

# Towards Communal Unity

# FORWARD BLOC

A POLITICAL WEEKLY

Editor : SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

VOL I. No. 29

CALCUTTA, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1940

ONE ANNA

## IN THIS ISSUE

A Spectre Haunts the Kremlin

By Nirad C. Chaudhuri

Notes on Finland

By Spartacus

Swami Shahajanand's Address

War and the Second International

By Benoy Ghose

National Value of Education

By Prof. A. C. Das Gupta

The Muslim Nationalists and their Tasks

By A Muslim Nationalist

Inside Story of Delhi Students' Convention

By Nanda al Bose

Book Reviews etc.

I am glad to receive some sample products of "Shilpa-Peeth Limited"—an industrial concern which manufactures Spirit lamps, Stoves and the like. The designs and the quality of the articles produced by them are excellent and are in no way inferior to any foreign products. The management, I am told, rests with Sj. Prafulla Kumar Dutta, B. Sc., (Eng.) an ex-detenu and Sj. M. Roy, who are ex-students of the Benares University. I fully appreciate the enterprise of our young man in the direction of manufacturing articles without caring for service. I wish "Shilpa-Peeth" all success.

*Subhas Chandra Bose*

38/2 Elgin Road,  
Calcutta.  
15.1.40



Madras Distributors—  
**BENGAL  
ELECTRICALS  
CO.**

**SHILPA-PEETH LIMITED**  
**ALAM BAZAR, CALCUTTA.**

Bombay Distributors—  
**V. PRABHA & CO.**  
Rangoon Distributors—  
**H. HIRJI & CO.**

**LOANS FOR ALL** :—with or without Security Repayable by 100 equal monthly instalments and other Banking transactions of all descriptions, Apply to—  
**ASIATIC BANK LTD., H. O. KARACHI OR 15, Clive St., Calcutta.**

**Life Assurance** is the only means whereby one can, by easy periodical payments, provide with certainty, an amount one considers sufficient to ensure **FINANCIAL INDEPENDENCE** for oneself in one's old age and/or for one's dependents.

**Every Year** thousands of discerning persons lay the Foundation Stone of **ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE** for themselves in their old age and/or for their dependents

after them by insuring their lives with the

**"ORIENTAL"**

the strongest and most popular Indian Life Assurance Company.

**DO NOT DELAY**

Take out an "ORIENTAL" Policy To-day.

Write for particulars to:—

**ORIENTAL**

GOVT. SECURITY LIFE ASSURANCE Co., Ltd.

Estd. 1874

OR

Head Office:—**BOMBAY**

The Branch Secretary, Oriental Assurance Buildings,

2, Clive Row

Calcutta.

Phone No. Cal. 500.

### EDITORIAL NOTICE.

*Forward Bloc invites suitable articles for publication in the paper. Political articles bearing specially on all Left movements such as Labour, Peasant, Youth, Student and States' people, are particularly welcome. But though primarily a political paper, Forward Bloc will gladly lend its columns to well-written contributions on other aspects of national life as well. So articles on economic, commercial, social, educational and artistic subjects too, will be carefully considered. In fact, Forward Bloc will seek to reflect a forward outlook in various aspects of national life. Correspondences from provincial headquarters such as Bombay, Madras, Lahore, Nagpur, Allahabad etc, setting forth the Leftist position in those provinces may be sent for publication.*

*Poems will not generally be published, although satirical or humorous verses may very occasionally be used. Short stories or sketches will be gladly accepted for publication. It is desirable that they should have a pronounced Leftist drift. Contributions should not usually exceed 1000 words and should preferably be typewritten. Rejected contributions will not be returned unless accompanied by suitably stamped covers.*

*Views expressed in the contributed articles are not necessarily ours.*

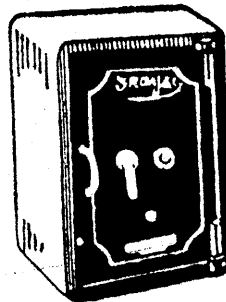
## G. RAY & CO.

INDIA'S  
**FAMOUS MAKERS**

OF

Fire and Burglar-Proof Steel Safes, Chests,  
Cabinets, Strong Rooms and Gates,  
Locks and Padlocks of Chests and  
Almirahs and Jewellery.

We have newly discovered that with the  
help of Oxygen our Safes cannot be opened.



During the Hindu-Mussalman riots in Calcutta, Cawnpore, Chittagong and Dacca despite all their efforts, Goendas could not break open Almirahs made by us. This is our test. As it is guarded with Armour Steel so Dacots and thieves cannot break it.

Illustrated Catalogue is sent on request.

Office:—70/1, Clive St. Calcutta. Factory:—Ultadanga Main Road, Calcutta. Phone: Cal. 1832.

## EDWARD'S TONIC

THE TIME-HONoured REMEDY

For

**MALARIA & LIKE FEVERS**

## THROZENGE

A PALATABLE

For

PASTILLE

**COLD, COUGH & HOARSENESS**

**B. K. PAUL & Co. Ltd.**  
**CALCUTTA.**

**Use BENGAL DRUG & CHEMICAL'S**  
Perfumed **TIL OIL, COCOANUT & CASTOR OIL**  
136, BENARES ROAD, SALKIA, HOWRAH.

### SWASTIKA STATIONARY

MANUFACTURED FROM REAL HAND-MADE PAPERS, 100 P. C. SWADESHI, PACKED IN A SET OF 50 NOTE-PAPERS AND 50 ENVELOPES TO MATCH IN 4 ATTRACTIVE COLOURS, BLUE, GREEN, ASH & WHITE.

Price Rs. 1/4/- per set.

Samples gladly sent.

Remington Stationary Co.,

Daryaganj, Delhi.

N. B. LARGE SHEETS IN 17 X 27 SIZE ALSO AVAILABLE. GREETING, INVITATION & WEDDING CARDS MADE OF THIS PAPER A SPECIALITY.

## FORWARD BLOC

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 24

## *Towards Communal Unity*

The annual session of the Congress is upon us and much depends upon what will transpire at Ramgarh when the Congress meets there. The Leftists will be in a hopeless minority in that Congress—thanks to the enforced absence of Bengal and to the drive against the Leftists conducted by the Congress High Command throughout the country during the past year. Bengal delegates who would, in normal circumstances, have attended the annual session of the Congress need not feel sorry for their enforced absence. Even if they could be present in full strength at Ramgarh, they would not be able to influence the decisions of the Congress. The heavens will not fall if the Leftists do not bother about the Ramgarh Congress. In fact, it may be better if they could help to convert the Ramgarh Congress into a Rightist Congress.

This year, more important than what will transpire inside the Congress is what will happen outside the Congress Pandal. The Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha has given the call for a mammoth peasants' rally to be attended by at least two hundred thousand peasants from the neighbouring districts. An All-India Anti-Compromise Conference is also going to meet at Ramgarh about the same time as the annual session of the Congress. If this Conference proves to be a success, it may eclipse the Congress in its political

importance. In any case, it will bury once for all, the talks and the efforts at a compromise between the Congress High Command and British Imperialism.

It is imperatively necessary for the political advancement of the country that the Congress High Command should be forced to give up their attempt to arrive at a compromise with British Imperialism. When this is done, there will be but one path open to the Congress—namely, the path of uncompromising struggle leading to Purna Swaraj. All those who stand for the Independence of India will then be obliged to launch a national struggle.

The call for a national struggle will be an appeal to all anti-imperialist elements in the country and to all patriotic men and women. When the bugle is sounded, all those who hunger after freedom will naturally fall in line and resume freedom's march, regardless of their religious faith and denomination.

When people become "comrades-in-arms" in the struggle for liberty, a new *esprit d' corps* will develop—and along with it, a new outlook, a new perspective and a new vision. When this revolution comes about, Indians will be a changed people and a revolutionary people at that. It will then be easy for them to solve many of the questions which today appear difficult to solve.

Under present conditions, it appears well-nigh impossible to destroy the canker of communalism and foster all-round nationalism in our public life. But how easy this task will become, once we develop a revolutionary mentality on a nation-wide scale!

Communalism will go only when the communal mentality goes. To destroy communalism is, there-

fore, the task of all those Indians—Muslims, Sikhs, Hindus, Christians etc., who have transcended the communal outlook and have developed a genuine nationalist mentality. He undoubtedly has a genuine nationalist mentality who wages a war for national freedom.

In every fight a special responsibility devolves on the vanguard of the army. In the war against communalism, a special responsibility similarly falls on the shoulders of the front-fighters. It is their task to lay the foundation of inter-communal—i.e. national unity. Hindus and Muslims, Sikhs and Christians who fight for India's Independence must be specially commissioned to solve the communal problem. Once they solve this problem and announce it to the whole country—the atmosphere will automatically change and the death-knell of communalism will be sounded. If the front-fighters show the way, the nation will ultimately follow.

Let us not therefore sit with folded hands waiting for the day when the High Command of the Congress and of the Muslim League will bring about a solution of the communal problem. Let us rather see to it that the real fighters for freedom get together and solve this problem. If they succeed, the first and the most formidable hurdle will be overcome and the general public—the entire nation—will follow in their footsteps. Those who love freedom and will die for it can solve the communal problem more easily than anybody else. Forward, therefore, all front-fighters and fulfil the mission that today is yours!

*Sushan Chandra Bose*

## IS IT REAL ?

Gandhiji, we believe, is welcome to Bengal as also to all other provinces. But, we are afraid, the Gandhi Seva Sangha cannot claim that success in this respect in spite of its sailing under the name of the Mahatma. The "Gandhian touch" has the highest virtue of being generally a success with the Indian people, particularly with the unsophisticated villagers. They know the loin cloth as the *gairik*. They readily recognise the saintly ways of personal simplicity. They enjoy, more than anything, the mood of spiritual passivity that the saintly souls emanate and that is the necessary shield for the commoner souls against their pain and poverty on the earthly plane of India. So, "Mahatmaji-ki jay" for ever. But the loin cloth also promised food and cloth to all—if only certain very simple conditions were fulfilled. The conditions were unfortunately too simple for this very complex age, and, even in India civilization does mean nothing but the evolution from the crude to the complex, from the hand-spun to the machine-made. So, while the psychological complex makes Mahatmaji with his saintly personality welcome, the complex complicated material development of the people finds in the saintly programme nothing to feel grateful. The home-spun can cover the bodies that were in silk and brocade for the bare bodies, however, it is too dear to be had. And after twenty years of energetic work, the *Khadi Pratisthans* evolve into *Khadya Pratisthans*. So, while "Darshana" of the saint is the desired for exhilaration of the people, "Darshani" (fees) for the

saint-recommended food and wear are in heavy discount with them.

But the world takes its revenge on its saints. They have to set up churches of their own. And even the hater of machine must have machinery to undo it. The instrument par excellence is the political machinery. The spinning wheel thus leads to the political wheel. So, the machinery of Gandhi Seva Sangha was found necessary for Gandhian "experiments of truth and non-violence" in Indian and through Indian National Congress.

