is due to the prohibition of hunting and *bewar* cutting. Briefly speaking, they are deprived of all primitive means of living. Father Verrier has made an appeal for justice to the Baiga :

For it is impossible to deprive the primitive people of their economy, to tear a page out of their mythology, to force them to a way of life repugnant to them by tradition, inclination and tribal law, irreparably injuring their life and spirit.

Endeavours to get the Baiga schooled to modernity has proved disastrous for wild love of liberty is innate in him and he cannot reconcile himself to the loss of

liberty. Loss of liberty accompanied by growing economic difficulties has turned him a rebel and a song has echoed the apathy to British rule :

The ever-torturing Englishmen have built their
bunglows
All over our sweet forest.
They drive their train with smoke,
O look at them, how they talk on wires to
one another !
With their wires they have bound the whole
world together for themselves.

Apart from all this, the sex life of the Baiga, its favourite pastimes, such as primitive dances and songs, will arouse the interest of each and every keen student of anthropology.

The Mysore Struggle by K. T. Bhashyam. Published by Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee.

The author of this brochure is an outstanding figure in Mysore politics. He has ever been in the vanguard of the People's Front in that State. Considerable portions of this booklet first appeared in the *Forward Bloc* and attracted wide notice both for the importance of the subject and the able and thoroughly critical manner in which it has been dealt with. Here will be found a searching, almost a ruthless scrutiny of the trumpeted Reforms in Mysore which have been shown up by the author as nothing more than a pompous sham. The brochure also gives an intimate account of the present administration in Mysore. We hope it will have served its purpose—to link up the movements in the Indian India with the broader struggle in British India for the ultimate establishment of complete democracy in this country.

India and Her Problems by T. R. Shankar. To be had of Saraswati Stores, The Round, West, Trichur, 8 as.

The booklet has been divided into seven chapters, each dealing with an important aspect of the Indian problem. The author has given a short survey of the Indian conditions, laid his finger on the various maladies to which the country has been subject and suggested his own remedy. In the first place, it has to be noted that his outlook is modern for which

it finds itself in conflict with many of the mediæval tenets of Gandhism. He wants some sort of socialism for India, but not of the Marxian brand against which he has directed severe condemnation. He has thus summed up his own position :

Instead of the insurrectionary propaganda of the Socialist Party, the permeation of the existing parties with socialistic ideals, like Fabian Socialism in England, is more in conformity with the cult of non violent adopted by the Congress. The social and political transformation of India may be brought about more by an evolutionary than by a revolutionary programme."

The arguments that he has adduced in support of the position also hear almost like some echoes of G.D.H. Cole's treatises. After all, whether one is an evolutionist or revolutionist, is determined largely by his or her own temperament and it is useless to quarrel over the issue. The matter may, therefore, rest here. The book, in its own way, is fairly well-written and as such worthy of perusal.

SHORT NOTICE

The Modern Review (February)
Editor: Ramananda Chatterjee. Single copy 12As.

The current Number of this well-known monthly has kept up its usual high standard. We give below the titles of some of the articles with their contributors which will show the kind of stuff it contains: The World Outlook Today by C. F. Andrews, Emerson and Sarah Bradford Ripley by J. T. Sunderland, Labour Unrest, Communism and Congress by Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, Hobson's Critique of Imperialism by Dr. Bool Chand, A Punjabi Path-finder Passes (Illust) by St. Nihal Singh, Inside The U.S.S.R (Illust) by Prof. Shyama Charan, etc. The distinguished editor's Notes have always been the greatest attraction of the journal.

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"BAKYA-RAO"

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FORWARD BLOC GIVES THE LEAD

FORWARD BLOC MEMBERS SHADOWED

Allegations Against U. P. Police

Five active Congress workers belonging to the Forward Bloc at Allahabad are watched and shadowed by the police according to Padamkant Malaviya, General Secretary of the Bloc.

According to the Secretary's statement these youngmen are required to report themselves to the police in the evening; at night also, police constables wake them up at late hours to find whether they are present in their house. In the day, they are shadowed by plain clothes C.I.D. men.

The Secretary says "it is not known for what offence these members of the Forward Bloc are shadowed by the police. If the police have got any evidence against them, they should formulate definite charges against them and bring them up for trial before a court.

SIRAJDIGHA FORWARD BLOC

Formally Opened Amidst Enthusiasm

The Sirajdigha Dacca Forward Bloc Office was formally opened recently. In this connection Sj. Bhabesh Nandi, organiser, and Sj. Nikunja Sen, Secretary, Dacca District Forward Bloc came and joined the opening ceremony. Sj. Bhabesh Nandi explained to those present the role of Forward Bloc in the present situation and exhorted all to join the Forward Bloc. It is worth noting that the Sirajdigha Congress Committee comprises more than five hundred members almost all of whom have agreed to join the Forward Bloc. Thanks to the efforts of Sj. Madhusudan Bhattacharjee and Sj. Santi Sircar, the Local Secretary, great enthusiasm prevails in the locality.