But the machine avenges itself; the saint may flatter himself that it is the spinning wheel that counts, but his less saintly followers know that the political wheel must be grasped,—the wheel of the Congress and the wheel of the satanic State. Both must be the monopoly of the church, the Gandhi Seva Sangha, if Christ is to win, i.e. if the Gandhian order is to prevail. And "ordered Government" becomes the slogan. But that "order" does not recommend itself, to the awakened manhood, whom it crushes. The result is 'black-flagging' as at Howrah, with the necessary non-violent reaction with *lathis* as at Sealdah. So, at Malikanda, while thousands shout "Gandhiji ki jay" for the mere merit of the *mantra*, the very thousands equally declare "Struggle and not compromise." And, the awakened saint limits at last the Church exclusively to its spiritual task, and leaves the affairs temporal to its laity. The Sangha will not participate in politics, decides Gandhiji at Malikanda.

"Is it real?" the sceptic political men ask. It is supposed, however, Indian Congress will not be widowed so tragically. If 'not-even-a-four-

anna member' can dictate that body to the minutest detail, 'not-a-Sangha member' like Shris C. R., Rajendra Prasadji, Kripalaniji, Prafulla Babuji also can work within the Congress the Sangha programme better. Henceforth, the Sangha goes in politics underground—or overground.

## TAKE THE DECISION

The next meeting of the Working Committee is drawing nigh and it is time that we once more take stock of the situation that confronts the country to-day. Mahatmaji's last visit to Delhi—and just now we forget how many times he has undertaken it—has apparently failed. The Government have stood adamant in their imperialist position and even according to Gandhiji, their present attitude constitutes a virtual "declaration of war on the Indian nationalists." In spite of his strange interpretation of satyagraha, we are definitely of opinion that the honour of our country has been abjectly compromised by these repeated calls at Delhi. But it is no use crying over the spilt milk. Curtain should now be rung down the scene and this disgraceful chapter closed for good. But is that going to happen? We repeat, will further shame on the part of the nation be averted?

The prospect does not seem very encouraging, inspite of occasional talks of struggle by individual leaders. It is further worth noting that there is the invariable twist at the tail of all their utterances. "The fight will be launched in time" which clearly means that it will come, if at all, in some indefinite future. There is still a plethora of 'buts' and 'ifs.' For the moment we donot propose to take any count of the shrewd suspicion expressed in some quarters that these talks of struggle are but a clever counterblast to the Leftists. We take them at their face value. But we can not remain deaf, on the other side, to the utterances of the responsible leaders like Sjs. Patel and Rajagopalchariar advocating a compromise on the basis of reduced national demand. The prattles of the smaller fries are not, too, without significance. On the top of all, there is the declaration of Mahatmaji himself that the door of a settlement should be still kept ajar. Rumours also are not to be absolutely ignored.

Frankly speaking, this does not strike us as a very happy omen. The hour has struck but the leaders are still vacillating. Even now they have their gaze fixed on a half-way house where they prefer to drop into a complacent rest. They still strain their ears to Delhi but do not like to hear the rumblings of aspirations surging through the bosoms of their teeming countrymen. It is a national calamity of stupendous magnitude. When the Congress adopted the Independence resolution, it meant the whole of it, not a whit less than what it is. Surely it did not mean a restricted or diluted variant of the same; nor did it mean to be led perpetually by the leading-strings of British imperialism. It knew of the price

that should be paid for winning back that invaluable treasure. It did not think in terms of prudence but glowing idealism. That idealism still burns into the country's blood. And the leadership that fails to tune itself up to the hopes of the nation, has no moral right to hold on and cumber the field. The only course open to it is to abdicate and withdraw from the scene.

Yet we make our appeal to it once again : the time is too precious for shilly-shallying or equivocation. Come forward and give a right lead to the country. The united strength of the nation will be at your back. You have tarried too long, now decide. May Patna send forth the clarion-call. May it not disappoint the country once again.

## CURRENT COMMENTS

### A Contemporary in Trouble

The fiat has gone forth from the Government of Bengal that the editorial articles of the *Hindusthan Standard* shall have to be submitted to the scrutiny of the Special Press Adviser before publication. It seems that the Defence of India Ordinance under which this action has been taken against our contemporary, has become a handy weapon with the provincial authorities to iron out all honest and independent criticisms of vital public issues. We have gone through the leading articles of the paper with unfailing regularity and have, frankly speaking, found nothing in them that can be construed as offending against the provisions of the Ordinance. But the Government sometimes see more in a thing than meets the ordinary eye. The management of the paper has,

however, accepted the gauntlet so unjustifiably thrown out to it and has boldly decided to carry on without any editorials for the time being. We sympathise with our contemporary in its trouble and congratulate it on the valiant stand it has taken, which, we have no doubt, will be amply appreciated by its reading clientele. For the present the paper will come out without any editorials but its blank columns will carry a far more eloquent message than the mutilated or made-to-order articles could ever be capable of. Looking to the other side, we can hardly help wondering at the brand of "autonomy" with which this province has come to be blessed! Verily, it is the old bureaucratic wine in a new bottle or something worse than that.

### Why this ?

We published the following piece of news in the last issue of our paper :

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 over-zealousness of the gang of subterranean underlings of the Government is too well-known to call for any lengthy comments. Further, it is useless to enquire, as Mr. Malaviya has done, as to why the five youngmen have been picked up for their special

attention; for the ways of the C. I. D. men are mysterious—perhaps more so than the ways of Providence. If pressed too much for reasons, they will certainly confront the interrogators with a beautifully concocted story which will, however, be accepted by the Government as a gospel truth. Denials and challenges will invariably go unheeded.

### Behind Hore-Belisha Mystery

Since the resignation of Mr. Hore-Belisha from British War Office there has been a crop of speculations about the drift of British War Policy. For sometime the real cause was shrouded in mystery, as neither Mr. Hore-Belisha nor Mr. Chamberlain could adequately explain the issue. Mr. Chamberlain fumbled in the House of Commons and the War Minister did not deem a public explanation worth putting forth. Hence it is nothing uncommon that the common people will make out guesses and float unfounded rumours.

At long last, however, we have got the clue to the proper evaluation of this apparently contradictory situation. An article by Hore-Belisha, entitled "Shall We Fight for Finland Now?" which is an appeal for immediate intervention in Finland, is published by the *News of the World* with explanations in parenthesis stating the number of lines deleted by censor. The newspaper states that 44 lines were deleted at the request of the Government as being contrary to public policy. But the article has been welcomed in toto as a genuine contribution to right judgment of the problem. What can be more anomalous than this? It goes far deeper than that. It is more than an anomaly or anything of the sort.

Mr. Hore-Belisha speaks out the heart of British Ruling Class and the British Ruling Class twist it to fit in with their traditional diplomatic manoeuvring. What is explained out to day as contrary to public policy may in time prove to be in full conformity with the Conservative Policy of Britain.

### "Civil Guards" in India

At the annual general meeting of the European Association (Chittagong Branch) held on February 16 last, the Chairman Mr. J. A. Oliver approvingly referred to the formation of Civil Guards in India under the ægis of the Peace and Order Association for the ruthless suppression of the Communists in India. It must be noted herewith that the Civil Guards are to be composed entirely of Indian citizens and their main function will be to assist the regular police in their anti-Communist raids. These decisions may seem to be irrelevant when compared to the broad national struggle of India. But the history of European countries lends to these minor incidents a weight and a meaning which, those concerned, cannot so easily shirk off or denounce. We have seen Mussolini's Black Shirts, Hitler's Storm Troopers, Mannerheim's White Guards and British Mosley-gang, doing the same job of purging the Communists as Mr. Oliver likes the Civil Guards of India to do. It would not in the least be difficult for Mr. Oliver to find out in India similarly scheming brains. But it would really be a tragedy for the people of India if they are not sufficiently conscious of these sowings and do not weed them out, because in time, the harvest, as they will see for themselves, will smell too much of blood.

### In the grip of Nemesis

A recent broadcast of General Goering, as reported in the *Times* by its Rotterdam correspondent, has struck a definitely pessimistic note about the prospects of early peace. Contrary to widely entertained hopes, the Nazi chief has predicted a very long war and this gloomy foreboding has found an echo, on the British side, in the pithy observation of Mr. Oliver Stanley that "a very severe struggle lies ahead." The correspondent referred to above has pricked the bubble raised by persistent interested propaganda that the Germans will hardly be able to hold on in a long war by stating that "it would be unwise to under-rate Germany's staying power." In the face of these predictions from authoritative quarters, the result of Sumner Welles's peace-mission, like those of similar antecedent efforts, seems but to be a foregone conclusion. The war will run its insane course, widening its scope and unleashing aggravated furies. Europe seems to have been caught in the grip of a dire Nemesis and the war appears to have come to liquidate its piled-up inequities.

## ANTI-COMPROMISE CONFERENCE AT RAMGARH

Reception Committee Membership Tickets (Rs. 5/- each) for the All-India Anti-Compromise Conference to be held at Ramgarh (near the Congress site) can be had of:

Phani Majumdar (Forward Bloc, 62 Bowbazar Street, 2 p.m.—6 p.m.); B. P. C. C. Office; University Institute; Ananda Bazar Patrika; Labour Party Office; B. P. K. S. Office; T. U. C.; North, South, Central Calcutta Congress Committee; Bengal Provincial Students' Federation.

## FOURTH LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

SUBJECTS COMMITTEE MEETING

At 2 p. m.

(Indian Association Hall)

Open Session—25th Feb. at 12 noon

Gouripore, Barrackpore

Comrades Subhas Chandra Bose, Niharendu Dutt Majumdar, Mira Dutt-Gupta, Abdur Rahman Khan and others will address the Conference.

# A Spectre Haunts the Kremlin

By Nirad C. Chaudhuri

Mr. Hirendra Nath Mookerji attempted a second defence of Russia in last week's 'Forward Bloc'. I wish he had not. So difficult a feat of tight-rope dancing as an extenuation of the attack on Finland (over which the Communist conscience seems altogether too strenuously exercised) is not the job for an angry man, and Mr. Mookerji is very angry indeed. Minus mental pictures and catchwords (against which the human intelligence struggles in vain), some uncomradely words for me (not unexpected in the average comrade and not so very lethal to my bones either), and the untruth that I wrote to the 'Statesman', calling upon my countrymen to support the British (which, however, I do not believe to have been intentional), Mr. Mookerji's article contains the following argument:—

A certain policy is wrong if pursued by Great Britain, the same policy is wrong if pursued by the U. S. A., it is wrong if pursued by Japan, it is wrong if pursued by Czarist Russia, it is wrong if pursued by Germany, Italy, or any other Power.

But the *self-same* policy is right if pursued by Soviet Russia, because Soviet Russia is Soviet Russia, because Soviet Russia adopted it in the interest of 'defensive strategy', because the 'world situation' involving an imminent clash between Capitalism and Communism, or at any rate a concerted attack on Russia, demanded it, and finally because Finland was going to be the channel of this attack on Russia.

The first thing to say about this argument is that there is no novelty about it. *Mutatis mutandis*, others have advanced it a hundred times before this. For instance, Germany's explanation of the present war is that it has been forced upon her by the European situation tending towards an encirclement of Germany. Nevertheless, the argument may be examined for what it is worth.

First as to the claim that Russia's actions and motive are not to be compared with those of other countries. This claim is irrefutable but not original. One theological system invested a certain individual with infallibility as late as 1870.

Another theological system holds that there are two sure ways of going to hell, *viz.*, by attacking a prophet and also by being attacked by him.

Next, 'defensive strategy.' Taken at its broadest, it is about as easy to separate defensive from offensive strategy as to disconnect the top and bottom of a waterfall. And a worse difficulty is to get an aggressor to admit that he is aggressive. When Czarist Russia grabbed Manchuria the Russian Foreign Minister said that, "its occupation is the result of self-defence against Chinese aggression." When Germany violated the neutrality of Belgium in 1914 the German Foreign Secretary explained that "it was a matter of life and death for them" and that "the safety of the Empire rendered it absolutely necessary that the Imperial troops should advance through Belgium." Last March, Hitler annexed what remained of the Czech State by declaring that "he placed the Czech people under the protection of the German Reich" on account of the "intolerable terrorist regime of Czechoslovakia." Three weeks later Italy occupied Albania, on account of the "menacing attitude of the Albanian armed bands," which necessitated the despatch of the troop of the King-Emperor "to restore justice, order, and peace." Briefly it may be said that if the path to hell is paved with good intentions the path to Empires is no less paved with defensive reasons. So people have grown sceptical. They have so often been imposed upon by the big bad wolf that they will not now take even the pure Soviet wolf's word for it that the lamb has at last really turned into a beast of prey.

Yet, from a strictly military standpoint, a line may be drawn between 'offensive' and 'defensive' strategy, but it has nothing to do with the merits of the policy in whose service it is employed. It is simply two different ways of solving a military problem. For example, when France constructs a Maginot Line within her borders and Germany replies by constructing the West Wall within hers both are pursuing a defensive strategy; but if France wanted to occupy the

Rhineland and Germany sought to circumvent the Maginot Line by attempting to pass through Belgium or Holland, both would be following an offensive strategy, though both might be actuated by the urge of self-preservation. To give another example, if we hold the N.-W. frontier that would be defensive strategy but if we wanted to extend our control up to the Hindu Kush, even on a perfectly sound appreciation of our defensive needs, we would be passing into an offensive one. Thus, even by the strictly military criterion, Russia is pursuing an offensive strategy in Finland. She would not have been doing so if she had confined herself to building fortifications and railways within her own borders.

For all that I would not risk saying that the plea taken by our adorable Teddy Bears (our young Muscovites bear about the same relation to the true Russian Bear as the Teddy Bear does to the creature in flesh and blood) is all moonshine. It is not, for there is, system in the madness. What they really mean is that your strategy becomes more and more defensive in proportion to the weakness of your victim. For example, if you cut the throat of a goat it is defensive strategy, since you want its meat to sustain your life and the animal cannot retaliate. But if you attempt the same operation on a tiger that would be vile and wicked aggression. It is this brilliant military theory which makes the Russian attack on Finland after her pact of friendship with Germany one of the most heroic examples of defensive strategy in history.

I shall now turn to the 'world situation' and begin by putting our ideas in trim. It would serve to make them concrete if we dismissed at the very outset the possibility, now or in the immediate future, of a grand ideological war through which the world revolution will be accomplished. The notion is comparable as a delusion to the early Christian's expectation of the Apocalypse. Even during the heyday of revolutionary fervour the idea was not near enough realization in the workaday manifestations of Soviet foreign policy, and with the steady drift of that policy

towards nationalism it has travelled further towards Utopia. Of course, it has still its place in the day-dreams of young Communists passing through their novitiate. Perhaps Stalin also has some use for it, still, as for the thrice-denied Comintern, for their undoubted nuisance value. But beyond this the influence of the doctrine is imperceptible in the three dimensions of Soviet foreign policy, although one cannot be sure of its non-existence in the fourth. Notwithstanding that uncertainty, for all practical purposes, one can brush the doctrine aside. A war between Soviet Russia and the other Powers, assuming it will come (which is by no means certain even now), will be a war of the usual type on both sides, that is to say, a game of real or power politics.

After this there is another point to note. If there is anything absolutely certain about Russia's activities today it is that they constitute a total reversal of the policy she had been pursuing from November, 1917 to about March, 1939. During all these years the triple formula of her foreign policy and security system was: "Non-intervention, non-aggression, neutrality." That formula was not only expected to, but did in actual fact, fully guarantee her security. It was not that during the period she was not threatened internally and externally. She was, and at times so much so that her very survival was in doubt, yet not once did the Soviet Government seek strategical positions in the manner it is doing now. It held fast, with consistency and deliberation, to the three cardinal points of her foreign policy and brilliantly vindicated the soundness of the system.

The tried and tested method, however, has been suddenly abandoned. Something else has taken its place and that something has such a family resemblance to the policies of the Powers called Capitalistic and Imperialistic that the apologists of Russia's N.F.P. (new foreign policy) can only mumble that its inmost soul is different. If it is argued that the 'world situation' has brought this revolution about, it must be shown that the world situation in relation to Russia has become more dangerous, both qualitatively and quantitatively, than what it was at any time between 1917 and 1939. I do not think even our Stalinophiles could do that. But it is not necessary to take anybody's word for it. Let us look into the facts.

In the immediately post-revolutionary epoch, Soviet Russia was threatened with disintegration through foreign intervention and civil wars. The revolutionary regime fought with its back to the wall and came out victorious. But did it turn against the neighbouring countries which had participated in the hostilities against her in greater or lesser degree? Did it seek to partition Poland, or occupy Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, or attack Finland? It did not. On the contrary, it concluded treaties of non-aggression with all these neighbours, with a view to neutralizing their hostility. The first of these treaties was the Treaty of Tartu with Estonia, concluded on February 2, 1920. It was followed in quick succession

by about a dozen others, of which the more important ones were: (1) Treaty of Moscow with Georgia (May 7, 1920), (2) Treaty of Moscow with Lithuania (July 12, 1920), (3) Treaty of Riga with Latvia (August 11, 1920), (4) Preliminary Peace of Riga with Poland (October 12, 1920), (5) Treaty of Dorpat with Finland (October 14, 1920), (6) Treaty of Moscow with Persia (February 26, 1921), (7) Treaty of Moscow with Afghanistan (February 28, 1921), (8) Treaty of Moscow with Turkey (March 18, 1921); (9) Final Treaty of Riga with Poland (March 18, 1921). The general features of all these treaties were (1) a restatement of the duties of neutrality as laid down in the Hague Conventions of 1907, (2) guarantee of non-intervention and non-aggression, and (3) pledges of non-assistance to, and non-recognition of insurgents or others actively working against the political institutions of the other party to the treaty. There can, of course, be no comparison between Russia's dangers then and the hypothetical ones which are pleaded now.

In the second period, Soviet Russia was subjected to something like international ostracism. Did she try to reply to that policy by attacking her ostracisers, or by partitioning Poland, occupying Estonia, Latvia or Lithuania, attacking Finland, or even by seeking to keep aloof from the capitalist countries? No, she concluded trade treaties or treaties of non-aggression and friendship, among others, with the following bourgeois Powers:—(1) Great Britain by the Agreement of London (March 16, 1921), (2) Germany by the Treaty of Rapallo (April 16, 1922), (3) Turkey by the Treaty of Paris (December 17, 1925), (4) Afghanistan by the Treaty of Paghman (August 31, 1926), (5) Lithuania by the Treaty of Moscow (September 28, 1926), (6) Latvia by the Treaty of Riga (March 9, 1927), (7) Persia by the Treaty of Moscow (October 1, 1927).

During the same period the Treaty of Locarno was signed. The erection of the Locarno system made Soviet Russia apprehensive about the result of what she looked upon as the strengthening, unification, and stabilization of the Western Capitalistic Powers. But did she for that reason seek advanced positions in Poland, Estonia, Latvia or Finland? No, she concluded a non-aggression and neutrality pact with Germany by the Treaty of Berlin (April 24, 1926).

Again, the relations between Japan and Soviet Russia were the reverse of cordial after the Japanese occupation of Siberia during 1918-20. Did Soviet Russia for that reason seek advanced bases against Japan in Korea or China? She did not. She concluded a treaty with Japan (the Treaty of Peking and protocols dated the January 20, 1925). She went even further and sold the Russian-owned strategic railways to Japan.

No one will argue that the position of Russia in 1939, when the Great Powers were courting her, was at all comparable to her isolation in the early twenties?

Last of all, with the rise of the Nazis

in Germany in 1933, a new menace confronted her. Later, this menace crystallized into a formal alliance directed specifically against Communism. Yet did Soviet Russia, in the face of this ever-growing threat, seek advanced positions in Estonia, Latvia, and Finland, where of all the countries in the world Germany had the greatest power to create trouble? No, Soviet Russia did nothing of the kind. She sought an understanding with Czechoslovakia, and with France the principal champion in Europe of the *status quo*, in the best manner of Czarist diplomacy.

In fact, there was no reason why in 1939 Soviet Russia should have feared a Capitalist Coalition against herself. By that time, she had by her own actions, assertions, and example removed whatever fears the Capitalist Powers had of Russian intervention in their internal regime. Once Stalin went even so far as to declare that "the idea of exporting a revolution was nonsense." In the diplomatic world, Soviet Russia had, by 1939, completely lived down the reputation for hirsute sansculottism which she had earned in the Brest-Litovsk and post-Brest-Litovsk days. Indeed the gentlemen of the Kremlin shaking hands with either the gentlemen of the Quai d'Orsay or those of the Wilhelmstrasse, according to the dictates of diplomatic convenience, look as *comme il faut* as any diplomatist since Talleyrand.

Even apart from Soviet provocation, those who know what opposition the interventionist policy raised even in 1919, will find it impossible to believe that any capitalist government would have been given a free hand to attack Russia only because of her Communist regime. Here, however, I want to anticipate one argument. It may be said that the outbreak of the present war changed the situation. Most emphatically it did not. Obviously, it brought uncertainties and risks to everybody in its wake. But it need no more have affected Russia, in spite of her greater propinquity to the theatre of war, than it did the U. S. A. The really important point is that whatever change the situation has undergone in relation to Russia since the outbreak of the war has been due solely to Russia's action.

It is now clear that the general lines of the policy which Russia is now applying round the Baltic was settled, tentatively if not finally, before the war broke out, and that Russia signed the pact with Germany because she was able to get from the latter what she could not get from the Allies. Thus, chronologically, the revolution in the foreign and military policy of Russia preceded the potential (but still problematical) threat from the Allied Powers. The first was in fact the cause and not the effect of the second. Russia could easily have kept aloof from the vicious circle of attack and counter-attack by sticking to her old policy of non-aggression and neutrality.