The very same evening Sj. Bhabesh Nandi, and Sj. Nikunja Sen along with local workers went to Jaypur and met local Forward Bloc workers and enthusiasts. They explained there the relation of Forward Bloc with the Congress and requested them to carry the message of the Forward Bloc in the remotest villages of Vikrampur.

NARAYANGANJ FORWARD BLOC

Office-bearers and Executive elected

At a meeting of the sub-divisional Forward Bloc held recently under the Presidentship of Sj. Kalipada Banerjee, the following office-bearers and executive were elected unanimously :-

President—Dr. Durgadas Banerjee.
Vice-President—Sj. Satish Chandra Sen.
Secretary—Sj. Santimaya Chatterjee.

Assts.— { Dharendra Nath Biswas

Executive— { Radhaballava Ghosh.
Ashutosh Sarkar.
Mrs. Kiranbala Rudra.
Jatindra Chandra Gupta.
Jagannath Karmakar.
Abinash Saha,
Amiya Bhusan Sen.

LEFTIST CONFERENCE AT RAMGARH

To Be Held Simultaneously With Congress Session

SJ. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE'S ANNOUNCEMENT

That a Leftists' Conference will be held at Ramgarh simultaneously with the Congress session, was the announcement made by Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose addressing a public meeting recently at Hazaribagh.

Proceeding Sj. Bose explained how the Gandhian compromising attitude was weakening the Congress. He stressed the need for an immediate fight and advocated Non-co-operation with the British war policy.

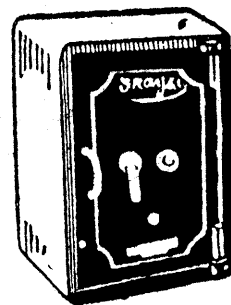
In conclusion he appealed for co-operation with the Leftists' Conference to be held at Ramgarh during the Congress session.

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Letter to The Editor
SWARAJ THROUGH TALKS.

To
The Editor, Forward Bloc

Sir,

The trouble with most gods is that they are so insatiable. Dreadful penances and fasts are necessary to gain their favour, even if you want it only for a little while. You have to get disillusioned with the world and its possessions and renounce all before they hear. And then you have nothing to ask for. Such is our Mahatma Gandhi.

Mahatmaji became very sad when Subhas Babu successfully contested the presidential election defeating his opponent Dr. Pattabhi. Gandhiji immediately came out with a statement confessing the defeat of his pet to be his own. Then you and I know the pathetic Rajkot episode. At Tripuri where the Congress President lay on the sick bed and in the jaws of death, means, fair and foul were employed to re-establish the vanquished leadership. Thus Mr. Subhas Bose was manoeuvred out of the Congress gadi and 'corruption' was turned into 'purity.' Dr. Prasad undemocratically wore the presidential mantle originally intended for Subhas Babu.

Then the present war broke out. It was proper time to compel the British Government to grant our National Demand, but instead of doing that, the High Command adopted a vacillating attitude. Gandhiji window-dressed their weak-kneed policy. Since then his elective and selective disciples are going about the country with tall talks and humbugging the people into states of mind supposed to be conducive to a final victory. They are also asking you & me to have implicit faith in Gandhiji as a prophet. *Why this canvassing, please? Gandhiji wants "Swaraj" with a pile of papers and holy pilgrimages to Delhi without facing the stern realities of the situation. And there can be no doubt that he will get a stone instead of bread. History does not afford a single instance of freedom being won by mere words.*

Now he places fault at the door of his co-workers and says that he "cannot lead an undisciplined army to victory" unless they resort to Charkha. Is it too much to say that this plea is an empty hoax? Will the country be misled by it?

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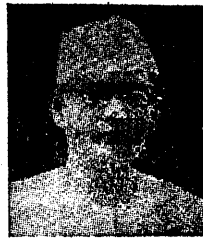
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DESHA-GAURAB
Subhas Chandra Bose
 at
ADHYAKSHA MATHUR BABU'S
SAKTI OUSHADHALAYA
DACCA.



—*—
 "I visited the Sakti Oushadhalaya Dacca, to-day and was very kindly shown round the premises. Indigenous 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 Sakti 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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Sd/- Subhas Chandra Bose.
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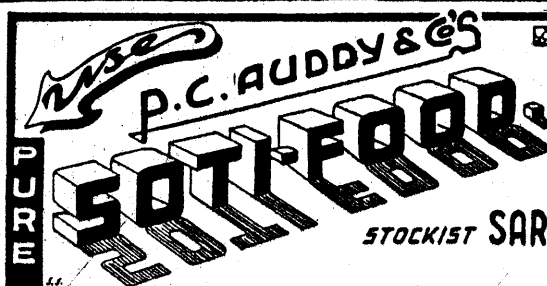
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