Last of all comes the contention that Finland was going to be the channel of a full-scale attack on the Soviet Regime. It

(Continued on page 10)



A Muslim Nationalist Writes on—

## THE MUSLIM NATIONALISTS AND THEIR TASKS

(Continued from last issue)

All parties—political, quasi-political and even non-political, whether ultra-progressive or extremely reactionary, from the Communists down to the Muslim Leaguers and the Hindu Mahasabbites—apparently agree at least on this point that they want independence, the only difference being whether it should be "full" independence or "complete" independence. Another word which has become a hot favourite with all schools of politicians is "socialism". But it seems that there are as many varieties of "independence" as there are of "socialism". For example, in the Congress alone, which, being the oldest, the largest, the best organised and the most advanced political organisation in the country, should be expected to have a clear and definite conception of its political objectives, there are at least three distinct interpretations of independence :

1. To the majority party in the Congress which has accepted Gandhiji as the only saviour of India, and his method the only approach to the goal, "independence," if one would judge not from words but from actions, means a business partnership between the British Capital and the Indian Capital, backed by an honourable co-operation in the political administration of the country. The sort of independent India which Gandhiji and his followers seem to envisage, is the India of the "provincial autonomy," in which the rich will be richer, and the poor as poor as now, because they cannot be poorer. Otherwise there will be no change. The princes and the landlords will of course be there, only they will be thoroughly cleansed of their carnal dross, and become true patriarchs and gods to their poor people. The capitalists, the bankers, the industrialists, big business men, opulent professionals, will also be there. But instead of being anti-imperialists, they will be regular and duly recognised partners of British Imperialism in the administration and economic exploitation of the country. And the workers and peasants will continue to multiply and live in wholesome starvation and nakedness; and thank the Lord: for He is good, and His mercy endureth for ever."

2. There is another section of the Congress that does not want any partners in the loot and therefore is not prepared to accept anything short of complete "Dominion Status", with the right to secede.

3. Then there is the extreme leftist group that looks upon national freedom as a means to a greater end, viz., a revolutionary change in the economic condition of the people, which, it believes, cannot be effected unless the foreign influences are altogether eliminated from the administration of the country. To this

group "independence" therefore, means a complete severance of political connection with the British Empire.

And then there is the Muslim League's "full independence" which means "a limited provincial autonomy" with unrestricted use of the Governor's powers of veto and interference, even to the resumption of full control of administration as soon as the Governor himself, or any section of the services, or of the legislature, or of the public, especially the Muslim public, is displeased with the ministers—this rule, however, to apply only to the provinces where the followers of the League are not in power. The League's conception of independence, of course, includes no change at the Centre.

### The form of future Indian Government.

All the parties in the Congress are agreed on this point that the future government of India will be a democracy, the only difference—though it is a fundamental difference—being that while some favour capitalist parliamentary democracy of the few, such as exists in England, France and America, others advocate the Soviet form of democracy which they describe as the democracy of the entire people.

The Muslim League considers a democratic form of government as unsuitable for India. But the world has not yet been enlightened as to what other form of government would suit India, which, by the way, has fewer nationalities and languages than the Soviet Union. It is, however, hoped that at the next historic session of the League, a new form of government will be evolved, which will reconcile the conflicting interests of all the exploiting elements in the country, and astonish the world by its uniqueness. Meanwhile one may speculate on the Punjab Premier's very original suggestion about twelve wise men, to meet and formulate a constitution for forty crores of people; a constitution which will include the usual central and provincial governments with their oligarchic cabinets, each consisting of a dozen members, appointed by the Governor-general in the case of the Centre, and by the Governors in the case of provinces, on the recommendations of the Muslim League and of any other organisation whom the British Government may invest with this privilege; functions of the cabinets being mainly advisory

(To be Continued)

## ASTROLOGER WONDERFUL

Consult the Greatest Astrologer and Palmist in India **Jyotish-Shiromani Prof. R. C. Bhattacharyya, Jyotisharnaba, M.R.A.S. (London)**, of Continental fame, President, All India Astrological and Astronomical Society (Estd. 1906) who is highly honoured and praised by the All-India Pandit Mahamandali and by the High Court Judges, District Magistrates, Native Chiefs, Ministers, Commissioner of Dn., Nawabs etc., with other noble personages of India and abroad—to solve any problem of your Life, Health, Wealth, Love, Marriage, Important events, Lucky Days, Litigations, Lottery, Speculations etc. Free prospectus on request.

ANNUAL LIFE READING (Monthly information) Rs. 4. Details Rs. 8

### WONDERFUL TALISMAN (DHANADA)—

Wearer is sure to acquire immense wealth, high fame, good health, success in undertakings, prosperity in service and business, etc., Rs. 7-10. Special giving immediate effects Rs. 29-11

**BASIKARAN TALISMAN**—Wearer of this will acquire the unique power of bringing any desired person under control or subjection Rs. 4-9 Special Rs. 34-2.

N. B. : If fails money refunded guaranteed.

Head Office—105, Grey St. (F. B.) Calcutta.

Branch Office 47, Dharamtola St., Calcutta.

Phones B.B. 3685 & Cal. 5742.

## CENTRAL CALCUTTA BANK LTD.

3, HARE ST. CALCUTTA.

A Progressing Banking Institution  
of Bengal.

Branches :—

SHAMBAZAR, SOUTH CALCUTTA, NAIHATI,  
BHATPARA, DINAJPUR, SIRAJGANJ,  
BENARES.

A New branch at Rangpur has  
been opened.

## MATRIMANDIR

(PRASUTY & SHISHU SADAN)

Home for pregnant Lady for safe  
Delivery and Protection of unenter-  
tained child.

Asst. Secretary

130/C, Cornwallis St., Shyambazar,  
CALCUTTA

## A SPECTRE HAUNTS THE KREMLIN

(Continued from page 8)

is perhaps the thinnest of all the excuses put forward on behalf of Russia. It could only be advanced by those who know nothing about warfare, and when advanced by those who are more knowledgeable, could only be resorted to for giving the dog a bad name before hanging it. Russia simply cannot be conquered from Finland, if she can be conquered from anywhere at all. The problem of defending and invading each country of Europe has been studied and re-studied for hundreds of years, and on this subject there are certain conclusions which form an agreed *corpus* in the military thought of Europe. If this body of conclusions teaches anything it teaches the futility of attacking Russia in the fringes. Without going into details it may be said that an offensive against Russia pressed through Finland would not only fail in bringing Russia to her knees but would perhaps also fail in achieving the limited objective that might be set for it. The difficulties Russia is now faced with in her campaign against an opponent overwhelmingly her inferior in every respect are a pointer that way. The difficulties would be multiplied hundredfold in the case of Powers which would have to transport the material and men necessary for dealing with a Power like Russia *via* the Baltic and the Arctic Seas. What conceivable motive could an attacking Power have for courting these obstacles if it could possibly help them? The General Staffs of Europe are not composed of fools. If the Allied Powers want to attack Russia after the collapse of Germany they will have the choice of half-a-dozen fronts infinitely easier for themselves and vulnerable in a greater degree to Russia. But even here it is necessary to remind oneself that there will be no military operations against Russia unless she invites them by openly and actively joining Germany or by gratuitous attacks on Turkey, Rumania, and other small countries. Furthermore, not even a word about any military operations against Russia would have been heard now had she not provoked the discussion herself by the attack on Finland.

Thus the arguments usually tossed about by the Stalinid Dynasty leave us very much where we would be without them. Their approach to the problem offers no satisfactory, nor even plausible, explana-

tion of what Russia has done to Poland, Estonia, Latvia, and Finland since September. Others must then be tried. What are they? Can the fact that these territories (recently re-absorbed, brought under the *de facto* control of, or sought to be re-conquered by Russia) once formed part of the Czarist Empire have anything to do with the matter? The guess is not as wide of the mark as it might at first appear. It is not suggested that such a policy was chalked out all at once. In diplomacy and strategy, as at the table, appetite grows with eating. The keen haggling which the Kremlin had with Great Britain and France about the Baltic countries must have made it more fond of these countries than it formerly was. The love grew when Germany showed herself ready to oblige. Then perhaps it was thought that the Baltic countries would be a nice dessert after Poland. At the time Russia did not worry about her digestion. But whoever thinks of digestion when the feast is spread?

Thus it may be the Kremlin is continuing the good work of the Winter Palace. There is no inherent improbability in such a working hypothesis. Sorel has shown how even the Jacobin Convention continued the work of Richelieu and Louis XIV, and what the Montagnards could do the Bolsheviki can do as well. Kings and Czars have a curious way of avenging themselves. They are killed but their disembodied spirit lives, whilst Revolutions can shed blood but cannot make it other than what it was. So regimes and epochs are bound to each other by a natural piety. This has been seen everywhere, and in Russia too its outward manifestation was clearly overdue. It seems to have come at last. As one looks at the Kremlin with its towers, domes, and high battlemented walls, the Kremlin where the Byzantine tradition has descended in entail to the Russian, the Kremlin where Ivan the Terrible has been succeeded by Stalin the Terrible, the Kremlin from where Napoleon once saw the fires of nationalism burning round him and from where now the word goes forth to quench with fire and bomb the life of a small nation, one seems to hear, echoing through the haunted vaults, ever clearer, and reaching the outer world in ever-swelling diapason, drowning the *Internationale*, the cry of Holy and Eternal Russia—Bozhe Zaria chrany..... God save the Czar and have him in His keeping!

WAR AND  
INDIA'S FREEDOM

By P. R. Lora  
Author of "The Federation of India"  
Price Rs. 1-8-0  
Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 7.

FOR SERVICE & SECURITY.  
EAST BENGAL BANKESTABLISHED  
1923.

LTD.

HEAD OFFICE  
COMILLA

6 and 7, CLIVE ST. CALCUTTA.

Phone Cal—4989

Po. Box No—518 Cal.

Branches at :—

Barisal, Brahmanbaria, Chittagong, Dacca,  
Karimganj, Mirkadim, Narayanganj,  
Silchar & Sylhet.

Agencies at —

All important Trade Centres of Bengal &amp; Assam.

Managing Director :—

KSHETTER MOHAN ROY B.L., M.L.C. (Ex.)



## SWAMI SHAHAJANAND'S CLARION CALL TO THE KISANS OF ASSAM

### "DAY-TO-DAY FIGHTS . . THE VERY BREATH OF THE NOSTRILS OF ALL CLASS-ORGANISATIONS"

*[The following is the full text of the Presidential address delivered by Swami Sahajanand Saraswati at the Assam Provincial Kisan Conference held at Goalghat]*

Comrades,

I hasten to thank you not that you have done me any honour by electing me the President of this Conference but because by so doing you have afforded me an excellent opportunity to acquaint myself with and acquire first-hand information about the conditions of the Kisans in this far-off and the remotest corner of our unfortunate country. A determined call went forth from you and I stand here today in response to that. Indeed it is almost a tragedy that the General Secretary of the All-India Kisan Sabha had uptil now no living link with the conditions of the Kisans of the Assam Valley as also with the movement carried on by them. It is my solemn duty to study the problems confronting them here from time to time and find out and suggest their appropriate solutions. *Whether one recognizes it or not, there is a general discontent and mass upsurge among the Kisans everywhere and it finds expression only where they are given a timely and correct lead by those who claim the honour of being the servants of the Kisans.* In the absence of such a lead this acute resentment against the hellish conditions they are condemned to live in by the powers that be and their henchmen, the zemindars and their like, exists like the smouldering fire looking for a suitable occasion to burst out with double fury and strength, sweeping aside all the obstacles in its way. It is, therefore, in the interest of all concerned not to allow it to go under-ground for then it is bound to spell disaster to the haves. In this connection I am painfully surprised learn that despite its being just twenty years old, your organisation in this Goalpara district has not been able to make much headway. I am informed that it was born in 1920 and thus it is the oldest organisation of the Kisans in India so far as my knowledge goes. Now it is the solemn duty of this conference of yours to infuse life and vitality in it and to broaden its scope to cover the whole of this Assam Valley. If you really succeed in achieving these two objectives

I shall feel most happy and count it my rarest privilege to have presided over it. Indeed in that case alone you will have really deserved my heart-felt thanks. I am sanguine you will do it before you disperse.

#### **Beware of religious cries**

Before proceeding any further I deem it my foremost duty to warn you against traps spread in the name of creed, culture, caste, clime and religion. To tell you the bare truth, the Kisan movement is concerned solely with our mundane affairs to the exclusion of the spiritual and religious matters and those linked with the world hereafter. It is surprising and ridiculous too, that the people unable to solve their worldly problems and having been totally paralyzed by them, appear badly busy with the so-called most intricate problems of the world hereafter. It simply excites laughter in us when we find that the people while shivering in their shoes before the tyrannies of the zemindars, jotedars, money lenders and the ruling authority and finding themselves utterly helpless to overcome them successfully, seem, as if, totally convinced in their heart of hearts that they shall have to face the iron hands of the stern wrapper (*yama*) and his staff called *yama-dhuti*. *These typical cowards, lifeless and trembling persons, are always confident about their safe seats in the Paradise and Vaikuntha, as though these places, if they ever exist, are meant for such people alone and surely not for brave and courageous ones.* And it is strange indeed that their God Almighty likes and prefers such cowards and dreading-at-every-step persons. Verily, that makes a queer combination of the almighty on the one side, and the lamb-hearted on the other. But then why should fighters for justice, human rights and the suffering humanity care at all for that paradise, that salvation and *Nirvana* and that *Vaikuntha*? It is rather below their dignity to do so for there they will never feel happy in the company of their rank contraries. Certainly, it passes one's

comprehension how these constant practices and performances of religious functions without fail may bring us to Heaven or take us to God when they are unable to fetch us our rice, paddy, wheat, milk, butter, etc, produced by ourselves and in spite of all Sandhya, Puja, Namaz and prayer and the like, if we are completely incapable of preventing these things from being forcibly taken away from us by the moneyed people and vested interests. When we cannot have the well known materials produced by ourselves, surely it does not lie in us to claim *attfully* and sensibly the things thoroughly unknown and never seen. I am, therefore, constrained to feel and maintain that the people who get paralyzed and impotent at the very sight of worldly tyrants and oppressors and are not prepared to give them a fight with their lives, cannot, if at all, enter Heaven and Paradise and attain Najat, or Mukti or Nirvana. Religious preachers and great prophets, Avatars and Rishis could do it, as is believed, simply because they were born fighters for the fallen and down-trodden humanity and they always considered no sacrifice too great for it. Instead of emulating this noble and laudable spirit of those great founders of various creeds and religions, which is to be found commonly in all of them, it is sheer nonsense to fight with each other in their name and the name of the religion they founded. One thing more in this connection and I shall pass on. Divorced from their day-to-day and mundane affairs, some religious divines and preachers may succeed in solving spiritual problems which are simply beyond the reach of common mortals and hence do not affect them at all. What affect them the most and therefore are easily understandable by them are the most pinching problems of hunger, shelter, clothing, epidemics, medicine, rent, debt, thatch, fuel, grazing facilities for cattle, floods, draughts and perpetually miserable lives, unredeemed by a ray of self-respect. These things and these problems have no direct bearing

on any religion and no religious prophet, howsoever great and exalted he might have been, has so far been able to solve successfully. They have proved helpless when confronted by them. So the conclusion is irresistible that these problems are beyond the scope of any religion and therefore, should be faced and solved with the united strength of the suffering humanity. To be frank, all the spiritual and religious problems pale into insignificance before them. Nay, the solution of these knottiest problems are the real basis of all creeds, castes and dharmas, because unless you make people hale and hearty and provide them with sufficient clothing and shelter, they cannot perform cheerfully namaz, roza, sandhya, puja and prayer. But the moment there is enough provision for these, they will be inclined most willingly towards these performances. Therefore, let us now and here make up our mind once for all to solve these day-to-day pressing problems with the resolute will and the united strength of all of us, not withstanding our differences of caste and creed and religion.

#### Fight for every-day problem

But prior to the capture of power as a result of revolution, the Kisans and the masses must be trained in the art of that fight which will ultimately end in the seizure of political power and that training is possible only through the successful carrying out of your partial struggles resulting in the removal of day-to-day grievances and the achievement of petty demands. If you fight for these and succeed, you will acquire self-confidence and self-reliance which is a fundamental and essential virtue for the success of any struggle. Unfortunately, our peasant masses and the vast majority of common people have been wrongly taught for centuries to depend upon the almighty gods and goddesses and lastly upon the blessings of faqirs and divines and never upon themselves. The most important lesson of self-help has never been imparted to them and to me it appears that this is the cause of all the ills befalling the Kisans and other oppressed beings. *It is, therefore, overdue and it can be given only in the most practical shape of partial fights against daily sufferings and for satisfying your pressing needs of daily life. No*

*amount of theoretical training will do, unless it is accompanied by practical experiences; unless and until the masses realize their inherent strength to solve their problems, there is no hope for them.* Surely they may achieve temporary reliefs with the help of other means. But that will not last long and they are bound to be drowned again and again in the depthless ocean of age-long miseries which are obviated only for a while as a result of attempts on the part of others. No doubt, if an ailing man is to get rid of his chronic disease he himself shall have to take medicine and exercises to recoup his former health. The disease will have to be eradicated once for all and it is only the self-help and self-reliance that will achieve it. If the Kisans can be made to fight successfully against not only the oppressions of the zemindars and the jotedars, the high incidence of rent and revenue, the Chhauban tax and Khutgari tax, and against the transfer-fee, but against the Zemindary and Jotedary systems themselves, they can, in that case, be made to start a raging and tearing campaign and launch a successful fight against even British

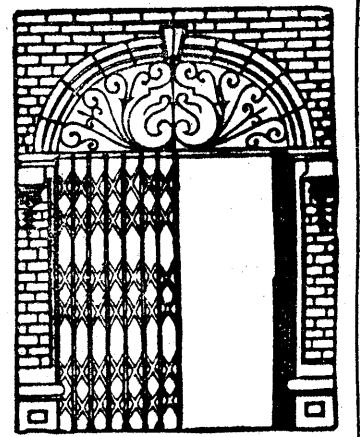
Imperialism. Since they will have realised then the inherent and latent power lying in them. It is why these partial and day-to-day fights are considered as the very breath of the nostrils of all class organisations like the Kisan Sabhas and Labour Unions. It is through these struggles alone that the classes become not only fully self-reliant and self-confident, but class-conscious and thereby achieve their class-solidarity which is miserably wanting in every slave nation and among suffering humanity in general. *It is by breaking the class-solidarity of the producing masses and by creating artificial internal differences in them that the vested interests subdue them and squeeze out their very life-blood.* Therefore, this class-solidarity must be re-established if we are to end this exploitation and this bleeding white of the Kisans and the workers. Moreover, this is the one golden means of strengthening the mass organisations like our Kisan Sabha or Krishak Samiti. You start partial fights in right earnest and you get abundant men, money and materials not only to conduct the fight but also to strengthen the organisation. *(To be continued)*

## THE CALCUTTA COLLAPSIBLE GATE CO. LTD

11-C, LOWER CHITPUR ROAD

PHONE No. CAL. 3972.

The best and original  
makers of  
Collapsible gates, Grills,  
W. I. Railings Etc.



*rise*  
P.C. AUDDY & CO'S  
**SOTI-FOOD**  
STOCKIST: SARBAMANGALA BHANDER

IS THE ONLY  
BODY BUILDER  
FOR INFANTS.

47, RAJAR CHAWK, CALCUTTA.

*By Spartacus*

## NOTES ON FINLAND (2)

The situation in Finland has been drastically modified since last writing by the increased assistance to the Whites given by Britain and France. This assistance consists both in provision of men and war material and in exerting pressure on the Swedish Government.

Till recently British and French military assistance to the Finns was mostly confined to out-of-date materials which they could do without themselves. As the Germans rudely remarked Chamberlain was describing as charity what was in fact good business. At that date Chamberlain thought the war in Finland would be fought for him by the Italians, the Swedes and perhaps the Americans.

Only recently has he come to realize the gravity of Mannerheim's position. Hence the decision to despatch front line materials, heavy bombers and man power. A politically naive person might find it strange that a Prime Minister of a "democratic" country at war should be able to divert much needed war material from the front to a foreign power without being immediately impeached. The politically educated know that where there is a conflict between national and class interests, class wins every time.

### Sweden

Even more important is the pressure being exerted by both the Foreign Office and the City of London for Sweden's entry into the northern fighting.

At first the Swedish ruling classes had also hoped to have their fighting done for them—and to do profitable business for the duration. Thus, at the outset of the war, the main *Jingo* party in Sweden was the Social Democrats. These latter have from the outset been intervening full-scale. Haparanda is an armed camp for the interventionists and ministers and men are pouring through Oulu and the Tomio railway.

But time and internal weakness of Mannerheim's rule is against a policy of intervention without war, for there is rising opposition against the Social Democrats first from the workers who

want peace, second from those commercial interests which are not impressed by lies about "Red imperialism" and would prefer friendly trade relation with the Soviet Union and Soviet Finland.

The strength of this opposition is considerable and might be fatal to the Social Democrats and their British backers. Hence their decision to provoke war with the Soviet Union.

### Provocation

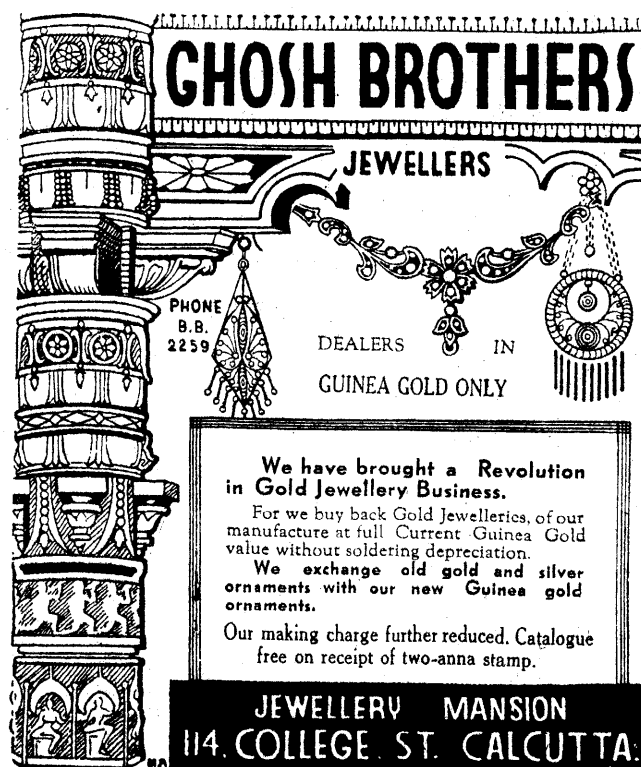
The propaganda campaign for this war is already in full swing. Hence the recent police raids on the communist party of Sweden and the alleged discovery of plans for a communist revolution.

This tale of a revolution is of course quite absurd. There is as yet no revolutionary situation in Sweden and no responsible communist would advocate armed action. Moreover the communist party of Sweden is a perfectly legal organisation, whose objects and strength are well-known. There is no possibility of a legitimate mistake on these points.

The whole thing is a deliberate lie of the Swedish police.

Readers will notice, therefore, a parallel with Mannerheim's action in Finland. Like Mannerheim the Swedes are attempting to forestall popular pressure with counter-action. At any moment the result may be war.

This situation naturally had its effects on Soviet military policy and is the main reason for the present offensive in the Karelian Isthmus. Unlike previous "offensives" of which that popes talked so much (which were in fact merely patrol encounters in the north) the present offensive appears to be on full-scale. The reason is the changed situation. While Finland was alone engaged, the Red Army merely acting as the ancillary of the Finnish People's Government, its main object to avoid killing Finns. To-day Finland must take second importance to the wider situation, which is on the brink of world-war.



**GHOSH BROTHERS**  
JEWELLERS

PHONE  
B.B.  
2259

DEALERS IN  
GUINEA GOLD ONLY

**We have brought a Revolution  
in Gold Jewellery Business.**  
For we buy back Gold Jewelleries, of our  
manufacture at full Current Guinea Gold  
value without soldering depreciation.  
We exchange old gold and silver  
ornaments with our new Guinea gold  
ornaments.  
Our making charge further reduced. Catalogue  
free on receipt of two-anna stamp.

**JEWELLERY MANSION  
114, COLLEGE ST. CALCUTTA.**

# INSIDE STORY OF DELHI STUDENTS' COVENTION

—By NANDALAL BOSE

(Secy, Labour Party Students' Bureau)

(Concluded)

Perhaps it will not be out of place if I give a criticism of the N. F. line. Our bureau however formulated its criticism on this question and I will only mention it here.

In one sentence we can summarise the position of the N. F. as follows :—

The policy of the N. F. was the outcome of its long-drawn, half-hearted, opportunist, vacillating and petty-bourgeois wavering line with regard to the big bourgeoisie of our country represented by the Congress Right-wing leaders.

The 2nd and 6th Congresses of the Communist International (C. I.) and Comrade Stalin in his speech at the University of the people in the East held that the big bourgeoisie of India will play a role of compromise, will make "common cause" with Imperialism while the petty-bourgeoisie will carry on the Nationalist Revolutionary struggle. They further formulated the task of the proletariat to form an "anti-imperialist" coalition with the peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie for winning independence. The 7th World Congress of the C. I. proclaimed that the basic line of the C. I. remained as that of the 6th Congress and gave some tactical line for achieving the *Anti-Imperialist Front* by working "within and without" the National Congress.

The N. F. leaders, by raising the slogan of a National Front, which was something other than the *Anti-Imperialist Peoples' Front*, (see Stalin's speech) has consistently pursued an opportunist policy in directly violating the line of the C. I., of Lenin and Stalin, whereby they have not only failed to achieve the National Front with the big bourgeoisie but have become a definitely disruptive force in the camp of the Left. This is due to their petty-bourgeoisie ideology and composition.

Not only that. In the Delhi Students' Convention all their arguments show : (1) their servile attitude towards the big-bourgeoisie and (2) their non-communist Blanquist stand for concealing their own view from the masses.

They maintained that they did not want to introduce "controversial" politics in the convention. One tries in vain to find out politics of a "non-controversial" nature in the whole history of world politics. We still remember how *Noya-Zhizis*, a "quarter-bolshevik" paper in Czarist Russia advocated against carrying on a revolutionary action in 1917 since the situation was "complicated"! Lenin gave a tart rejoinder :

"They are prepared perhaps to tolerate revolution but with out 'exceptionally complicated circumstances.' If there were no exceptionally complicated situation, there would be no revolution. When wood is cut chips must fly. If you fear wolves do not go into the forest."

The N. F. Comrades were asking the students to carry on the "revolutionary struggle" while they were themselves scared of controversy!! These r-revolutionary "strugglers" can afford to join politics but without controversy. As true disciples of Lenin the L. P. points out to the N. F. Comrades that there can be no politics which is "non-controversial". There is nothing in the universe known as "Student" politics since politics is the generalised theory and practice of a particular class. Because there are opposing classes in our Society politics cannot but be controversial. We therefore emphatically protest against such non-communist stand of the N. F. leaders in attempting to discover some "non-controversial politics," with a view to deprive the students of their right to master politics, particularly in a period like the present one and appeal to all genuine Marxists to correct these leaders before they go too far in this direction which cannot but lead to the collapse of the student movement.

Secondly we wish to point out the non-Marxist stand of the N. F. leaders in refusing to express the view, which they hold before the masses. They say that they did not like the *Charka* and *Khadi* programme. But they were not willing to say that before the students because that would scare the students away from the Federation. Let us remind them of Marx's famous words :

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims." (*Italics ours*)

The N. F. leaders have not only not disdained to conceal their views, they disdained even those who wanted to express their own views which again were shared by the N. F. Comrades.

Thirdly, is it true that the students are scared away by such acts? The facts of the past few years will tell otherwise. Thus in 1936 the A. I. S. F. had hardly 200 members. In 1937 the membership rose to 10 thousands, in 1938 to 50 thousands and in 1939 it is estimated that it will rise to 150,000. And we know that the Students' Federation in different parts of the country stopped at nothing to fight for the day to-day demands of the students for the cause of civil liberties,

even facing the vulgar attacks of the Congress Right-wing leaders, including the Mahatma. Bengal Federation stands first in membership to-day, as ever. And it is Bengal where the fight for civil liberties was fought several times and in the most intense fashion. It is here that the fight against the Right-wingers was most severe and intense. Is it not the height of hypocrisy to say that students will be scared away if we give a correct leadership? It is not an attempt to hide their opportunist, petty-bourgeois and non-Marxist line of concealing the Marxist views from the masses in general and students in particular which has forced them to apportion blame on the general students, to call the student community as it were a community of innocent village girls knowing nothing about politics, nothing about the affairs of the world? The students will be scared away!! No wonder, the students might be scared away when the atmosphere created by those leaders was so "abominable, poisonous and debilitating and to breathe it for any length of time is bad for any one;" and as Lenin said, "Sincerity is contagious, and a sincerely sacred philistine is capable of temporarily transferring a revolutionist into a philistine". We apprehend that the students might be scared away! All the "scaring stuff" was however their own subjective reflection! We appeal to the N. F. leaders and the comrades to think over our criticism seriously and to correct their mistakes so that all Marxists can work together in the same organisation. Without unity of the Marxists on the basis of a consistently Marxist line it is impossible to think of igniting independence of our country.

## The Lessons.

From the above we draw the following lessons :

(1) L. P. as an independent Party of the working class guided by revolutionary theory of Marxism did not hesitate to take correct stand on the burning political questions of the day. The N. F. as a federation of various trends of Marxism, hesitated, faltered and failed to take a correct stand from the Marxist point of view.

(2) The Delhi Convention brought to the forefront in a pointed manner the glaring contrast between the two tactics advocated by two trends in the Marxist movement in India. The L. P., while

(Continued on page 18)

By Benoy Ghose

## WAR AND THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

For "Democracy", "Peace" and "Freedom" they are fighting on the Western Front. These words have been droning into our ears since the outbreak of war. They say that the "Blood and Iron" Policy of the Nazis constitutes a grave menace to the civilisation which they have built up, and that is why, for the sake of humanity at large, they are out to destroy Hitlerism. They, enamoured with this humanitarianism, are exhorting all independent neutrals to fall in with them, declaring others belligerents and driving them as they like with the crack of their whip.

Thanks to their humanitarian zeal, they have been able to awaken many a dead soul. Many a *Maniloffsky* has been stirred to action. Atlee, Greenwood, Baker, Citrine, Blum and others have rushed to Chamberlain and Daladier to pawn their pink (not red) coats for security. And Bradley, Thorez, Browder, and others, where are these poor creatures?

They have discovered Hitlerism in Communism. This discovery may not be startling to us, but to the common people of the world, to whom they preach democracy, peace and all such high things, this will surely be startling. Let their mouthpiece *Reuter* speak about it.

The police raid on communists in Sweden constitutes one of the biggest drives against a political party for many years. About 300 police participated in it. A *Communique* issued by the Stockholm police states that the Swedish Communist Party has received from Soviet Russia big sums of money and it has carefully laid plans for a revolution in Scandinavia in which all means would be permissible so long as they lead to communist goal. The French police are hounding out communists from their houses, cafes and streets. The United States has declared war in home front against the communists. And lastly, British Communists have been advised by the *Manchester Guardian* to make up their minds by listening to what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has to say about "Russian" policy. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been recommended as the guide and philosopher of the British communists and the British working class.

Meanwhile the British Labour Mission has returned from Finland. Mr. Noel Baker and Sir Walter Citrine have described Mannerheim-Tanner-Kallio & Co. as a race of super-men, and have urged Mr. Chamberlain to send troops to Finland, because the White Guards need it badly. The Executive Council of the International Transport Workers' Union have passed a resolution to the effect that the Stalin regime has betrayed the cause of

the working class and the workers of Soviet Russia should take the initiative in overthrowing the Stalinist dictatorship. The American Federation of Labour has severely castigated the Soviet Union and is urging the government through its representatives in the Congress to break off diplomatic relations with Moscow. These are all *Reuter's* news, not our revelations as they are often prone to allege.

Who are these labourites, these trade unionists, these champions of world federation and peace, these defenders of democracy? We know them as every student of history should know. These are the renegades who deserted their camp in the last Great War and fled into the folds of their imperialist masters. These are the traitors who seduced the workers from their right way and allowed them merrily to be butchered in thousands in the imperialist blood-bath. These are the pillars of the *Second International*, the only leanable crutch of limping imperialism. "These persons," as Lenin would call them, "are veritable agents of the bourgeoisie, active for the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the workers, the touts of the capitalist class, the modern protagonists of jingoism and reform."

During the pre-Great War phase, when the development of capitalism was comparatively peaceful, the horrible contradictions of imperialism had not yet become fully manifest, the trade union developments were taking a more or less normal course, socialist and labour parties were winning "all along the line" at the polls and in the Parliament,—paeanes were being sung in honour of the Parliamentary methods of struggle, which, it was arrogantly stated, would suffice to effect the overthrow of capitalism. Thus the parties affiliated to the *Second International* were putting on fat and becoming stodgy. There was no revolutionary policy. The "moderates" were in charge of affairs, "safe and sane" labour leaders, diplomatic constitutionalist, advocates of "statesmanlike" coalitions. For window-dressing these clever leaders used to pass revolutionary resolutions at Congresses from time to time. They had a number of theoretical dogmas which they repeated mechanically like parrots. Such was the aspect of the *Second International*.

Here, it will suffice to recall the history of the slogan "war against war" to remind one and all how double-faced the parties affiliated to the *Second International* were, how ignoble their policy was and how skillfully they veiled their counter-revolutionary trend behind revolutionary watch-words. The *Second International* made a formidable demonstration at the Basle Congress and threatened the imperialists with the terrors of an armed

revolt. It was at Basle that the revolutionary slogan "war against war" was issued. But immediately war broke out "war against war" job was scrapped and the workers were goaded to fight "all out" in defence of their imperialist fatherland. As a result of this change of front, of this hypocrisy, millions of workers were slaughtered. But the opportunists of the *Second International* say that everything happened as it should have happened as Mr. Kautsky explains, the fault lie "with the forces of production." This is essentially the role of the opportunists of the *Second International*. So, there is nothing to wonder at when labourites and trade unionists harp on the same monotonous tune today and dance to the sweet piping of their imperialist masters. Here is a case of history repeating itself.

Nevertheless, in an epoch of imperialist wars Lenin undertook the task of cleaning the Augean Stables of the *Second International*, and the foundation of the *Third International* was laid with the definite aim of world revolution and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a part of the strategy of the *Third International* at this phase of the struggle to isolate the parties affiliated to the *Second International*. To that end the parties affiliated to the *Third International* have succeeded, as they must, because "the bourgeois-minded workers, the labour aristocracy, petty-bourgeois in its manner of life, in its income, and in its ideology, are the main strength of the *Second International*." The *Third International* has the solid support of all the revolutionary proletariats of all countries behind it. They know how to win over the trick of this "labour aristocracy" of the *Second International*. In the meantime, these opportunists who shrink at the idea of revolution, who screw up their eyebrows at what Marx called "the pitiless formulation of the question," should look at their own hands, spattered with the blood of dumb-driven workers in the last war. These *Second Internationalists* will then see that the hands which they are shaking today with their imperialist masters and stretching to strangle the revolution, will "multitudinous seas incarnadine." And whatever Citrine-Blum and Company say, the *Third International* knows it for certain and for good that this is:

Warfare mere  
Plied by the managed for the  
managers  
To wit: the frenzied folks who  
profit naught  
For those who profit all."

(Hardy: *The Dynasts*)

# NATIONAL VALUE OF EDUCATION\*

—By Prof. A. C. Das Gupta

There are, I believe, two ways of understanding the problem of education. We may view it as a mechanical system designed to carry out a certain process of work which may culminate in the production of graduates only. We may, on the contrary, view it as an organic system having within it the vitalising urge of an ideal, which will not simply rest satisfied with the manufacture of certain intellectual automatons but, shall be of great use to our national life by supplying those precious vitamins which are sadly wanting in the traditional system.

A machine, as you very well know, is only an artificial whole and implies nothing more than a collocation of several parts which bear no natural affinity to one another and is fitted only to carry out a purpose which is externally imposed upon it from outside. It is exactly this picture which comes to my mind when I contemplate the prevailing status of schools and colleges in our country. The prescribed course is there and the institution is only an apparatus devised for the sole purpose of dealing with the same. Teachers are nothing but workmen and books are their tools. And their business is simply to operate in a soulless and voiceless manner upon the passive materials of the minds of young learners. The routine predominates over everything else and bound by this hide-bound system teachers are called upon to deliver their book learned lore to their innocent pupils. What their wages are to be, the factory managers are to consider. Over-worked, over-burdened over-neglected as they are, these poor teachers seek comfort in the silent pursuit of gold,—that sovereign panacea for all earthly ills, by manufacturing notes or by doing tuition during the little leisure they get now and then.

Not having any inspiring ideal behind it, the mechanical system goes on emphasising quantity at the cost of quality. The greater the number of students and the more numerous the subjects taught, the better for education. And as for teachers, the more the amount of work they take up and the less pay they get, the better for education. What then can be the outcome of the working of this

wood and iron system? Machine can never produce life and naturally we derive only automatons and not real men. This sort of statical system based on a kind of educational mechanism or at most educational vegetarianism has been the cause of so much gloominess which has of late overtaken the intellectual horizon of our country. No wonder, therefore, that the vital interests of life and mind have been ignored by generations of teachers and taught. There has been no stimulus given to physical and moral culture.

Artificial emphasis laid on intellectual culture based on a process of cramming has led to a large scale production of physical and moral wrecks who have been filling the air all around with agonising cries of their individual woes and sorrows. The dormant energies of soul, the latent nobleness of heart find little scope for expression. Bare conformity to a dead system represses all the noble ardour of youthful souls. And as students of to-day are teachers of to-morrow, the vicious circle goes on handing down a baneful legacy of inertia and inaction to unborn generations of youths of this land.

Education is the most potent force for moulding society into new models. If you are to cast off the old prejudices that hinder the growth of your national life, you must look to a sound and creative system of education. Life, after all, is adaptation to environment. You have not simply to adapt yourself to your immediate surroundings, you have also to shape your ideas and thoughts in accordance with the new currents of thought which pervade the larger world outside. Are you to remain bound, hand and foot, within the prison bars of a blind system which is not only chilling but killing as well? Are you not capable of lifting up the impenetrable veil of darkness that perpetuates a lamentable state of blindness and inertia in our society?

The world is moving fast, indeed too fast for us, alas! The vision of a new order of society has dawned upon human consciousness, old ideas and theories are being challenged, scrutinised, critically tested. There is a prevailing state of

restlessness and discontent everywhere. Pangs of a new birth—of a new order are felt in all quarters of the globe. Are we teachers and students to remain for ever in the hiding ground? Let us sincerely consider this position and have the courage to accept with firmness the call of new duties and responsibilities which await us.

There is little doubt that this *statical* system should be replaced by a *dynamical* one. The mechanism of the old school of educationists should give way to a new Nationalism in education which will be at once organic in character and dynamic in outlook. Teachers are no longer to remain as dull purveyors of book-learned lore but are to become propagators of new ideas. They must unfold to the impressionable minds the potentialities of a new order and shape them in accordance with that idea. The students, who are already in a state of restlessness and are conscious of their responsibilities as harbingers of the new order, should adopt an energetic plan of action which will refashion them into a new mould. They must endeavour to have a clear grasp of the ideal before them and expect their teachers to become active participators in the noble task of a glorious evolution. Discipline, they ought to remember, is not a mean part of education. But discipline loses all significance when it is not wedded to an active programme of purposeful action. There is, I believe, no charm in the so-called discipline of passivity or inaction. The unholy glamour which discipline is sometimes supposed to assume in our country, has a sort of family likeness to the squalor of death. What is needed is not a sort of quietism or conformism but a rational ordering of life and action under the intelligent guidance of a noble ideal.

What then is to be our aim or ideal in education? Is it not the same thing as Independence or Dominion status? Here I must at once tell you that we are not to consider the political goal which has been taxing the ingenuity of great leaders like Mr. Bose, Gandhi or Roy. Dealers of ginger, they say, need not

(Continued on page 18)

Paper read to the female students of Vidyasagar College, Calcutta.



## Book Reviews

**The Industrial Worker In India**—By B. Shiva Rao. Allen and Unwin. London 10s. 6d.

India is ranked among the leading industrial countries of the world and the rapid increase in the number of workers has created numerous problems varied in character. A dispassionate study of the growing difficulties of workers and the Government measures adopted to mitigate their sufferings would reveal the truth buried beneath the massive weight of official facts and figures. Mr. Shiva Rao has executed this task with marked ability though certain parts of his book are surfeited with personal references that weigh down the worth of a historical work. The author is a reputed journalist and for years had been connected with trade union movement in Madras. His method of analysis is objective and betrays unconscious leaning towards bourgeois liberalism.

Tragedy of Indian working class, rightly speaking, is hidden beneath the *blue books* and a questioning mind can sense discontent and wrath banked up beneath the calm surface. What strikes most iniquitous is the absence of standard wage rates. In numerous textile mills in South India wages of blow room scutcher varied between Rs. 9-12-0 and Rs. 14 a month; strippers between Rs. 6-8 and Rs. 15. The problem of standardization of wages has been examined by various committees without any change being effected in the existing system. Workers in plantations and other industries get ridiculously low wages. In 1936 the daily wages for a miner ranged between Rs. 0-7-3 in Raniganj to Re. 1 in Assam. In South India plantation wages were averaged at 7 as a day for men, 5as women, and 2as for boys and girls, and in Assam Rs. 5-11-0 Rs. 4-2-0 and Rs. 2-13-0 respectively for men, women and children.

Indian Workers are captive to poverty and squalor and Indian cities abound in slums teeming with starving souls.

And the problem of housing though of utmost importance has never engaged the serious attention of Government. In the *bastees* and *chawls* workers are

huddled together like cattle and the annual figure of mortality are staggering. The question of housing has been discussed by the author and he has pleaded for a ministry of health to end the filth and squalor:

What is needed is a vigorous Ministry of Health embarking upon a bold programme of house building. Money is cheap, and schemes would prove directly remunerative. There would be even without this an enormous gain to industry through the attraction of better and more stable labour.

Can this be materialized?

The author has sketched the history of Indian labour legislations and has made important observations on the working of these legislations.

The chapter on development of Indian Trade Union movement is informative excepting the remarks on its early growth in Madras. Unions are cropping like mushroom all over the country and Government's studied opposition to the development of trade unionism is evidenced by its refusal to recognize the unions.

In recent years working class movement has made rapid advance and the owner's unwillingness to accede to elementary demands has brought the class-question to the fore. Mr. Rao is conscious of all these and envisages a grim struggle between the employer and the employed in the future:

The struggle, in fact, must sooner or later assume a new aspect. Landlords, millowners industrial magnates, whether British or Indian will be drawn closer together to fight the growing power of the working classes in India.

The book is a comprehensive study.

problems of Indian working classes from the text-ile labour down to the *beedi* worker and it should be read by students of social history and trade unionists as well.

**On the Eve of October Revolution**—By Lenin. The Socialist Literature Publishing Com. Agra. Price -/12/- (To be had of National Book Agency, 72 Harrison Rd. Calcutta)

Revolution connotes a radical change in the social order and till recent times the idea was considered utopian. But the fall of Tzardom was a prelude to revolution in Russia and under the leadership of Lenin who combined the vision of a dreamer with the analytic intellect of a realist the idea bloomed into action. The book under review is a collection of important utterances made by Lenin on the eve of October Revolution. The arch-reactionaries were leagued against workers and peasants and Lenin exposed their sinister motive. Lenin warned them against the subterfuges of Kornilov, Kerensky and Deniken who had a community of interests with the White Generals and were bent upon preventing the seizure of power by the Deputies of Soviets of workers and soldiers.

Revolution is not easy of realisation and even the astitute minds in the Bolshevik party betrayed theoretical ignorance of the objective and signs of vacillations natural to the middle class. And against the wallowing chaos and confusion stood Lenin like a beaconlight guiding the erring souls. Students of politics would do well to read the book.

Why Worry !!

**DESHABANDHU'S UNIQUE ASSURANCE CO., LIMITED**

Offers all that are best in Insurance.

100 families saved from ruin and starvation in 1938.

Claims paid in 1938 exceed Rs. 1,00,000.

For particulars apply to:—UNIQUE ASSURANCE COMPANY LTD.

Estd. 1912.

1A, VANSITTART ROW, CALCUTTA.

**INDIA BANK LTD**

ALL KINDS OF BANKING BUSINESS TRANSCATED

Branches:—Chandpur • Puranbazar • Bajapti • Baburhat • Matlabgunj •

Sonapur (Noakhali) • Taltala • Lohajong • Kidderpur • Gardenreach •

The best historical drama of the age.

**"BAKYA-RAO"**

By BHOLA NATH GHOSE

Phone:—B. B. 3711.

**D. RATAN & CO.**

ARTISTS & PHOTOGRAPHERS  
22-1, CORNWALLIS STREET,  
CALCUTTA.

## National Value of Education

(Continued from page 16)

concern themselves with the news of ships. Our problem is simply to state what can be accepted as the rational or legitimate goal of our educational endeavours. What are we to consider to be the aim of our education? It seems to me that the attainment of noble manhood or womanhood is the sole aim of our education. This statement is nothing new, nothing old. It is as old as the hills and as fresh as the soft zephyr which blows from the southern seas. Go to the old authorities in the west as well as in the east and you will hear the same tale. Ask Herbert Spencer and he will tell you that the attainment of sound mind in a sound body is the aim of education. There is, let us not forget, something which is permanent, which must remain the same throughout all ages, in spite of the ravages of time. This is humanity. Conditions and circumstances may change and must change; but these are only momentary phases in the evolution of the ideal which is inherent in man as man.

Is there any clash or conflict between the political and the educational aim? I find none. The educational aim, rightly understood, finds its natural and legitimate expression in the political aim; and the latter, in its turn, finds its very bread and nourishment from the educational aim. This also implies that not only a correct ideal in politics requires a correct ideal in education, but a high ideal in politics finds a stumbling-block in a poor ideal in education. A right ideal in politics goes ill together with a wrong ideal in education and society. It may not be out of place here also to point out that the national movement in India might have gained enormously in strength and vitality, if there were corresponding reformist movements in education and society.

You are pledged to independence or freedom in politics. You avow that boldly and categorically. But there can be no freedom without a struggle. Now look at this paradox. You mean to do something but you cannot do it. Why can you not do it? Because there are not true men. Who could supply you with the right men—the fine army of freedom-fighters? What the High Command of the Congress would not do, the High Command of the Universities and Colleges and Schools might have well achieved. But the sorry fact, the tragedy, the eternal shame of the whole inglorious affair, lies in the lamentable and criminal backwardness of our educational systems. Outside there is a *Forward Bloc*. But inside, in our society and in our education, we have the dull, inert, immobile materials of a *Backward Bloc*.

(To be continued)

## INSIDE STORY OF DELHI STUDENTS' CONVENTION

(Continued from page 14)

convinced of the counter-revolutionary nature of the present bourgeois leadership of the Congress, attempted to warn the students against it openly, by exposing its endeavours to rob the masses of their militancy, of their consciousness about the political leadership of mobilising nobody except themselves, one C.S.P. comrade plus half-a-dozen Gandhi-its.

(3) The alliance of the proletariat with other *anti-imperialist* elements of our country is possible only if its party sticks to the line of Marxism-Leninism. The Delhi Convention has proved that anti-imperialist middle class elements have gravitated towards the proletariat because they have found in it the most consistent defender of the cause of Freedom, Peace and Progress.

(4) It has proved the utter falsity of the scare created by the N. F. that the Forward Bloc is a *Party* of the Left nationalists. The voting on the issue of Peace, when the L. P. voted against other comrades of the F. b. expressing its honest difference of opinion, has not only not weakened the F. b. but strengthened it by vindicating its position as the Bloc and not as a Party, where different Parties may join to act on common issues only.

(5) It has exposed the utterly non-Marxist stand of the N. F. group who while believing in one thing voted, acted against their own belief, prevented others to express those views to the masses and

forced themselves to conceal their own views from the masses. This shows that dangerous signs of Blanquism still prevail in their group, which if not eradicated before long, is sure to bring disaster to the Left movement.

(6) It shows that the influence of the bourgeoisie still prevails on the petty-bourgeoisie due to the confused petty-bourgeois opportunists line of the N. F. which is objectively working as the carrier of bourgeois ideology to the masses. On the other hand, it also shows that a large section of the students is already emancipated from the ideological and organisational influence of the big bourgeoisie.

## The Task

The task in the student front is very clear. In the present situation the L. P. will stress upon:

- (1) The contact of the students with the masses through literacy campaign, sports, games, co-operative movement etc.
  - (2) Day-to-day struggle for clarification of the issues among the students and masses.
  - (3) Development of struggle of the students on the basis of the programme of the A. I. F., so that the students may be helped to play their glorious part in the struggle for Indian Independence.
- March on young India! Towards Freedom, Peace and Progress !!

## THE CALCUTTA COMMERCIAL BANK, LTD.

Head Office:—2, CLIVE GHAT STREET, CALCUTTA.

## A SCHEDULED BANK

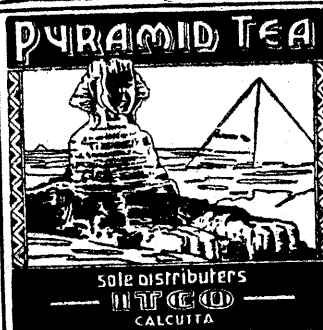
## BRANCHES

Bengal :	Bengal :	Bengal :	U. P. :	Calcutta :	Assam :	Behar :	Behar :
Mymensingh	Barakar	Jamalpur	Benares	Maniktala	Sunamganj	Pakur	Bhagalpur
Narayanganj	Barisal	Jalpaiguri	Lucknow	Kalighat	Karimganj	Sahibganj	Monghyr
Sirajganj	Maldah	Netrokona		Baranagore	Sylhet	Katihar	Dumka
Kishoreganj	Dacca	Tangail		Barabazar	Shillong	Patna	Deoghur
Mohanganj	Chittagong	Chawkbazar (Dacca)			Silchar	Raxaul	Lakhisarai

Interest on Savings Bank A/c. paid at 2½% per annum  
Withdrawable by Cheques.

Interest of Fixed Deposits paid at the rate of 3 to 5% per annum.  
Rs. 600 paid on payment of Rs. 5 per month for 8 years  
in the Provident Deposit account.

3 Years Cash Certificate for Rs. 100 sold at Rs. 87 (eighty-seven).



Superfine Darjeeling Blend

## PYRAMID TEA

Only As -/12/- Per lb.

IMPERIAL TEA

BEST INDIAN TEA  
74-1, CLIVE ST. CAL.

# THE BANGASRI COTTON MILLS Ltd.

A SPINNING &  
WEAVING MILL,  
WITH THE VERY BEST  
UP-TO-DATE MACHINERIES.

Founded by: **ACHARYA SIR P. C. ROY.**

Insist On Its Excellent  
Products Already in  
**GREAT DEMAND.**

*Mills :—*  
Sodepur ( 24 Perganas )  
E. B. Ry.

*Secretaries & Agents :—*  
**SHAHA CHAUDHURI & Co. Ltd.**  
4, Clive Ghat St. Calcutta.

*Offers all that is best in*

## LIFE INSURANCE



*Insure* WITH  
*or*  
REPRESENT

**TROPICAL**  
INSURANCE CO., LIMITED.

FOR PARTICULARS APPLY TO:-

**LALA SANKERLAL**  
Managing Director.

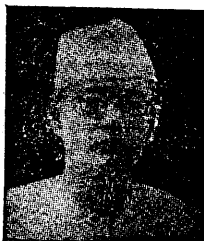
Phone :  
Cal. 3409

*Manager*  
**CALCUTTA BRANCH.**

P. 14, BENTINCK STREET.



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

Props :—Mathuramohan, Lalmohan, and  
 Phanindramohan Mukhopadhyay Chakravarty }

Sd/- Subhas Chandra Bose.  
 Dacca, 6-6-1939.

## INDIAN TEA HOUSE

ALWAYS AT YOUR SERVICE

96 B, Clive St.,

29, Strand Road.

Calcutta.

Phone :— Cal. 1842.

Sole Prop :—  
**P. C. SEIN.**

### No Remedy is better than **NEUROL**

in case of any weakness of brain, nerves and heart. It promptly relieves, vertigo, sleeplessness and palpitation of heart and asthma. As it strengthens memory, students and brain workers are greatly benefited by it. There is nothing like **neurol** to give new energy to both body and mind. Phial Rs 1/12. To be had of **DESHBANDHU MEDICAL HALL 128D, Maniktola Road, Calcutta.**

### HEALTH & JOY

are maintained by the use of  
**ANANGA PROVA YAKUTI**  
 Which brings about jovial tone to the weak and aged.  
 Price Rs. 10 for 30 Pills.  
**Rajvaidya Narayanji Keshavji,**  
 177, Harrison Road, Calcutta.

### The Mahabir Insurance Co., Ltd.

Head Office :—CALCUTTA.  
 Chief Agents :—M/s. **BANERJEE & SONS**  
 Moderate Premiums, and all up-to-Date Privileges.  
 WANTED :—Respectable Agents, Special Agents,  
 Inspectors, Organisers, for Presidency Division  
 on Salary or Commission Basis.  
 Apply to :—  
**M/s. BANERJEE & SONS.—Chief Agents**  
 5, ROYAL EXCHANGE PLACE  
 (Mahabir Buildings)  
 CALCUTTA.

### CENTRAL CALCUTTA BOARDING

30, Sitaram Ghosh St., 2, Naron Sen Square.  
 Quiet surrounding; centre of students,  
 educationists and gentlemen. Healthy dishes  
 and homely comforts.  
 Charges Rs. 18/- to 20/-. Prop :—A. BHADURI

### HIS—HIGHNESS ?

A Brilliant Study-Book on **PATHOLOGY OF PRINCES, AND STATE-RULE-PROBLEMS**  
 (By Mr. K. GAUBA) highly Recommended by  
 Leading Press, and Prominent Patriots.

Price Rs. 4/- (Postage As. 12)

(Post Free if Cash with Order)

**CHEAP BOOK DEPOT.**  
 SIALKOT-CITY. 5 (PUNJAB)

### READY—TEA!

Contains Milk & Sugar—Requires no Boiling—  
 Just Mix up a spoonful of **Ready-Tea** in a  
 cupful of water—And the most delicious  
**Sweet & Milky Tea** is ready for Drinking

Rs. 4/- Per lb. (4 Advance)

Sample on 8-Anna Stamps.

**BALDEV SINGH & Co. SIALKOT-CITY 5.**

### HERNIA

Wonderful remedy by outward appli-  
 cation. Thousands benefited without  
 operation. Apply for testimonials and  
 directions :—**H. C. ROY**, specialist in  
 Hernia, Divine Treatment Hall,  
 118, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta



## LAXIL

A pleasantly flavoured Laxative Tablet in  
 Chocolate base that restores regularity  
 without discomfort and gives certain relief.



**BENGAL CHEMICAL CALCUTTA BOMBAY**

## CALCUTTA MINERAL SUPPLY CO., LTD.

31, JACKSON LANE, CALCUTTA.

Telegram :—CHINAMATI,  
 Calcutta.

Telephone :—Office 1397 B. B.  
 Works 1592 B. B.  
 Residence 4627 B. B.

Dealers in Indian Minerals and Mineral Products also Raw materials for Soap.  
 Manufacturers of silicate Soda, Plaster of Paris, Soft Soap and Talc Powder.

FOR RATES AND PARTICULARS ENQUIRE OF  
**H. DUTT & Co.—Mg. Agents.**